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THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL
HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND:

ORIGINALLY FOUNDED AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society,

IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XLIX.

VOL. II.
FOURTH SERIES.

1872-73.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
FOR THE ASSOCIATION.
1874.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Association, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

ADA VAN
CLARK
WARR

P R E F A C E .

THIS, the second Volume of the fourth series of their "Journal," now completed, is submitted to the Fellows and Members of the Association, with a confident hope no decadence will be detected in its contents. It is, however, to be regretted that the printing of the Dind Senchus of Ireland—the first portion of which, relating to Tara, the ancient seat of the Kings of Ireland, appeared in this Volume—has been suspended, owing to circumstances over which the Committee had no control.

The Editor has to ask indulgence for unavoidable delay in the appearance of some portions of this Volume. The Fellows and Members may rest assured that he has not been in fault in such cases ; and that the true interests of the Association have been consulted in every instance of the kind. It is, indeed, desirable that the "Journal" should be issued with the utmost regularity, and every effort is strained to effect this ; but mistakes or imperfections would more than counterbalance the good which punctual delivery must produce. It is hoped that in future the advantages of regular delivery will be combined with unblemished printing, correctness of style, and accuracy in the citation of dates and refe-

rences; but to effect this, a careful revision of all papers intended for publication should precede their delivery to the Secretary for publication.

It must be a subject of congratulation to the friends of the Association that papers are sent in such abundance to the Meetings, that each quarterly number of the "Journal" is supplied with its full proportion of matter, varying it may be in interest, but never unsuited to its pages, or calculated to mar the harmony which has characterised the working of the Association during the twenty-five years of its existence.

JAMES GRAVES.

INISNAG, *Feb.* 17, 1874.

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OF THE
ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND:

ORIGINALLY FOUNDED AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society,

IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XLIX.

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION,

1872.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

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1872.



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THE JOURNAL
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THE ROYAL
HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
OF IRELAND,
FOR THE YEAR 1872.

AT the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January the 17th (by adjournment from the 3rd), 1872 :

The WORSHIPFUL the MAYOR OF KILKENNY in the Chair ;

The Report of the Committee for the year 1871 was read by the Honorary Secretary, as follows :—

“ Your Committee, in presenting their twenty-third Annual Report, are glad to say they are not obliged to ‘bate one jot’ of confidence in the prosperity of the Association. No special efforts have been made to enlist Members, or push into notice its objects and acts. Members have, of course, fallen away, or been removed by death ; but the vital action of the body has fully supplied the losses incurred. The new Fellows elected during the year 1871 are as follows :—

“ Captain T. Bigoe Williams, F. S. A. ; John Somerville ; George Stewart ; and the Rev. W. Gowan Todd, D. D.

“ The following, already Members of the Association, have taken out their Fellowships under the Queen’s Letter :—The Right Hon. The Earl of Courtown, D. L. ; Evelyn Philip Shirley, M. A., D. L., F. S. A. ; Richard Rolt Brash, Architect, M. R. I. A. ; Thomas Watson ; Rev. John L. Darby, A. M. ; Nicholas Ennis ; Joseph Digges ; John Hill, C. E. ; F. E. Currey, J. P. ; Hon. B. E. B. Fitzpatrick ; Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Cooper, D. L. ; J. Ennis Mayler ; Eugene Shine ; Captain H. M. F. Langton ; W. R. Molloy, A. M. ; Albert Courtenaye ; Rev. Maxwell H. Close, A. M. ; Lawrence Waldron, D. L. ; Maurice Lenihan, M. R. I. A. (*Honoris Causa*) ; and Edward Fitzpatrick Browne.

“Four Fellows and forty-seven Members have been elected during the year, making the number on the roll amount to six hundred and seventy-five. This shows a numerical decrease of seventeen, as compared with last year's Report. But this decrease must not be taken as affecting the prosperity of the Association: most of the new Members pay £1 a year, and none less than 10s., whilst the greater part of those lost to the Association belonged to the old class of six-shilling subscribers.

“The subscribers to the Annual Volume now amount to two hundred and sixty, at 10s. each.

“The following Members, being three years in arrear, have been removed from the list, but with the option of being restored to membership on paying off arrears:—

| | | | £ | s. | d. |
|--------------------------|-----------|----|---|----|----|
| Sir John Benson | (1869-71) | .. | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. R. R. Carey | do. | .. | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| W. P. Harris | do. | .. | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| Henry James | do. | .. | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| E. J. Maher | do. | .. | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| J. O'Connell, Millstreet | do. | .. | 1 | 10 | 0 |

“The publication of several original Irish pieces from the ‘Lebor na hUidre’ in the ‘Journal’ under the editorial care of Mr. J. O’Beirne Crowe, A. M., has elicited the approbation of Irish scholars, both at home and on the Continent; and your Committee can also point with satisfaction to the series of papers on our Irish Lake Dwellings, from the pen and pencil of Mr. Wakeman. The second part of the ‘Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language,’ forming the Annual Volume of 1871, has been completed by Miss Stokes, and is at the binder's, only awaiting the delivery of some plates to be placed in the hands of the Members who have subscribed for it.

“Your Committee revert to a topic, brought before the Members some years since, which seems worthy of attention by the local public. The Museum of the Association is the only provincial collection of the kind in Ireland, and must be more or less a credit to the City and County of Kilkenny, in which it is placed, if properly arranged and displayed; but it cannot be expected that this could be fully effected out of the general funds of the Association. Your Committee calculate that £50 per annum would suffice to pay the rent of the Museum premises, and enable the Committee to provide cases for the proper display of the collection, and permit the binding of the valuable serials which are presented to the Library by kindred Societies at home and abroad. It does not seem impossible that this sum should be specially subscribed for the purpose, and your Committee remit to the Meeting the consideration of the subject.

“In common with the entire Nation, this Association rejoices in the restored health of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The recovery of His Royal Highness must be particularly satisfactory to the Members of an Association which he has honoured by becoming its Patron-in-Chief.

“The loss to Irish Archæology in general, as well as to your Association in particular, caused by the death of the Earl of Dunraven, cannot be over-estimated. To a sound judgment and deep knowledge of Irish Archæology, that nobleman added an unflagging zeal for the study and preserva-

tion of our national antiquities. His position and means gave him the opportunity of indulging these tastes to the full, and it is believed that his death has deprived us of a grand and comprehensive work on Ancient Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture, to amass materials for which he had devoted the labours of many years. It is to be hoped that some competent and kindly hand¹ may be found to take up the work at the point where its progress has been so unfortunately arrested.

“In the Hon. Justice George, The O'Donovan, and the Rev. John Greene, P. P. Skerries, the Association has been also deprived by death of zealous and long-tried friends.

“In conclusion, your Committee trust that all Members will bear in mind that in dependence on their honour the ‘Journal’ of the Society is now placed in the printer's and engraver's hands at the commencement of each year. Subscriptions should, therefore, be paid in as soon after the first of January as possible. By the rules they are due in advance; and it must be evident that the very existence, not to say the usefulness, of the Association, depends on the Members recollecting that your Treasurer is personally liable for the outlay in the first instance, and on their carrying out their part of the compact without waiting, as is too often the case, to be reminded over and over again of their debt of honour.”

On the motion of Mr. Patrick Watters, seconded by Mr. Bracken, C.I., the Report was adopted and ordered to be printed.

The suggestion of the Committee, respecting the Museum and Library, was then discussed.

Mr. Graves pointed out how desirable it would be to have such arrangements made as would render the Library and Museum of permanent usefulness. Even supposing that their Association at any future time ceased to exist, the Museum and Library need not die with it, if arrangements were made to secure their permanence. To do this, it would be necessary to have means of displaying the collection in the Museum to better advantage than at present, to have a suitable remuneration provided for a competent person to be present on such days as might be arranged for its being open to public inspection, and for the binding and suitable casing of the books. They had a large collection of the Transactions of kindred Societies, which money could not buy in the market, but which were pre-

¹ The Will of Lord Dunraven has been made public since the Report was read, and it is most gratifying to know that Miss

Stokes has been left his Lordship's literary executor, with a bequest to enable her to complete the work he had undertaken.

sented to them by various learned Societies at home and abroad, in exchange for their own publications. These all required binding. There were also a great many works of general literature, presented by the various authors and others, which required to be catalogued. These collections were placed in Kilkenny, as being the centre of the Association; but they were not available to the large mass of the Members, who resided elsewhere, and therefore it was that the Committee thought that aid in their arrangement and preservation should be invited in the locality, outside the Society's limits, so as that the general local public might have the advantage of them. It would not be fair to the general body of the Members to take from the Association's funds the amount necessary to be expended on the Museum and Library to make it what the Committee desired, because the funds ought to be expended in making the publications of the Society as valuable as possible, that being the only real return which could be given for their subscriptions to the great number of Fellows and Members residing at a distance from Kilkenny, and very few of whom would ever have the opportunity of visiting the Museum, or taking any benefit from the Library.

Mr. Bracken thought it a great pity that they were not able to have the Museum and Library better arranged. Strangers coming to visit them seemed disappointed, having imagined that the Association would have been able to make a better appearance in these matters. Of course, Mr. Graves had fully accounted for their not being able to do so. The benefit to be derived from the Library and Museum was in the locality, and the locality ought to avail itself of it fully, when the opportunity was offered by the Committee.

Dr. Martin thought it would not be right to let things go on as they were. It would be well to take action at once, and see if the locality would be willing to contribute to maintain an institution calculated to be of much local benefit.

Mr. Bracken suggested that the Corporation of Kilkenny might do something towards making the Museum and Library permanent local institutions.

The Mayor said, so far as he was personally concerned,

he would be happy to do anything in his power, in the Corporation, to aid in attaining the object proposed, and he hoped he would be successful; but he could, of course, only speak as an individual member of that body.

Mr. Graves observed that the Corporation had been very kind to the Association, having given it, freely and generously, a place of meeting, and a place for keeping its collections, whilst it was a young and struggling Society. He did not think the appeal should be made to the Corporation in the first instance. It should be made to the County and City; and if they responded, as he hoped they would, then the Corporation would be applied to, to assist in giving permanency to an institution which would be of local importance.

The Rev. Mr. Deverell apprehended that the change made in the name of the Association might be injurious to it in making the arrangement suggested. Kilkenny people would say, "Why not have let it remain the Kilkenny Archæological Society?"

Mr. Graves considered that, if any one put forward such a plea, the answer was obvious—there is now the opportunity of having a Kilkenny Library and Museum. The change in the name of the Society was a necessary one, when the great body of the subscribers were not connected with Kilkenny. It was a change which did great good as regarded the general objects for which the Society was founded, as the more provincial name had prevented many from joining it who had since entered its ranks. But, as he had said before, those living at a distance, who formed the great body of the Association, could derive no benefit from the Museum and Library, which were essentially local institutions, and the Trustees of the Association would gladly enter into any arrangements with local bodies or individuals who would aid in making the institution of greater benefit, and permanent usefulness in the locality.

On the motion of the Rev. Charles A. Vignoles, seconded by the Rev. Dr. Martin, the following resolution, drawn up by the Chairman, was unanimously adopted:—

"Resolved—That, in order to improve the Museum and Library of the Society, and to render it more interesting to the public, subscriptions be requested from the gentry of

the County and the citizens of Kilkenny for the purpose ; particularly as it is the intention of the Committee to open the institution to the public. Also, that a Sub-committee be appointed to carry out the necessary arrangements."

It was arranged that a Sub-committee, consisting of Rev. Mr. Graves, and Messrs. Prim, Robertson, and J. L. Ryan, be appointed to carry out the arrangements of the foregoing resolution.

On the motion of Mr. Ryan, seconded by Dr. James, the committee and officers of last year were re-elected for the ensuing twelve months.

Mr. Graves, as Treasurer, brought up the accounts for the past year, which it was resolved that Dr. Fitzsimons and Mr. Robertson should be requested to audit, before the next meeting of the Association.

The Treasurer reported favourably on the financial condition of the Association, but warned them that they were not to consider the large balance appearing in favour of the Association as being available for future operations. They were still in arrear as to the printing of their "Journal," and when the expense of bringing up their arrears shall have been taken out of the balance in hands, it would reduce it considerably. Still, it would leave them in a very fair financial position.

The following Members of the Association were admitted to Fellowship :—

The Very Rev. F. Metcalf Watson, A.M., Dean of Leighlin ; and Barry Delaney, M.D.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven, Adare Manor ; the Rev. W. Henry Fraser, A.B., Kilkenny ; and Louis Daniel, Valetta, Zion-road, Rathgar, Dublin : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

John Lloyd, J.P., Gloster, Roscrea: proposed by Captain Colclough.

George Reade, J.P., Birchfield, Kilkenny : proposed by Mr. Prim.

William Irvine, Howick, N.B. : proposed by Maurice Lenihan, M. R. I. A.

John Martin, Drumclone Mills, Lisbellaw ; and W. J. Lemon, Enniskillen : proposed by W. F. Wakeman.

Andrew Gibb, F. S. A., Scot., Aberdeen ; and Alexander Menzies, Parochial Schoolmaster, Tealing, Forfarshire : proposed by A. Jervise.

Folliott Barton, C. E., Bundoran, county Donegal : proposed by Charles Richardson.

William Moore, Snugboro' House, Bandon-road, Cork : proposed by J. S. Sloane.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

“Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,” new series, Vol. XI. : presented by the Society.

“Proceedings of the Somersetshire Architectural and Archæological Society,” for the year 1870 : presented by the Society.

“The Archæological Journal, published by the Central Committee of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,” No. 110 : presented by the Institute.

“Archæologia Cambrensis,” October, 1871 : presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

“Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, Udgivne af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab,” Parts 2 to 4, 1870 ; Part 1, 1871 : presented by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.

“Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution” for 1869 ; and “Congressional Directory of the Third Session of the Forty-first Congress of the United States of America :” presented by the Institution.

“Collections of the Historical Society of Minnesota, Vol. II., Parts 1, 2, and 3, and Vol. III., Part 1 ; and “Annual Report” for 1870 : presented by the Society.

“Symbolæ ad Historiam Antiquiorem rerum Norvegicarum.—1, Breve Chronicon Norvegiæ. 2, Genealogia Comitum Orcadensium. 3, Catalogus Regum Norvegiæ ;” “Die Altnorwegische Landwirthschaft dargestellt.” Norske Vægtlodder fra Fjorteende Aarhundrede ;” “De Prisca Re Monetaria Norvegiæ, et de numis aliquot et ornamentis, in Norvegia repertis ;” also twelve pamphlets on various sub-

jects : presented by the Royal University of Norway, at Christiana.

"An Essay on the Druids, the Ancient Churches, and the Round Towers of Ireland," by the Rev. Richard Smiddy : presented by the Author.

"The Builder," Nos. 1444-1510, inclusive: presented by the Publisher.

"The Irish Builder," Nos. 259-290, inclusive : presented by the Publisher.

Dr. Aquilla Smith, having examined the tokens presented at last meeting (see p. 569, *supra*) by Mr. Wakeman, sent the ensuing description of them:—

"No. 1. *Obv.* ALDRIDGE . SADLER . OF = sheaf of wheat.

S
R.
I

Obv. ATHLONE . BAKER = A R.

This is a variety of a token, issued by the same person, noticed in 'Boyne's Catalogue,' No. 44.

No. 2. *Obv.* JAMES. REID. MARC HANT. = a bell.

Rev. IN . INESKILLIN . 1663. = J. R.

No. 3. *Obv.* THO. FLOOD HIGH STREET. = I .

Rev. DVBLIN. MARCHANT . = a winged female.

No. 4. *Obv.* JAMES . BRATION . IN. = a harp.

S
R.
I

Rev. O. . . MARCHANT = L. B. I .

No. 4 is unpublished. It may have been issued at Omagh. Perhaps the name 'Bration' could be found in some Index."

The following paper on some unrecorded antiquities in Yar Connaught was contributed by George H. Kinahan, M. R. I. A., Hon. Provincial Secretary for Connaught:—

"To the following antiquities in west Galway I would call attention, as most of them seem not hitherto to have been noticed.

"No. I. 'Kitchen-midden.' This is situated a little S.E. of the entrance into Cashla, or Costelloe Bay; and in close proximity to the old grave-yard, the site, according to O'Flahertie, of a primitive church dedicated to St. Columbkille. This heap is about 50 feet in diameter, and 15 feet high, forming a flat-topped, conical hill. In it the principal shells appear to be *Patella vulgata* and *Littorina littora*; however, as yet no exploration of it, or no opening into it, has been made. Similar shells are added to it yearly, as the pilgrims to St. Columbkille's well frequent it for cooking purposes on the patron-days of that saint. When we consider the size of the mound, and the smallness of the yearly additions, we cannot but be impressed with the number of years it must have taken to have accumulated, even if the pilgrims were a hundredfold more numerous

than they are at the present day. I would suggest that an exploration of it might be worthy the consideration of the Association.

"No. II. 'Lake stone-dwelling.' In Lough Hilbert, Goromna Island is a peculiar structure somewhat allied to a crannog, being wholly or in part an artificial island, but no wood appears to have been used in its construction. These kinds of habitations, for which is proposed the name of 'lake stone-dwellings,' seem to have been constructed entirely of stone, somewhat like a 'Dun' or 'Caher,' except that the latter are always on land, while these are built in lakes or turloughs. Apparently there has been a good deal of care taken in their construction, as all the stone work that can be seen, both above and below the water, is regularly built.

"Such buildings seem not to have been uncommon in those parts of Galway and Mayo where timber was scarce or of small growth, as they have been observed in various places—some in turloughs, or winter lakes, a few in Lough Corrib, and one, the largest noted, in Lough Mask. The latter, Hag's Castle (see Wilde's 'Lough Corrib'), is a large, commodious, circular structure, nearly opposite the mouth of the Robe River, unique of its kind, as the wall is of great thickness and of considerable height; while around it there is deep water, showing, although it may originally have been in part an island, yet that the artificial work extends to a considerable depth.

"No. III. 'Lake stone-dwelling.' This is similar to the preceding, and was observed in Lough Bola, a little more than a mile east of the church that has lately been built at Moyrus, on the S.E. of the entrance into

Lake stone-dwelling in Lough Bola.

Roundstone Bay. The foregoing sketch may give some idea of its present appearance and its original structure.

"No. IV. 'Lake stone-dwelling.' This primitive habitation was noted in Lough Cam, north of Roundstone, and two miles west of Toombeola, where the famous chieftain, Beola by name, is supposed to have been buried. I may call him famous; for although at the present time his history is unknown, yet formerly he must have been no mean personage, as different legends about him are still extant, while his burial-place (Toombeola), a mountain (Bennabeola), a bay (Fear-more Bay), &c., record his name or prowess.—(Hardiman's Notes on O'Flahertie's 'History of Hiar, or West Connaught.') This stronghold, as viewed from the shore of the lake, has a similar appearance to those previously mentioned. None of these, however, have as yet been explored. All these islands have an aspect like a crannog, and are covered with a luxuriant growth of *Osmunda regalis*, as if that fern had been extensively used by the inhabitants for bedding, or some such purpose.

"No. V. 'Crannog'? In the northern portion of Ballinafad Lough, which lies south of Ballinahinch Lough, when the water is low, a circle of stones, with a small island near its centre, is visible. This is evidently the remains of some artificial structure, probably either a crannog or lake stone-dwelling.

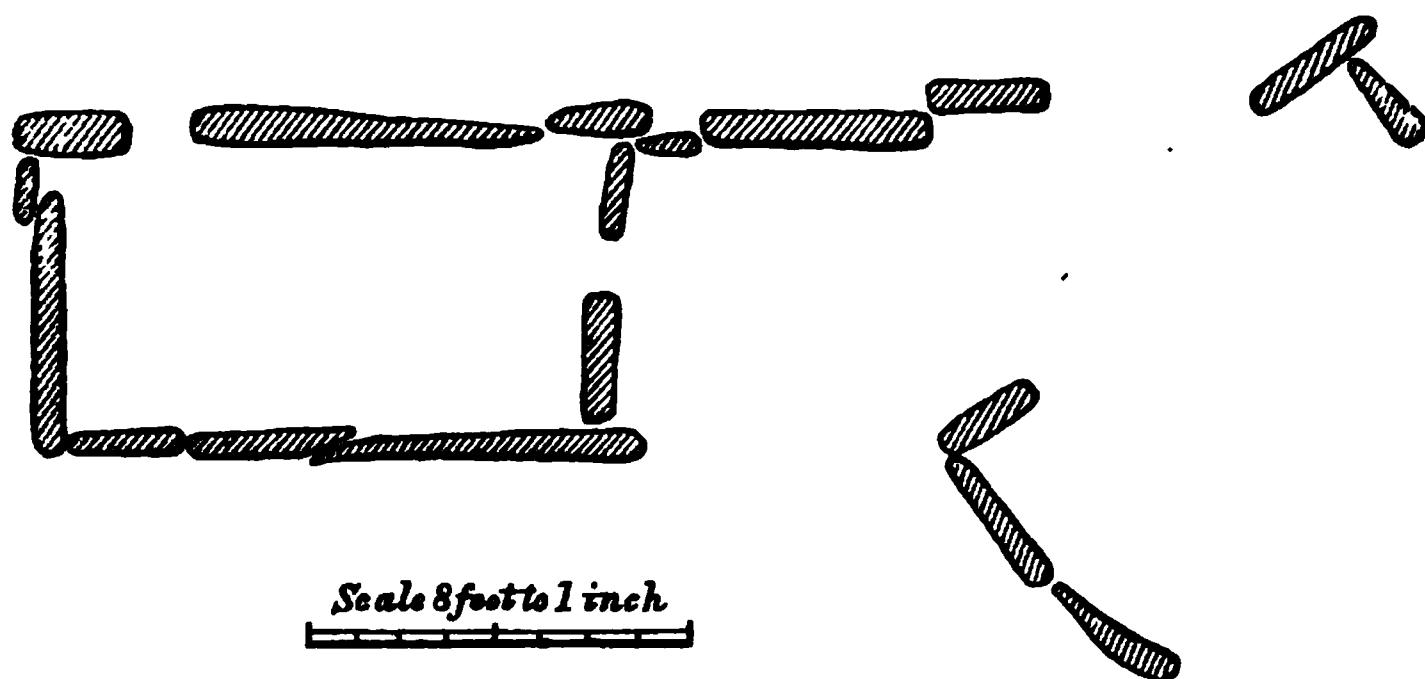
"No. VI. 'Crannog'? O'Flahertie, in his 'History,' mentions that the ancient castle of the O'Flaherties of Bunowen, in Ballinahinch lake, was built on an artificial island, evidently the island from which the lake received its present name. This seems to be a crannog, not a lake stone-dwelling, and is mentioned in this list as I cannot learn that it has as yet been explored. The original island was probably constructed, prior to the occupation of the county by the O'Flaherties, by one of the original septs. The O'Flaherties, however, seem to have erected the castle, while subsequently, after their land was confiscated, the newer men (the Martins of Drangan) tried to obliterate all traces of them. An exploration of this island, and the dredging of the lake in its vicinity, should afford interesting, if not valuable relics.

"No. VII. 'Gallán.' A remarkable, tall, standing stone, called, on the Ordnance map, 'Leagaun,' was observed in the vicinity of the north shore of Streamstown Bay, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles W.N.W. of Streamstown House. No legend about it seems to exist, but the townland in which it is situated is named after it.

"No. VIII. 'Galláns.' These are remarkable objects on the round hill a little N.E. of Streamstown House. These are probably part of a series of monuments, or perhaps the remains of some sort of megalithic structure, such as a 'pillar dwelling,' or the like. On the Ordnance map they are named 'Clogahlegaun.'

"No. IX. 'Fosleac, or flag-dwelling.' This primitive dwelling was noted near the hamlet called Drumgaroe, to the N.N.E. of Streamstown House. It is about twenty-three feet long and six wide, and consisted of two chambers, one about twelve feet long, and the other ten feet. The door between the chambers was very narrow, being only one foot wide, while in the north wall of the west chamber is an opening one foot three inches wide. Part of the upright flags forming the wall of the east chamber, as also the covering flags of both chambers, have been removed; while farther east, as represented in the figure or ground plan, are detached standing flags, apparently ancient, and a portion of some sort

of structure, perhaps an enclosure outside the entrance to the habitation.



Fosleac at Drumgaroe.

“No. X. ‘Fosleac.’ A ruin of one of these structures in the townland of Moveelan, and about one mile E.S.E. of Kylemore Castle.

“In former reports laid before the Association I have described similar structures to these flag-dwellings in various places in this county. We may, therefore, conjecture that in ancient times they were not uncommon.


“No. XI. ‘Kitchen midden’ on Omey Island. This has been previously recorded and described by your associate, H. Leonard, F.R.G.S.I., in the pages of the ‘Geological Magazine.’ I mention it, it being as yet unexplored.



“In laying this report before the Associates, I have, with regret, to beg that the Association will accept my resignation of the post which I have the honour to hold under it, as my sojourn in Connaught has now terminated—official duties calling me elsewhere.”

The Rev. J. F. Shearman, Curate of Howth, Co. Dublin, sent the following paper on the “Discovery of Carlovingian Coins at Mullaboden, Ballymore Eustace.

“In the first week of March, 1871, some excavations were made in the pleasure-grounds at the residence of Mr. Hoffman, at Mullaboden, county Kildare. During the operations, some graves, made after the fashion of pagan kistvaens, were discovered, the sides and ends being built of uncemented stones, &c. In these were found, with the coins, human remains, a flint hatchet or arrow-head, and a small bronze pin, with a ring at the top, in the usual style of these articles. This pin, which I have seen, is not of a very artistic character. The arrow-head, which I did not see, is rather an unusual article to be found with the remains of a more recent date. It may not have been originally placed with the pin and coins. Its being found with them may be accounted for in this way, that at Mullaboden there were remains of a more ancient period than that connected with the deposition of the coins and pin. Even Christian burials were sometimes made in pagan tumuli. A curious instance of this is recorded in the ‘Annals of Lough Cé,’ edited by William M. Hennessey, Esq.:—‘A. D. 1581: Brian Caech

O'Coinnegain, an eminent cleric, and keeper of a general house of guests, died; and the place of sepulture which he selected for himself was, *i.e.*, to be buried at the mound of Baile-an-tobair,' &c., &c. I have been unable to discover anything of the ancient history of this locality; but as it lies near one of the great fords or passes over the River Liffey, these coins may have been deposited in the graves of the Danes who fell in some local conflict, of which the historical details are either lost, or not as yet identified—if, indeed, they were ever recorded. It is a curious fact that, even in our own times, small coins are cast into the new-made grave when the coffin is deposited in it, in some localities, by our own countrymen, as also by the Scotch, who seem to have received that custom from the Scandinavians. Within the last two years, at the funeral of a fisherman from the Isle of Skye, who was buried in the cemetery at the old collegiate church of Howth, his countrymen carried out the above-named custom, which evidently reaches back to the time of paganism, and which was, most probably, in vogue with the Danes who infested these shores in the eighth and ninth centuries. In the year 999 the Danes of Leinster got a signal defeat at Glenmama, on the boundaries of the parishes of Dunlavan, Cryhelp, and Tubber, about four miles to the south of Mullaboden. They were pursued by the victorious Brian and Maelsechlan from Glenmama to the Liffey. A party of the Danes fled from the scene of defeat through Glenvegiha, and some of them were, it is said, engulfed in a quagmire at Moinavantry, in the direction of Mullaboden. Some of them crossed the ford at 'the Brook of Dunode,' which debouches into the Liffey (vide Dr. Todd's 'Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gall,' Introduction, p. cxliv., note 3). However this may be, it is useless to speculate further in the absence of more definite information. As far as I could learn, eleven silver coins were found. It is probable that a greater number were got, but those who discovered them most likely kept their own secret, as the 'crock of money' was much spoken of among the people. Of these eleven, I have three coins. Mr. Henry Copeland, of Ballymore Eustace, who has kindly recorded for me the information I here give, has five. The others, which I have not seen, were given to Mr. Hoffman, and one to Mr. Latouche, of Harristown. The impressions of these coins, taken in tinfoil, which accompany this paper, will give a better idea of them than can be had from any written description. They are made from the originals, and are, consequently, fac-similes:—

"1.—No. 1 weighs 29 grains. Obverse: Legend,  CARLVS REX FR(ancorum). Reverse: METVLLO. In the centre is a kind of cross, to the arms of which are inosculated letters, forming a curious kind of monogram, reading KROLS, which stands for CAROLVS. The s is so arranged as to form the letter v in one of the loops. This is a denar of Charlemagne, who was King of the Franks from 769, and Emperor from 875–877. Metullo is the name of the city in which it was minted, which was Melle, a city in Poitou. This coin is described and engraved in 'Reichel,' Vol. VII., No. 102.

"2.—No. 2. A denar of Pipin, King of Aquitaine, A. D. 817–838. Obverse:  PIPINVS REX EQ. (for Aquitanix). Reverse:  METVLLO, with a cross in the centre like that on the preceding coin, with letters arranged about it, reading PIPINVS. This coin also weighs 29 grains, is rare, and is to be found described in 'Le Blanc Mon. de France,' p. 105, fig. 3.

“ 3.—No. 3 weighs 29 grains; is a denar of Louis le Debonnaire. Obverse: ✚ HLVDOVVICVS IMP(erator). Reverse has the name of the

place of issue, and reads, $\begin{matrix} \text{META} \\ \text{LLVM} \end{matrix}$ in two lines, with a pellet over the v.

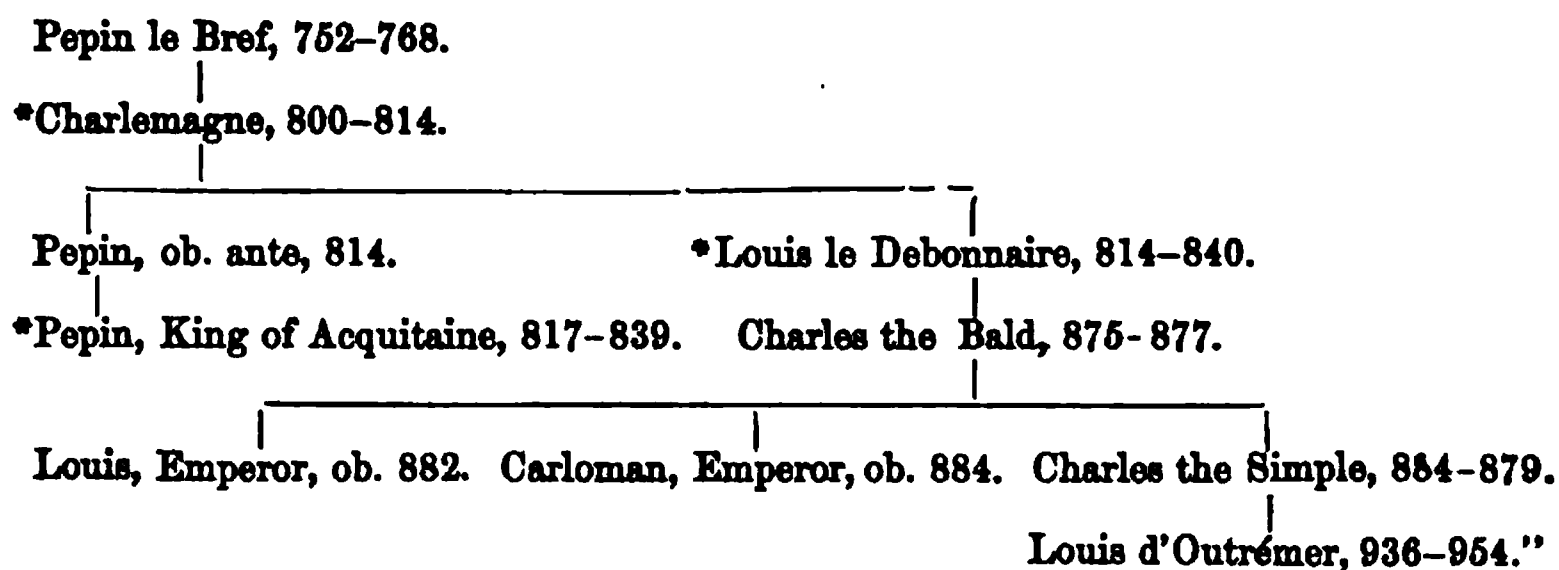
It was struck at Melle, in Poitou. Louis le Debonnaire, or ‘the Pious,’ reigned from A. D. 814–840.

“ 4.—No. 4 weighs 29 grains. Denar of the time of Louis le Debonnaire, A.D. 814–840. Obverse: ✚ HLVDOVVICVS IMP. Reverse: ✚ XPISTIANA RELIGIO. In the centre is the façade of a basilica in the classical style, with a small cross patée at each side. There is also one in the space between the pillars supporting the pediment. The style in which this coin is struck is much bolder than No. 5, which is the poorest in execution of the whole find.

“ 5.—No. 5. Weight, 29 grains. Obverse: The same as No. 4. The letters are more attenuated. In centre is a cross, with pellets in each angle. Reverse: The same legend as preceding coin, with a basilica in the centre, with a cross between the pillars. There are no crosses at the sides. This is also a denar of the time of Louis le Debonnaire, 814–840.

“ These coins represent the varieties which came under my observation. The three others were, I have learned, of the same description. I am not aware of any other find of Carolingian coins in Ireland. A gold coin of the Merovingian dynasty, found near Maryborough, Queen’s County, is engraved in Vol. IV., page 246, of our ‘Journal.’ A considerable number of the coins of Charles the Bald, A. D. 857–877, were found in England, with Anglo-Saxon coins of the same period. They most probably formed part of the dower of the Princess Judith, wife of Ethelred I., King of the Anglo-Saxons, 866–871. These coins may have reached this country through the ordinary channels of commerce, and circulated through the Danish and native population; but it is, nevertheless, a curious fact, that donations for charitable purposes were sent to Ireland by the Emperor Charlemagne. In the epistle of the famous Alcuin to Colgu ‘the Wise,’ the Lector or Moderator of Clonmacnois, who died, according to the annals of that celebrated monastery, A. D. 791, he writes:—‘ Misi quoque quinquaginta siclos fratribus de eleemosyna Caroli Regis (obsecro ut pro eo oretis) et de meâ eleemosyna quinquaginta siclos: et australes fratres Balthuminega triginta siclos de eleemosyna Regis et triginta de eleemosyna mea et viginti siclos de eleemosyna Patrisfamilie Ariedæ et viginti de eleemosyna meâ et per singulos anachoretas tres siclos de puro argento, ut illi omnes orent pro me et pro Domino Rege Carolo,’ &c., &c.—*Vide* Colgan, ‘Acta SS.,’ p. 379, xx Februarii. The learned Colgan tells us that Colgu was of the Hy Dunchada. He, unfortunately—or rather the authority he quotes—does not say to which of the Hy Dunchada Colgu belonged. The territory of the Leinster Hy-Dunchada was situated in the neighbourhood of Mullaboden. It embraced the south-west portion of the county Dublin, and extended into a part of Kildare and Wicklow. The Ossory Hy Dunchada branched off from the parent stem—the Dal Birn of Ossory—toward the close of the ninth century. Colgan suggests an identification of *Balthuminega* as in his text, but in his note printed *Baldhunnega*, with either Kilkenny or Acadhbœ—both foundations of St. Canice, the patron of Ossory. He says that an error of transcription must have occurred, and seems to think the original spelling was *Baille-Chunnigh*, which, if it were so, would indeed be of great interest to the members of our Association,

and especially to those who are natives of the 'faire citie' itself. As the period of Louis le Debonnaire is later than either Colgu or Alcuin, who died May 19, 804, another suggestion occurs to me, which is, that Louis d'Outrémer, A. D. 936, may have been for some time a fugitive in Ireland with his mother, Œlgyfu, or Ogiva, who fled, with her infant son, to her father, Ethelred, in England, to avoid the persecutions of her brothers-in-law, Carloman and Louis, successively Emperors of the Franks. If it be true, as some writers say, that she came to Ireland, she only acted on the precedent given by Dagobert II., who was tonsured by Didon, Bishop of Poitiers, by order of Grimoald, Mayor of the Palace, who then sent him into exile in Scotia. Irish traditions maintain that he was educated in the monastery of Slane, on the Boyne. He returned to France A. D. 670, and fell there by the hand of an assassin seven years after. The annexed table will show the descent of the personages whose coins are here described:—



Mr. W. F. Wakeman supplied the following paper on some antiquities of oak in the possession of J. G. V. Porter, Esq., of Bellisle, Lisbellaw, county Fermanagh:—

"Amongst the antiquities preserved at Bellisle, two articles of especial interest occur. One of these is certainly a boat; and the other, by ninety-and-nine antiquaries out of a hundred, would be pronounced a boat also. The appearance of this very curious relic of a remote age is truthfully



Supposed single-piece portable Canoe.

shown by the accompanying cut, which was drawn and engraved by order of Mr. Porter, and kindly presented to our Association by that gentleman. An illustration of a work almost precisely similar occurs in Mr. Shirley's interesting account of the Barony of Farney. The character of the antique there figured has never been questioned, nor would there have been a second opinion concerning the Bellisle relic but for the smallness of its proportions. This boat (for thus I must style the object under consideration), is

in one respect unlike any specimen of its class which has hitherto been discovered, inasmuch as it presents a groove cut upon the interior of the remaining portion of its gunwale, which was evidently intended for the reception of a covering, in the style of the canoes of the Greenlanders. This arrangement was necessary to safety, owing to the extreme narrowness of the craft. A water-tight compartment, fore and aft, would render a vessel like this almost as safe as one of our modern outriggers, which, by-the-bye, are often fashioned on the same plan. A boat of this description would have been very useful in the crannog days; and would also serve for the chase of the wild birds of a lake or river. That it was used by a wandering people there can be little doubt. The handles projecting from the remaining end would prove most useful when it was considered necessary to remove from one sheet of water to another. By some it has been suggested that the relic is not a boat, but a kind of trough which was used in the feeding of horses or cattle; or that it might, possibly, have been intended as a brewing vat for the manufacture of some kind of drink; or as a case to contain spears, &c. Others have pronounced it a coffin!

“The known history of this remarkable object is simply as follows. About one mile and a-half from Enniskillen is the old grave-yard of Ros-sary (*Ros-airthir*, or ‘the eastern peninsula’), within the bounds of which a church and monastery, of which no vestiges remain, once existed. Not far from the cemetery is a common country road, which, some years ago, it was found necessary to repair, and in some measure to alter. During the work thus undertaken the antique here figured was dug up. It lay almost midway between Lough Erne and Rossole, ‘the promontory of the light,’ which gives name to a lough of considerable dimensions, and connected with the Erne by a small stream. The ground in which it was discovered is reported to have been moory; and it lay not far from the surface, which, however, had been somewhat lowered from its original or ancient level.

“The depth of the boat is one foot; its breadth at the end remaining is one foot three inches; the sides and bottom are in general somewhat thin; but the end is seven inches in solid thickness; and from it, on the exterior, project two handles carved out of the same block, as shown in the sketch. These handles are about three inches in diameter, and measure each six inches in length. No doubt the difference in the thickness of the sides and end may be accounted for and explained by the presence of the handles, which, to be of any use as lifting agents, should be attached to timber somewhat solid. There is a hole in the end, by which the vessel could be drained when necessary. The material is of the kind usually described as ‘bog oak.’ It is impossible to say what the original length might have been—perhaps only one-half remains. It is a squared and hollowed block, measuring some fifteen feet in length.

“The second object to which I have referred is an unchallenged boat, eight feet in length, by one foot five and a half inches in breadth. The internal depth is seven and one-half inches; thickness of sides varying from one inch to one inch and three-quarters. The whole presents very much the appearance of an elongated bowl of a table-spoon. It differs from any specimen of its class figured in the Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy, not only in form, but also in the possession of one very remarkable peculiarity—viz., a number of holes, in sets of three, which have been

pierced through its floor at almost regular intervals. There are three sets of these holes, each of which may be described as measuring about an inch in diameter. They cross the boat in threes, at right angles with a line drawn through the middle, from end to end, and probably indicate the position of foot-boards. The material is oak. The discovery of this *cot*, or boat, evidently one of the oldest kind which had ever floated upon the waters of the 'Historic Erne,' has with it a shade of the romantic. The good screw steamer 'Knockninny,' the property of J. G. V. Porter, Esq., of Bellisle, was voyaging upon the lough, which, at the time, was in high flood; on ordinary occasions in summer, the ship's course would have been somewhat narrow and well defined, but, from the height of the water it was considered practicable to cross a certain 'bottom,'—in fact to make a short cut, by which much time in the passage might be saved. In the attempt the Knockninny grounded on a bank of alluvium and in doing so literally pressed her ancient sister into the light of day. The prize was at once secured, and is now carefully kept at Bellisle. One other antique object of wood, in the possession of Mr. Porter, is deserving of peculiar attention; and I hope, ere long, to see it figured in the pages of this 'Journal.' It is neither more nor less than the yoke of a Celtic car, or war-chariot of the age of our bronze celts, swords, &c. The so-called 'trumpet pattern' of the carving which it exhibits at once indicates the class of antiquities with which, in point of time, this most interesting remain should be associated."

The Rev. James Graves laid before the Meeting transcripts from three documents preserved in the Evidence Chamber at Kilkenny Castle. The first was an original letter from Owen Roe O'Neill to Col. Mathews, then Governor of Newry. It was written on a half-sheet of paper, by an amanuensis, signed in autograph by Owen Roe himself, and sealed with his signet.



Signet and Autograph of Owen Roe O'Neill.

The fac-simile of the signature given in the annexed cut showed that this celebrated leader's hand was more conversant with the sword than the pen. His seal, here also engraved, displayed the arms of O'Neill, and must be looked on as a valuable example of the heraldry of Irish families in the 17th century. The letter was as follows :—

" Worthy S^r,

" Yo^r I have receaved and doe make noe question but the reporte of our advanceinge soe neere vnto yo^r was welcome and gladsome

newes to yo^r. Theise gent^r had a view of as many of our Army as are heere, though they are not as yett come together, but they march after vs. and I doe believe within three daies they will come in a bodye. I can think of noe Course in the world whereby I could help yo^r with any of that supplies for the present, vntill the Creaghts will settle themselves some where, which I hope they will doe in their owne places soone, vntill then I beseech yo^r Excuse

Yo^r affectionate freinde &
Servant,

From o^r Camp
near Armagh,
this 20th of July,
1644."

OWEN O NEILL.

(Addressed)

"For Leftenant Colonell Edward
Mathews my very assured frend,
Gouernor of the Garison of Neury.
These."

The next document was a most curious one, being the key to the cipher used by Owen Roe O'Neill when corresponding with the Marquis of Ormonde, then commanding for the King in Ireland; it was without title or heading, but was endorsed "List of Owen Roes Sc.," which must mean "List of Owen Roe's Scipher":—

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| "Owen Roe | The marchand you know. |
| Colonell M ^c Guir | ye drouer. |
| Colonell Richard ffarrell | ye shepert. |
| Colonell ffrancis ffarrell | the scinner. |
| Vlster | Multifernan. |
| Sir Phelim Roe | torner [<i>or</i> borner]. |
| Phellip mac huigh o rely | ye woollseller. |
| Phillip m ^c Moolmore o rely | the tanner. |
| Moolmore o Rely | ye weaver. |
| Rodger Moore | ye shoemaker. |
| Lewis Moore | ye cottner. |
| Dillone | 3. |
| Datone | 4. |
| Nugente | 5. |
| Tuite | 6. |
| Your own self | 7. |
| S ^r Lucke fitzgarret | 8. |
| The Sherref | 9. |
| lord of West meathe | 10. |
| Countie of Cauan | in or of bridge-street. |
| Countie of Lonford | in or of Castle-street. |
| Countie of Westmeath | in or of Thomas-street. |
| Kilkeny | in or of Sheep-street. |
| Monster | in or of high-street. |
| horses | of sheepe. |
| of foot souldiers | of Spanis Iron. |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|---|--------------|
| a mile | . | . | . | . | long. |
| a 1000 | . | . | . | . | 20. |
| a 200 | . | . | . | . | 10. |
| Artillerie | . | . | . | . | good weight. |
| Powder | . | . | . | . | Mader. |
| well armed | . | . | . | . | good ware. |
| Ill armed | . | . | . | . | bad stuff. |
| Match | . | . | . | . | Startch. |
| food for Souldier | . | . | . | . | lofe sugar.' |

(Endorsed)

"List of Owen Roes Sc.
Ireland Army."

The third document was also in cipher, and was accompanied by a decipher, on a separate sheet of paper, which was found folded up in the former; on the outside fold was endorsed "The List, 1644":—

"A List of those y^t Profer their services to 104.

44. 54. 1. 50. 310. with three Regim^t consisting of 2000 men, all arm'd.
331 with a Regiment of 1000 men all arm'd.

65. 45. 18. 1. 66. 25. 45. 47. 65. 2. with a Regim^t of 1500 halfe-armed.

57. 30. 64. 34. 32. 1. 66. 11. 3. 121. 65. 46. 60. 22. 69. wth a Regim^t of
1000 all arm'd.

134. 24. 28. 74. 50. 41. 4. 78. with a Regim^t of 1000 all armed.

57. 31. 64. 31. 15. 25. 1. 60. 6. 33. 27. 28. 46. 50. a thousand all armed.

30. 16. 26. 4. 54. 26. 14. 11. 7. 46. 50. 3. 24. a thousand but 200 armed.

39. 77. 18. 40. 25. 16. 12. 37. 38. 1. 30. 40. 47. 11. 33. 65. 28. 1. 82.
1500 halfe armed.

79. 46. 66. 27. 14. 19. 40. 44. 13. 64. 32. 14. 50. a thousand halfe
armed.

Res'ves many more w^{ch} because unarmed I forbear to tell of.

I have seene the Engagement of some of the Principall in this List
sent me by 310 vnder their own hands."

(Decipher folded in the above.)

"A List of those y^t Profer their Servace to Antrim Earle.

Owen O Neale with three Regiments consisting of 3000 men, all armed.

Collonell Preston with a Regiment of 1000 men all armed.

Roger Moore with a Regiment of 1500 half armed.

S^r Pierce Crosby with one Regiment of 1000 all armed.

Collonell Plunkett with a Regiment of 1000 all armed.

S^r James Dillon a thousand all armed.

James MacDonell a thousand, but 200 armed.

Hugh Mac Pheih o cirle [? O Byrne, J. G.] 1500, halfe armed.

Torlogh o Corian [? O Brian, J. G.] a thousand halfe armed,
besides many men, &c.

Engagemen^t of some of the Principall sent by Daniel o Neile."

(Endorsed) "The List, 1644."

The following observations, kindly communicated to him by his friend J. P. Prendergast, Barrister-at-law, would serve, Mr. Graves said, to throw light on the three foregoing historical documents:—

“ The taking of Bristol, on 24th July, 1643, by Prince Rupert, was a period of triumph for the King and of terror for the Parliament. On 15th September, 1643, the King further alarmed the Parliament by concluding a cessation of arms with the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, as it was only preliminary to disengaging his army from service in Ireland, and bringing it to his aid in England. The Parliament thereupon passed an ordinance forbidding any quarter to be given to any soldiers of the King's Irish army taken prisoners of war; and they at the same time sent Sir Harry Vane to the Scots for help, which the Scots granted on condition of the Parliament's taking the Covenant (as they did on 25th September, 1643, and ordered it to be taken by all persons throughout the kingdom); and in January, 1644, their army passed the Tweed (for the second time), in frost and snow. This reinforcement of his enemies made the King extremely urgent with Ormonde to send him aids out of Ireland. Regiments of his standing army were sent by way of North Wales and Bristol. Some of the transports for the latter port being taken by Parliament ships, the soldiers were thrown overboard and drowned, pursuant to the ordinance for no quarter.

“ But, besides bringing his forces into England, the King had engaged the Marquis of Antrim to carry ten thousand men out of Ireland into Scotland, to aid Montrose. These troops Antrim expected to receive from the Confederate Catholics. The King was at one time very anxious that Ormonde should openly adopt the Confederates' offers of forces to him, to be under his (Ormonde's) command; but Ormonde would not consent to this; and, finally, it was thought better for the King's interest to keep the main body of the Confederate army in Ireland (as it kept the Scots, under Monro in Ulster, from returning to Scotland), and only sixteen hundred of Antrim's own followers embarked for Scotland, and joined the Marquis of Montrose, who, by this reinforcement, was enabled to take the field, and by the valour of these Irish troops to win a series of wonderful victories for two years together; thereby not only preventing the Covenanters from sending any further supplies of men into England, but obliging them to recall some of their forces thence to defend themselves at home.

“ The letter of Owen Roe O'Neil, and the List of Commanders and their Regiments that proffered their services to the Earl of Antrim, belong to the period of the negotiation when the Marquis of Antrim was about getting 10,000 men of the Confederate army to embark under his command for Scotland.

“ Daniel O'Neill was sent over by the King, in company with the Marquis of Antrim, to the Confederate Government at Kilkenny, to obtain these Irish forces for the King's service in Scotland. This is enough to explain the 'List of Owen Roe's Scipher' and the 'List of those y^t Profer their services to 104.' The following remarks will explain the circumstances and import of Owen Roe O'Neill's letter to Colonel Edmund (Edward

was a mistake of O'Neill's) Mathew. While these negotiations with the Confederate Catholics were pending, the Scots under Munro surprised Belfast. Their head-quarters were at Carrickfergus. Up to the 27th of April, Monro had the command only of the Scottish army, but on that day the Parliament gave him a commission, under their new Broad Seal, to command in chief all the English, as well as the Scotch forces in Ulster. The English officers, greatly troubled about what course they should take in these new circumstances, met to consider their position in Belfast, on Monday, the 13th of May. They met in the evening, and, adjourning their consultation to the next morning, had retired to their lodgings, when a soldier of Colonel Chichester's regiment, coming from Carrickfergus, brought advice that Monro had given orders for the garrison of that place—Colonel Hume's and other Scotch regiments—to be ready to march at two o'clock next morning to Belfast. The guards hereupon were strengthened, and every officer ordered upon duty. This being done, some horse were sent as scouts to make discoveries, who, returning about six in the morning, positively affirmed that they had been within three miles of Carrickfergus, and that the whole country was clear, without a man to be seen.

"Upon this advice the guards were all discharged, except the ordinary watch, and the officers, who had been all night upon duty, retired to their rest. About an hour after Monro was descried within half a mile of the town, advancing with great speed towards one of the gates, which (before the drum could beat and the garrison be drawn together to make opposition) was opened to him by a sergeant of Captain Mac Adam's and the soldiers of the guard; so thus he marched orderly through the place till he came to the opposite or south gate leading to Lisnagarvey, and then directed his men, in several parties, to possess themselves of the bulwarks, cannon, and guards.¹

"The garrison was, in fact, betrayed, the scouts having been bought over by Monro.

"The following letter belongs to this stage of the transactions:—

(THE CONFEDERATE SUPREME COUNCIL TO ORMONDE.)

" ' May 30, 1644.

" ' MY LORD,—I write by command of those who have observed your zeal to H. M.'s service, and your endeavours to preserve the kingdom since you were intrusted with the Government of it. . . . After notice received from your Lordship that Belfast had been surprised by the Scots, they gave order for the drawing their army into the field—the vanguard consisting of 2,000 foote and 200 horse—to Granard, the 12th of June, and the rest, being 4,000 foot and 400 horse, to the same place, the 1st of July next. The list of the officers is sent, to the end your Lordship (falling into consideration of the forces you are able to bring into the field) may forecast what may be expected to be performed in this summer's service, and what accommodation the army may be supplied with, either in their march, or during the service in the North.

¹ Carte's "Life of James Duke of Ormonde," folio, vol. i. p. 494.

‘ Dr. Fennell, Mr. John Walsh, or Mr. Edward Commerford will be sent to confer personally with his Excellency.

(Signed)

‘ R. BELLING.

‘ *Kilkennoe, this 30th May, 1644.*

‘ For His Excellency the Marquis of Ormonde.’¹

“ Monro, having thus surprised Belfast, took the field soon after, at the head of the Scotch and English forces, and rendezvoused at Armagh on June 30th.

“ The Confederates set out, 6,000 foot and 1,000 horse, under the Earl of Castlehaven, who was to be joined by Owen O'Neill, with 4,000 foot and 400 horse, to oppose the Scots. They did not think the Old Scots, or the English, who were subject to the Lord Lieutenant, would march against them, in breach of the Cessation, which O'Neill had observed so religiously that when some of the garrison of Enniskillen made him an offer to betray the place he would not embrace it, though great prey had been taken from the Irish by that garrison. But these forces joining Monro, he made up the strongest army that had been seen in Ireland during the war, amounting to at least 10,000 foot and 1,000 horse. It was unfit, however, for any great undertaking, not being furnished with above three weeks' victuals. Monro advanced well into the county Cavan, from whence he sent parties into Westmeath and Longford, which burnt the country, and put to the sword all the country-people that they met. Lord Castlehaven posted himself at Portlester, and Monro, not being able to drive him thence, thought fit to return with his forces.² In his way home he passed by Dundalk, and, depending upon a party within the place, desired leave to pass through it with his army, but was refused passage. The next day (July 12th) he marched to Newry. Colonel Edmund Mathew, to whom General Owen Roe O'Neill's letter is addressed, was commander of the garrison. He had marched thither on the surprisal of Belfast by Monro, to keep it secure for the King. He was a most gallant officer. His name appears in the ‘ List of the Army of Ten Thousand Men,’ under the command of the Earl of Ormonde, as Lord General, raised by the Earl of Strafford's order, for the invasion of Scotland, in April, 1640, as commanding a company in Sir W. St. Leger's Regiment. It appears thus in the ‘ Army List’ :—

“ ‘ Lord President of Mounster's Regiment to be raised in Mounster. His Cullours, Watchett and White. Lord President of Mounster, Coronell. Captain Philip Weynman, Lieut.-Coronell. Captain Pigott, Sergeant-Major. Sir John Brown, Captain Edmund Mathew, &c., Captains.’³

“ He was probably brother of George Mathew, who married Lady Thurles, Ormonde's mother. It was not flattery of Ormonde, but Major Matthew's real merits, that induced Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Arthur Hill, and

¹ “ Carte Papers,” vol. xi. p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, p. 495.

³ A List of the Officers of the Army. For my Lord of Ormonde. Aprill the

23^d, 1640. (Signed) Richard Fanshaw, Secretary of the Council of War, and to be found given in full in the “ Carte Papers,” vol. i. p. 113.

George Blount to address the following letter to the Commander-in-Chief at the opening of the war:—

“ ‘ Carrickfergus, 4 March, 1641.

“ ‘ RIGHT HONOURABLE,

‘ Your Lop. will understand by our former letter that Mr. Hill was directed by us to raise 500 horse, and to make choice of his officers. Whereupon he nominated Captain Mathew for Sergeant-Major of that regiment, whose choice was so well approved that we gave him commission for that employment, and in that, we conceive, we have done him no more than he deserves. If our regiments here stand, we beseech your Lordship to send him immediately back again. If not, we humbly supplicate your Lordship to take him into your care.

‘ You knew the gentleman before these troubles began; but, my Lord, you know him not now so well as we do. We tell your Lordship nothing but truth. His carriage here, both in his command of the garrison at Belfast and in his charge of horse, hath been such that it deserves much our commendation, if it were not to your Lordships, who we know, he is so well known unto. But, my Lord, if by your means he may receive employment here worthy of himself, we humbly beseech your Lordship to send him back unto us; for a more knowing man of this enemy and of this country will hardly be sent in his place. All which, leaving to your Lordship’s more wise and grave consideration, we humbly take our leave.

‘ Your Lordship’s

‘ Most humble servants,

‘ ARTHUR CHICHESTER.

‘ ARTHUR HILL.

‘ GEORGE BLOUNT.’¹

“ The following is a good proof of Colonel Mathew’s coolness and courage:—

(LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDMUND MATHEW TO ORMONDE.)²

“ ‘ Newry, July 14, 1644.

“ ‘ MOST HONORABLE,—This last Friday I had intelligence of the Scotts’ marching towards this town, who had lain the night before at Dundalk, and behaved themselves very civilly towards that garrison, not attempting anything to the prejudice of that place, as I was informed by the fore troopes of Lisnagarvey, who had the van that day. But when the General Major came up with the rest of the army, he drew up on a hill before the town, little more than musket shot. Afterwards he came down himself, my Lord Montgomery, Major Rawdon, and other gentlemen towards this town, who when I saw I commanded the gates to be opened, coming as I conceived in a peaceable manner. And meeting him at the parade where our men were drawn up, he demanded passage to march through the town. I replied and told him there was a highway road by the town which was as convenient as the town; upon which he, in a great rage, demanded of me whether I durst deny him way through his own garrison, attempting to lay his hand to his pistol, and riding up to the musketeers with his cane, in a great fury, commanding them off their duties. But presently I gave order to cock their matches and present. Captain Parkins, being at the

¹ Addressed “To the R^t Honourable and very good Lord The Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty’s Army within this Kingdom of Ire-

land, and one of His Majesty’s Most Honourable Privy Council.”—“Carte Papers,” vol. ii., p. 236.

² *Ibid*, vol. xi. p. 263.

head of a party, drew his sword and gave order to fire. My gentleman was assuaged and very calm, desiring leave to march with his artillery through the town, by reason the waters were so high they could not pass over. Presently I commanded the men to return their matches, and answered him that I had warning sufficient of Belfast; neither would I suffer either artillery or anything else to come within the gates as long as I was able to defend myself. He still pressed the garrison to belong to himself, being within the province of Ulster. But I told him I was not placed nor had it by him, neither ought I to give account to any but your excellency. And for the affront he so directly offered me in my command I would not be so rash as he, but would give him liberty to go out as freely as he came in. Then calling for some beer drank two or three cups with him, and gave orders to open the gates. Within an hour after he sent a drum and a sergeant to me with this message, wishing me and the rest of our officers to advise by the next morning whether his men might be suffered to march through the town. But to be short, I told the messenger that I would not vary from the answer the General-Major had himself received of me. "Then," saith he, "you must hear the other part of my Lord's will," which was that if we would not give him way he would force his own way, and therefore bade us be upon our guard. Whereupon, having four colours, I caused them to be stuck upon the top of the Castle, the church, our main guard, and those places that we thought to defend, and manned the walls the best we could, being both officers and soldiers all of one mind. Afterwards he sent Sir James Montgomery, my Lord Blayney, and other English officers to persuade me to give way for him to come through the town, who courted me as if he had been to have wooed his mistress. I told him it was to no purpose, for we were resolved to lose our lives rather than hazard such an affront as was formerly given at Belfast. All that night we were upon our guard, and expected the next morning an assault. About eight o'clock they marched with their bag and baggage through the river, within carabine shot of our trench; went very peaceably away, but threatened within a fortnight to bring artillery should fetch down our colours off our castles. This hath been the passage between us, some part whereof his bearer, Mr. Brackenbury, was an eye-witness and can testify to your Lordship.

'Your Excellency,

'Most obedient and faithful servant,

'ED. MATHEW.'

"It was within the same week as this attempt of Monro's upon Newry that Owen Roe O'Neill addressed his letter to Colonel Edmund Mathew, at a time when such help as the Irish General had to offer must have been very acceptable to a commander expecting the return of his formidable enemy. These remarks are already too long. Suffice it therefore to say that soon after (A. D. 1645) the gallant Colonel Mathew succumbed, not to Monro and the Scots, but to death, brought on by his constant fatigues in strengthening Newry and his out garrisons of Greencastle and Carlingford, and in building blockhouses on the rocks in the mouth of Carlingford Bay against the ships of the Parliament."

The following papers were contributed:—

ANCIENT LAKE-LEGENDS OF IRELAND.—NO. II.

THE VISION OF CATHAIR MOR, KING OF LEINSTER, AND
AFTERWARDS MONARCH OF IRELAND, FOREBODING THE
ORIGIN OF LOCH GARMAN (WEXFORD HAVEN).

THE PROSE FROM THE BOOK OF LECAN (FOL. 234, COL. C, ET SEQQ.) A MANUSCRIPT OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, AND THE POEM FROM THE BOOK OF LEINSTER, CLASS H. 2, 18: (FOL. 155, ET SEQQ.), A MANUSCRIPT OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY J. O'BEIRNE CROWE, A.B.

THE following Romance from the *Dind-senchas* is now printed for the first time. The subject is this :—

During the Feast of Temair (Tara), in the reign of Cathair Mor—A. D. 120–123—while the royal palace resounded with mirth and revelry, a certain gentleman, named Garman Garb, stole in stealthily, and carried away the queen's diadem. The thief was pursued by Cathair and his guards, who overtook him at the fountain *Cael-rind*, and drowned him there. To mark the dissatisfaction of Providence at this gross violation of the laws of hospitality and order, the fountain, while Garman was being plunged into it, burst forth and covered the adjoining shores with its waters. This supernatural event was fore-shown in a vision to Cathair Mor, who beheld in his sleep a beautiful "daughter," who was pregnant, and had been in that condition for eight hundred years. He then saw the daughter give birth to a mighty son. This son, immediately on seeing the light, begins to contend against his mother, who, in order to escape him, was obliged to rush right through his centre. These are the leading points in the vision.

Cathair's druid, Bri mac Baircheda, was ordered at once into the royal presence to explain this extraordinary vision. "I shall explain it for you, O fierce king," says the druid, "if I am well rewarded." He then declares "the daughter" to be the River Slane, which would give birth to Loch Garman, who would be the mighty son. But as the

whole matter is so plainly set forth in the text and translation, it is unnecessary to dwell any longer on this point. The vision portion of the poem is very pretty. I should very much like to have a little room for embellishment, but I must sacrifice everything for a literal translation.

It is a pity we cannot get this *Dind-senchas* translated and published *in extenso*. In it the philologer may find thousands of proper names of persons and places, on which to exercise his theories of word-building: in it the antiquary may find authorities for certain theories on life and death in ancient Ireland: in it the historian may find records of actual events unregistered elsewhere: while to the Irish topographer an acquaintance with it is absolutely necessary. For my part I have done my best hitherto for my poor old Celtic, and, if heaven spares me, I shall do more.

Of the present tract I have before me three copies—those of the Books of Leinster, Lecan, and Balymote. These three copies vary considerably in language, but in substance are the same. It would not suit our “Journal” to give each of these three copies, nor is it necessary: I shall, however, in cases of obscurity, avail myself of the aid of one to throw light on the other. My reason for giving the prose from the Book of Lecan rather than from the Book of Leinster is, because the former is by much the fuller: and my reason for setting aside the poem from the Book of Lecan in favour of that from the Book of Leinster is, because the language of the latter is by much the better.

Loch Garman canur pohainmniged? Ní annre. Garman Glar mac Deadaig roadnocht and, 7 in can poclar a fearc ar ann pomeabaid in loch so thir, unde loch Garman dicitur: 7 cuir erat frater Dea mac Deadaig, a quo Inber Dea a crích Chualand.

Ailiter: Loch Garman .i. Garman Garb, mac boma leici, pobainead and la Cathair Mor a tibráio Chael-panda, ar ba he a ched ainm, 7 ir and pomebaid in loch. Feir Tempach don dogmichi la Cathair ar Samain, atpi riam 7 atpi iarum, cen gaid 7 can guin duine 7 can eibbuid 7 gan athgabail 7 can ecpaid 7 can aithead: conaid and ropall Garman mindon oir mna Cathair iarum bith dont [r] luag for merce. Murlai Garman le mindon oir 7 muinte Chathair friir, copucrao air ac Tibráio

¹ Loch Garman: Now Wexford Haven. Several of the Irish bays are called *lochs*, either from the notion, or the actual fact, that these *lochs* were originally fresh-water lakes unconnected with the sea; and I believe that in regard to some of them, at least, there is geological evidence that such has been the case. In one of the most ancient Irish tales now remaining—"The Destruction of Brudin da Derga"—Mac Cecht, the monarch Conaire's messenger, is recorded to have tried all the chief waters in Ireland, rivers and lakes, for a drink for his master, and among the lakes is mentioned *Loch Foyle*. From this record it will be seen that the writer of this tale believed Loch Foyle to have been a fresh-water lake in the first century.

² Inber Dea: This is the mouth of the Vartry Water, the "Ostium Dea" of the Book of Armagh, in Hi Garrehon in Wicklow, famous for the first landing-place of St. Patric in Ireland. For the extent of Crích Cualand see O'Donovan's "Book of Rights," p. 13, note. But though O'Donovan is severe upon modern Irish writers with regard to "the situation and extent of this territory," he has himself forgotten a verse in the Book of Leinster, which places Ath Cliath (Dublin) in Crích Cualand. The verse is:

"O Ath Cliath in hEret uill
Cor in At Cliath i Cualand.

"From Ath Cliath in great Eret
To the Ath Cliath in Cualu."

This Ath Cliath in Eret is the present Claregalway in the county of Galway, and the Ath Claith in Cualu is Dublin.

³ Cael-rind: That is, "Narrow-point:" Dopt Chael-penda, "The Harbour of Narrow-point" was the name of Wexford in the time of the Fir Bolg (quatrain xi.), and, as stated here, its *first name*. It was afterwards called "Garman" and "Carman," and became celebrated as the place where the Kings of Leinster held their games and assemblies. The bay of Cael-rind was called Ramand: see the quatrain referred to where the *rationale* of the name is given.

⁴ Ar Samain: That is every year, not every third year, as corruptly given in the text of the poem (quat. xiii.). The expression cao tper bliadna is not good Irish, for the genitive bliadna being feminine, requires caoa (not cao) the feminine form of the gen. to agree with it. But if we read caoa, the metre is violated, as the half-line would then have a syllable too many. Again, we cannot read bliadain, the *accusative* of time, because bliadain and ríagla, next halfline, would

Loch Garman¹—whence has it been named? Not difficult. Garman the Grey, son of Dedach, was buried there, and, when his grave was dug, it is then the lake burst forth along the country: whence it is called Loch Garman: and his brother was Dea, son of Dedach, from whom [is named] Inber Dea² in Crich Cualand.

Otherwise: Loch Garman, that is, Garman the Rough, son of Boma Leici, was drowned there by Cathair Mor, in the Spring of Cael-rind,³ for it was its first name, and it is then the lake burst forth. The feast of Temair also used to be made by Cathair, at Samain,⁴ three days before it and three days after it, without stealing, and without wounding of a person, and without persecution, and without distress, and without enmity, and without revenge; so that it is then Garman stole the diadem⁵ of gold of the wife of Cathair, after the assembly had been drunk. Garman goes off with the diadem of gold, and Cathair's people

not agree in rhyme. Doctor Keating, as transcribed and translated by Haliday, and quoted by Dr. Petrie in his "Antiquities of Tara," p. 31, reads *gach tpeap bliadain*, "every third year;" and in the next half-line *riagail*, but this last form is wrong. In Zeuss's "Gramm. Celtica" *riagol* is a feminine *a*-stem, and accordingly makes the gen. plural *riagal*, which would not rhyme with either *bliadna* or *bliadain*: in the later language the word is declined as a fem. *i*-stem, and thus properly makes the gen. plural *riagla*, as in the quatrain. But again, we might take *riagla* as a gen. singular, which would be quite classical, though as *cepc* is certainly gen. plural, it is better to assume the *i*-declension. In order, then, to remove linguistic corruption, to reconcile the poem with the prose, and to restore true Irish history, read as I have given—*Peir Tempa caea bliadna*—"The Feast of Temair every year." That this is the true reading can be proved from the most ancient authority on the subject now remaining. In the tract called "The Conception of Aed Slane," in *Lebor na hUidre*, the writer says: *bá coicéenn dan do pēpaib hēpenb tīactam ar ceó áipb co Tempaiz do óatim Peppī Tempaó ar ceó Samain: an bá hīac dá cómtinól*

aipegda nóbtír oc pēpaib hēpenb .i. per Tempa caea Samna (an bá hī rīde Cairc nan Dente), ocur óenaó Taiten ceó Lúgnaraib. Ceó pmaect, immopo, ocur ceó pecc nooptaiztea ó pēpaib hēpenb in neócar díb rin, ní laimtea a rapugub co tīreb áizi na bliadna rin.—"It was common also for the men of Eriu to come from every quarter to Temair (Tara) to partake of the Feast of Temair at every Samain (1st Nov.): for the two principal assemblies with the men of Eriu used to be, namely, the Feast of Temair (for that was the pasch of the gentiles), and the assembly of Taitiu every Lúgnasad (1st August). Now, every condition and every law that used to be ordained by the men of Eriu in either of these—the violation of them used not be dared until the end of that year would come."

I have thought it of importance to discuss this question, the more especially that while some few have held that the Temair assemblies were septennial (O'Donovan, "Book of Rights," p. 7), but the great majority that they were triennial (Petrie, "Tara Hill," p. 31; Todd, "St. Patrick," p. 416), not a single investigator, save myself, has spoken of annual meetings: and yet that these meetings were annual is perfectly certain.

⁵ *Mind óip*: This was one of those

Chael-panda, conaid aca batad 7 pomebaid in loch ;
unde Loch Garman.

O Slane macc Dela, o ri Fepm bolc ainmnigtheap
an abann .i. Sláine 7 Inber Sláine. In a aimpín maíom
in lacha, amail arberap a rí Chathair. Feacht a
torach a betad do Chathair in a chotlad co fáca
rí .i. ingen brúdaí con deilb caim 7 cach [bat] in a
tímtaich, 7 rí torrach. d.ccc. bliaduín hí amlaí, co
rothae gen meicc, ba tperi oíola mathair. In laithí
porucaí, cupid gliaí, 7 ní fuair in mathair inud dí a
ingabail acht tiacht tpe lap in meicc. Cnoc aibaind
or cach da chind díblinaib, ardaí cach tulach, co pluagaib
ann. Bíle eopocht amail or ír in cnoc co pinead co nel-
laib ar airdí. Cach ceol in a díllib : bpecdaí a
tairthí in talman nambeanad gaeth. Roga toraí do
cach oen.

Murðurce lapodain. Conacapt a dpaí, bpi macc
baircheada, in adochum 7 adpeta do. “Eriugfeap rín
leam-ra” bar in dpaí. “Ír hí in ingen an abaind dianad
ainm Slane, 7 ír iad na dáta in a edgud aer cáca dana
canmunur focla 7 airdí. Ír he in briugu ba hathair
do’n ingin .i. Talam tpiar ta cet cach ceneoil. Ír he in
macc bae ’n a bpoind d.ccc. bliadain loch genfeap a
rputhair na Slane, 7 ír ad lind-pea genfeap. Tperi in
macc oídar in mathair. An la genfer an loch baithpí
an abann uile. Sloig imda imda ann : cach ’c a hol-rí
7 ’c a ol-pom. Ír e in cnoc mor or a chind do nept-ro
or cach. Ír he in bile con dath ’n oir con a tairthib
turu or banba con a flathur. Ír he ceol baí im bar-

gold *minds* worn on the front of the
heads of kings and queens and other dis-
tinguished persons. Several specimens of
these are preserved in the Museum of the
Royal Irish Academy. Comp. Skrt. *manda*,
“a circle, an ornament.”

⁶ Slane macc Dela : This name is fre-
quently but incorrectly written “Slainge.”
The word means “fulness,” being a deri-
vative from *plan*, *full*, *complete*. To this
reference is made in quatrain ix.

⁷ In a aimpín : That is in the time of

Cathair, who was in the writer’s mind, not
in the time of Slane. In the Book of Bally-
mote we have in full in aimpín Chathair.

⁸ Rí : In MS. rí, but in Book of Bally-
mote correctly rí.

⁹ Briugu : A *briugu* was what might
be termed a royal farmer, who was, on
certain conditions, obliged to supply refec-
tion to the king and his retinue, as well as
to others, on their journeys, &c. The
bracketed bat in this sentence is expressed
in Book of Balymote.

at him, until they caught him at the Spring of Caelrind, so that it is at it he was drowned, and the lake burst forth : whence Loch Garman.

From Slane,⁶ son of Dela, from the king of the Fir Bolg, the river is named, that is Slaine and Inber Slane. In his time⁷ was the bursting forth of the lake, as is said in the Vision⁸ of Cathair. On one occasion, in early life, as Cathair was asleep, he saw a vision, namely, the daughter of a *briugu*,⁹ with a beauteous form, and every colour in her dress, and she pregnant. Eight hundred years¹⁰ was she thus, until she brought forth a male child, who was stronger than his mother. The day he was born they contend in fight, and the mother found not a place for the avoiding of him save going through the centre of the son. A lovely hill above the pair of heads on both sides, higher than every hill, with hosts in it. A shining tree like gold in the hill, so that it would reach to the clouds in height. Every music in its leaves ; its fruits used to speckle the earth when the wind would strike it. A choice of fruit for each one.

He awakes at this. He called his Druid, Bri, son of Bairched, to him, and he declared it to him. "That will be explained by me," says the Druid. "The daughter is the river named Slane (Slaney), and the colours in her dress are the professors of every science who distinguish divisions and proprieties. The *briugu* who was father to the daughter is, namely, Earth, through which are a hundred of every kind. The son, who was in her womb eight hundred years, is a lake which will be born from the stream of the Slane, and it is as thy flood¹¹ it will be born. Stronger the son than the mother. The day the lake will be born, it will drown the whole river. Numerous, numerous hosts in it: every one to her (the river's) winding,¹² every one to his (the

¹⁰ O. ccc. bliadain : This may be taken as the author's idea of the period from the landing of the Fir Bolg to the time of Cathair Mor.

¹¹ 7 17 ad lind-riu genpear : This is somewhat obscure, but on comparing it with the poem, as well as with the Book of Balymote, I think the translation given is correct. The poem, quat. xliii., says: 7 17 c' lind-riu lepar—"And for thy flood it will spread:" the Book of Balymote reads—7 17 lind-riu mupluidpe—

"and in thy flood it will go." But again, the words of the poem might mean—"and against thy flood it will spread." The flood would be the River Slane, on which the lake would encroach ; and, after all, I am inclined to think this the true meaning of the text of the poem.

¹² Caó c'a hol-ri 7 c'a hol-pom : This is somewhat obscure too, but on comparing it with the poem (quat. xliv.) it becomes somewhat plainer. The poem reads: Caó co á ol-ri dap a hóp: "Every one to

raib in bile τ' uplabra-ru a[c] coma γ a[c] coicep
breatha ḡaeidel. Ir i in ḡaéth epapepar in topad
henech-ro ppi fogail pet γ maine." γ pochoimle ḡpu
macc ḡaircheada breath na [p]i rin amail arber
[quidam] :—

Eocha Eolac cecimτ.

I.

Rí nal loch in loc-ra thepp,
Loc ḡarman nan ḡlan-eicep:
Cuan craibac, letan nal long,
Oenac nan etarn etrom.

II.

Inad ir puibler do ríḡ,
I compaic muir ir mór-ethí:
Dún iarn dicur idal ar,
Suairc porlad a pencar.

III.

Cia doib popo turciu tpeil,
larpaischir d' eolcaib hErend—
Loc na pluag pi a Chadall cair,
No ind aband uar ponirais?

IV.

Imchian etoppu moalle,
Ma diapegzar pippine,
O maidm na haband cen ail
Co maidm in loca lind-glain.

her winding over her border." The daughter was the River Slane, which was now spreading over its border on account of the lake's encroachment; the son was the lake, which was also going over its own border.

¹⁸ Eocha Eolach (the Learned), the author of this poem, was thought by O'Reilly, in his "Irish Writers," to have been Eochaid O'Flynn, who died 984; but this is a mistake, as Eocha Eolach O'Ceirin is a well-known Irish writer, who flourished

(lake's) winding. The great hill above his head is thy power over all. The tree with the colour of the gold is thou over Banba, with its sovereignty. The melody which was in the tops of the tree is thy eloquence, guarding and correcting the judgments of the Gaedil." And Bru, son of Bairched, ruminated the judgment of that vision, as [some one] said :—

Eocha Eolach sang.¹³

I.

King of the lakes this lake to the south,
Loch Garman of the bright poets :
Branching, broad haven of the ships,
Assembly-plain of the light boats.

II.

A place which is proper to a king,
Where sea and great land meet :
A *dun* after the expulsion of idols from it—
Pleasant has been sown its history.

III.

Which of them had the earlier start ?
It is asked of the learned of Eriu—
The lake of the hosts, for frequenting it in the east,
Or¹⁴ the cold river which has reached it.

IV.

A very long time between them together—
If truth is discerned—
From the bursting forth of the river without stain
Till the bursting forth of the flood-bright lake.

about the 12th century. See Index to O'Curry's "Catalogues of the Royal Irish Academy Manuscripts," at the name "Eocha Eolach."

¹⁴ No mb aband uap noninpaig : The

manuscript reads mbu, which gives a syllable too many for the half-line. Both the Book of Lecan and Book of Balymote read no, which I have substituted for mbu.

V.

Ind abano aetact ar túr,
 Amm eolaic in an imthúr,
 Ní rabí in loc mór-glan, mall,
 Co cian dapeir na habano.

VI.

Fri pé Cathair na cat rúaid
 Maidm loca Garman glan-uair:
 Fri pé ferm bolg cen bane
 Maidm runna na ren-Slane.

VII.

Tri fodla for fepaib bolg,
 Cio an imluad ní hanono:
 Gabrat hEirind iarn eoaib
 Co tren a tri hinberaib.

VIII.

Oen trian dib airmidm and
 In Inbui domneic Domnand:
 In dapa trian cen gaeirre
 In Inbui dian Dub-glairre.

IX.

In tper trian canic ille
 Co hInber pluagac Slane,
 Im Slane cen gairm bad gand,
 O fail airm [in]na habano.

¹⁵ Iapn eoaib: That is, in different places, the first third at Inber Slane, the second third at Inber Domnand, and the remaining third at Tracht Ruadraide. The word éo means *space* of either time or place, and here the former may be the idea, as the first third landed on a Saturday, at Inber Slane, the second third on Tuesday following, at Inber Dom-

nand, and the remaining third on the next Friday, at Tracht Ruadraide. See Keating's "History of Ireland." As, however, the expression, "from three river-mouths," occurs next line, local space is the more probable idea.

¹⁶ Inber Domnand—Inber Dub-glairre: The former was the ancient name of Malahide, north of Dublin; the

V.

The river started up first—
 I am learned in their history—
 The great bright, gentle king-lake existed not
 Till long after the river.

VI.

In the time of Cathair of the red battles
 The bursting forth of the bright, cold Loch
 Garman :
 In the time of the Fir Bolg without paleness
 The bursting forth here of old Slane.

VII.

Three divisions on the Fir Bolg
 Though their movement is not a disorder :
 They took Eriu, according to spaces,¹⁵
 Strongly from three river-mouths.

VIII.

One third of them are recorded there,
 In populous Inber Domnand :¹⁶
 The second third without attacks,
 In swift Inber Dub-glaisse.

IX.

The third third that came hither
 To hostful Inber Slane,
 Around Slane without a title which was narrow,
 From whom is the name of the river.

latter is unknown to me. In the "Leabhar Gabhala" of the O'Clerys, as here, "Inber Dub-glaisse" is given, but in the corresponding passage in Keating we have "Tracht Ruadraide," which is probably *Dundrum*, in the county of Down, as Loch Ruadraide is the Bay of Dundrum. According to O'Donovan ("Banquet of Dun

nan Ged," p. 35, note), the strand at the mouth of the Erne, near Balyshannon, in the county of Donegal, was called Traig Ruadraide, and as Keating has Irrus Domnan as well as Inber Domnan, it may be that the three landing-places intended are—Wexford, Traig Ruadraide near Balyshannon, and Inber Domnan in Mayo.

X.

Ír ed tancatar i tír—
 Longe fepm bolgm briatar-mín—
 Go port Cael-penna, na ceil,
 Uair ba hé a ainm ind uair rin.

XI.

Ír and tancatar na plóig,
 I port Cael-penna in comóil,
 O na ramuib pucrat and,
 Ír uad ratir Ramand.

XII.

Senchar anma in Loca láin,
 Oí a tucam a tuararcbáil,
 Rí a aineir cío mór in mod,
 Ír é a maic a minigod.

XIII.

Feir Tempa caça bliadna,
 Oo comoll peic ir riagla,
 Dogníchi in tan rin co tend
 Ic rígaib allib hEpend.

XIV.

Doringni Cathair clemnac
 Feirr raçaéim na ríç-Tempac;
 Tancatar moan feirr, feirr de,
 Fir hEpend co hoen-baile.

XV.

Tri laa ria Samain, búan bér,
 Tri laa 'n a diaid, ba dag-bér,
 O'in plúag riar ba dimór daiç,
 Oc rír-ól fri[r in] pechtmain.

¹⁷ Ír é a maic a minigod: Literally—
 "Its good is the explaining of it."

¹⁸ Caça bliadna: See note 4, *supra*. This

quatrain and those down to xvii. inclusive
 are quoted from Haliday's Keating by Dr.
 Petrie, in his "Tara Hill." My translations

X.

It is where they came to land—
 The fleet of the Fir Bolg of smooth words—
 To Port Coel-renna, do not conceal,
 For it was its name that time.

XI.

It is where the hosts came
 To Port Coal-renna of the co-drinking :
 From the oars which they brought there—
 It is from it Ramand is named.

XII.

The history of the name of the full lake,
 Its information if we should understand,
 Before declaring it, though great the deed,
 It is well to explain it.¹⁷

XIII.

The Feast of Temair, every year,¹⁸
 For fulfilment of laws and rules,
 Used to be made that time strongly
 By the splendid Kings of Eriu.

XIV.

Cathair of the sons-in-law made
 The very beauteous feast of royal Temair :
 They came around the feast, the better of it,
 The men of Eriu to one place.

XV.

Three days before Samain, a perpetual custom;
 Three days after it, it was a good custom,
 For the host, before whom the fire was very large,
 At continual drinking throughout the week.

and text differ slightly from those of Hali-
 day. Dr. Keating ascribed the poem to

Eochaid O'Flynn, but incorrectly, as we
 have seen.

XVI.

Cen gait [ir] cen guin duine
 Occu ind ainet-rann uile :
 Cen imberen airm na halud,
 Cen ecraice d' imradud.

XVII.

Cipé do[ɣ]neth ní dibrem,
 ba bíoba troch co trom-néim :
 Ní gebta ór arand úad,
 Ait a anam ffrí hoen-uair.

XVIII.

Robae tren-fer 'r in taig tall
 For cup catha, ní celam,
 Garman, mac bomma Licce,
 Do íluas berba barr-bricce.

XIX.

Dia tarla do 'r in tig ée,
 Diam bae in mor-íluas ar merce,
 Mind óir na rígha dogait—
 Ní r'bu gním coir do caitait.

XX.

Elaib immaic pa mindh óir
 Ota Themraig in trom-íloig,
 Co ruact Inber Slane peng,
 In airtur bercept hErenn.

XXI.

Tecait a tuaid 'n a degaid
 Munter Cathair corp-beraig,
 Nafairtet 'c on ciprait tall,
 Robae in inbair na haband.

XXII.

Tan rogabrae Garman garɣ
 Maidid in cipra tren-and,

XVI.

Withoutstealing,[and]withoutwoundingofaperson,
By them during all that time;
Without playing of arms, or of plundering,
Without meditating enmity.

XVII.

Whoever would do aught of these things
Was a wretched culprit, with heavy venom;
Gold would not be taken as an equivalent from him,
But his soul at once.

XVIII.

There was a champion in the house beyond
For fighting of battles, we do not conceal,
Garman, son of Bomma Licce,
Of the host of surface-speckled Berba.

XIX.

As he happened into the warm house,
When the great assembly was inebriated,
The golden diadem of the queen he stole—
It was not a fit deed for a friend.

XX.

He steals out with diadem of gold,
From Temair of the heavy host,
Until he reached the slender Inber Slane,
In the east of the south of Eriu.

XXI.

There go from the north after him
The people of Cathair of the bending spear;
They meet him at the spring beyond,
Which was in the mouth of the river.

XXII.

When they caught fierce Garman,
The spring bursts forth strong-high,

Otá cappaic co muir mar—
O p̄ain iṛ loć lećan-glapp.

XXIII.

báttir Ḥarman 'r in loć lán,
Na heolais oc a imrad :
Cuan na r̄cen iṛ na r̄ciat̄n glan,
Iṛ uad polen Loć Ḥarman.

XXIV

Iṛ e rin r̄enćar ceṛt, cóir
Ino laća roglaín, romóir,
Iṛ na haband—æbda hi—
Ic an anand cać haro-rí. R.

XXV.

Fećt robai Cathair ciall-glan
I corpuć buan a bećad,
Cotarṛar do r̄írr, roferṛ,
Tuc r̄lúas h Eṛenn in ar̄o-ćer.

XXVI.

Ingen briugad cet̄aić, caem,
Con deilb luchair co lán-áer,
Do t̄ocbail c̄ind, ni r̄'bu c̄ol,
Do 'n c̄uraid [i]n a c̄otlod.

XXVII.

Cać dat̄ caem at̄ci duine—
Do gur̄m, do bricc, do buide,
Iṛ do c̄orcar—ba caem rin—
'N á et̄gud moan ingein.

XXVIII.

Amlaid robúi in ben bán,
Torpach iṛ a brú b̄ich-lán,

¹⁹ The capital R at the end of this quatrain is the initial of Rí, the first word of the poem, and is given here to show that

this part of the poem is completed. In my translation I wrote K, to show that it begins with the word "King." At the end

From its rock to beautiful sea—
From that time it is a broad, grey lake.

XXIII.

Garman is drowned in the full lake—
The learned [are] recording it :
The haven of the swords and of the bright shields,
It is from him Loch Garman has followed.

XXIV.

That is the right, just history
Of the very bright, very large lake,
And of the river—lovely is it—
At which stays every chief-king.¹⁹ K.

XXV.

Once as sense-bright Cathair was
In the good beginning of his life,
A vision appeared to him, it is known,
Which brought the host of Erin into high sadness.

XXVI.

The fair daughter of a hundreded *briugu*,
With a bright figure, with full age,
Raising her head, it was no violation,
To the hero in his sleep.

XXVII.

Every beauteous colour that a person sees,
Of blue, of speckled, of yellow,
And of purple—beauteous was that—
In her dress about the daughter.

XXVIII.

It is how the white woman was,
Pregnant, and her womb ever-full,

of the Vision, last quatrain but one, the same letter is given. The last quatrain

itself is no part of the poem, but an addition by a later hand.

Co cend oét cétm bliadainm bil,
Cio ingnad fpi a inniſin.

XXIX.

Co puc macc, ba maith a mèt,
Rocuir mór laeé il luaé-éc :
In lá pucad—ba raeb pain—
Tpeppiu in macc inda a maéair.

XXX.

Triallaid in maéair of mnaib
Teét uad ar ingabail :
Ni fuair conair, curit gleicc,
Aét tria medón a mor-méicc.

XXXI.

Cnocc óebind of a cind cáém,
Na mna 7 a meicc maróen :
Leír di a mulluc in bié búan,
Ni r'bo menic cen mor-pluag.

XXXII.

Bile óir 'r in énucc cen cáth,
Riced a barr nem nélaé :
Aipfiriud fepn domuin de,
Aéclorſ do baup in bile.

XXXIII.

In trath nobenad gaeth gur
Fpir inm bilem bocm bar-úr,
Nobid lán aobal, a fpir,
Ar clar talman di a toréib.

XXXIV.

Cach torud notogair pluaig,
Anair, aner, ir atuáid,
Immar chuile mara mail,
Ticed d'uaétor ind oen-éraind.

Till the end of eight hundred good years,
Though wonderful to relate it.

XXIX.

Till she brought forth a son, good was his size,
Who drove many heroes to swift death:
The day he was born, that was deceitful,
Stronger the son than his mother.

XXX.

The mother above women tries,
Going from him for escape:
She found not a path, they engage in conflict,
Save through the centre of her great son.

XXXI.

A lovely hill above their beauteous heads,
The woman's and her son's together:
Manifest from its summit the lasting world,
It was not often without a great host.

XXXII.

A tree of gold in the hill without wasting,
Its top would reach the cloudsome heaven:
The delighting of the men of the world from it,
Was heard from the top of the tree.

XXXIII.

The time a strong wind would strike
Against the soft top-green tree,
There used to be a vast heap, O man!
On earth's plain of its fruits.

XXXIV.

Every fruit hosts would choose,
From east, from south, and from north,
Like the tide of a gentle sea,
Used to come from the top of the one tree.

XXXV.

Iṛ í reir fír fír ind aig,
 Moan dentair Lagin lué-gair,
 Cathair macc Feidlmeda Fínd,
 Ard-riḡ hÉrend a hAlind.

XXXVI.

Iar rain durtid in flaitḥ fíal
 Ar a roctud, roctian,
 Cend pluais Lagen immoalle,
 O' innirín a arlinge.

XXXVII.

ḡairthir éucí in drúi dámaç—
 Ac an riḡ ba rogádaç—
 Do co roeirned di aile
 Na hule cepta atcondairc.

XXXVIII.

“Eirriḡet-ḡa,” ar in drúi daiç,
 “Dia nomḡaib loḡ bar lan-maiç,
 “La t' chátaid it' éri éina,”
 Atberc ḡri macc ḡairceda.

XXXIX.

Iar rain beirid in drúi dóib
 ḡreic na fíri co fír-choir,
 Feib ruc riam inm bḡreic com blaid,
 Oí a éir cid cían comailtar.

XL.

“Iṛ hí ind ingen adbul, ard
 Atconnarc-ḡu, a rí rogáḡ,
 Ind aband fail it' tír ée,
 Dianid ainm rír-ḡuan Sláne.

XXXV.

That is the vision of the hero of contest,
 Around whom the Laigne [Leinstermen] used to
 make strong shout,
 Cathair, son of Fedelmí the Bright,
 Eriu's chief King from Alend.

XXXVI.

After that the generous prince awakes
 Out of his very long, very great sleep,
 The chief of the host of the Laigne together,
 For the narration of his vision.

XXXVII.

The learned druid is called to him—
 To the king who was very loving,
 To him that he might explain from joint²⁰
 All the questions he had seen.

XXXVIII.

"I shall explain," says the active druid,
 "If I shall have a price that will be full good,
 With thy dignity in thy destiny besides,"
 Said Bri, son of Bairched.

XXXIX.

After that the druid gives to them
 The judgment of the vision truly justly,
 As he gave before the judgment with renown,
 Though long after him it may be fulfilled.

XL.

"The vast, high daughter
 Whom thou hast seen, O very fierce king,
 Is the river which is in thy warm land,
 The name for which is the everlasting Slane.

²⁰ Oí gíle: This is cheiromancy, of which there are many examples in Irish fiction.

XLI.

“Ír íat na dáta atberre
 In étgud na hingene,
 Aer cach dana nui fo nim,
 Cen ininur 'n an aruib.

XLII.

“Ír e briugu cetac cind
 Rop atair do'n ingin find,
 Talam,” ar in drúí di a deoin,
 “Triar ata cet cec ceneoil.

XLIII.

“Ír é mac pobúi 'n a bpoind
 Oet cet bliadain, mar bagoim,
 Loc geinfe uaidi ar gurt glarr,
 7 fpi t'ind-riu lefar.

XLIV.

“Il lá geinfe con a gair
 Baidfid inn abaind imrláin :
 Cac co á olri dar a hor,
 Aet cid mor ri, bid mor rom.

XLV.

“Ír é in cnocc mór mó cac dind
 Atconarcar of a cind,
 Do nept-ru of chac, ir moen—
 Cen traithad ir cen cairnem :

XLVI.

“Ír é in bile óir ainbtheç,
 Fécac, letan, lan-toirtec,

²¹ Cen ininur 'n an aruib : The MS. reads minur. The Book of Lecan has in the prose, canmunur foela 7 airde, as above, and in the poem cen inannur 'n an aruib, where inannur is the same as the ininur I have given here; the Book

of Balymote has in the prose, gan inbur foela, no airde—“without quality of divisions or proprieties,” and in the poem gau manbur 'n an aruib, the same as the Book of Lecan. From all this it would seem that the munur of canmunur, the

XLI.

“The colours thou speakest of
 In the dress of the daughter,
 Are the professors of every noble science under
 heaven,
 Without sameness²¹ in their proprieties.

XLII.

“The hundreded kind *briugu*,
 Who was father to the bright daughter,
 Is Earth,” says the druid of his will,
 “Through which is a hundred of every species.

XLIII.

“The son who was in her womb
 Eight hundred years, as I contend,
 Is a lake which will spring from her on a green field,
 And for thy flood²² shall spread.

XLIV.

“The day he will be born, with his cry
 He shall drown the very full river :
 Every one to her winding²³ over her border,
 But though she will be great, he will be great.

XLV.

“The great hill, greater than every fort
 Thou hast seen above their head,
 Is thy power over all—and welcome—
 Without abating, without descending.

XLVI.

“The tree of gold—stormy,
 Branching, broad, fruit-abounding,

prose of the Book of Lecan, as I have given it, should be *munup*, and the *munup* of the Book of Leinster *munup*, as corrected in the quatrain. In retaining *canmunup*, however, in the prose, and taking it as a verb, I rely on *canmum*, which is

even at present used in the sense of *peculiarity of pronunciation*, or *dialect*.

²² ḡ pṛi c' lṁb-ṛiu lepar : See note 11 *supra*.

²³ Caé co á ol-ṛi dap a hop : See note 12 *supra*.

Turu ic ríge ar banba bind,
Ic ar cec adba in hEirind.

XLVII.

"Ic e int airficiud co nuall,
Robú im baup in bile búain,
T' aurlabra fial, oebdu de,
Ic rídujud rócaide.

XLVIII.

Ic hí in gaeth cobraid cen éruar,
Rótarcair na toiréi anuar,
T' emec, a deit-gil duanac,
Ic dail éruid di a caem-pluagaib.

XLIX.

Dait ata a breth bunaid
Na fíri ar cac pprim-éulaig:
Ní fuil do éreidim ic' érf
Ar hEirind co r'bat oen-rí. R.

L.

Eoca Eolac, ní a r'b' arpa,
Fofuair fuithi rencarra
Oo Loc Garman tall 'n a éir,
Ic adnad pand do poríg. R.

[Finit.]

* Ní fuil do éreidim ic' érf: This is a fulfilment of the Druid's promise in quatrain xxxviii.: *La t' óathaid ic' érf óina*. This word *érf* is very peculiar. It is universally rendered "heart," but I doubt the correctness of this rendering. In Cormac's "Glossary," under the word

érf, there is a line somewhat like ours: *Ní r'bo plaith um érf co m' érf*, which I would translate—"There was no sovereignty in my destiny till my death." The meaning of the two first halves of this quatrain seems to be that, "according to every one's judgment on the illustrious

Is thou in thy sovereignty over melodious Banba,
And over each residence in Eriu.

XLVII.

"The melody with a shout,
Which was in the top of the lasting tree,
Is thy noble eloquence—the lovelier for it—
In pacificating multitudes.

XLVIII.

"The firm wind without hardness,
Which flung down the fruits,
Is thy hospitality, O poetic White-tooth,
Distributing property to beauteous hosts.

XLIX.

"For thee are from judgment of origin,
The visions on every chief hill:
Thy belief is not in thy destiny²⁴
Until thou wilt be sole King over Eriu." K.

L.

Eocha Eolach, to whom it was easy,
Found the science of *Senchas*
For Loch Garman beyond in his land,
While lighting up poems for a great king. K.

[It endeth.]²⁵

origin of Cathair Mor, he had a right to the visions, *all* the visions of every chief hill."

²⁵ The following are the dotted *ms* and *ns* of the poem; The *n* of the word *long*, quat. i.: the *n* of *longer*, the *m* of *Peppm*,

the *m* of *bolgm*, quat. x.: the *n* of *renz* quat. xx.: the second *n* of *Garman* quat. xxii.: the *m* of *cécm* and of *blíad-ainm*, quat. xxviii.: the *n* of *peppn*, the *m* of *innm*, *bílem*, *bocm*, quat. xxxii.: the *n* of *arlinge*, xxxvi.

THE APPROACHES TO KILKENNY IN OLDEN TIMES,
AS COMPARED WITH THE PRESENT.

BY PATRICK WATTERS, ESQ., A. M., TOWN CLERK OF KILKENNY.

ALTHOUGH Kilkenny has (even in the memory of those living) greatly fallen off in many particulars from what it was in former days, when more mills and factories flourished and fewer vacant houses existed, when more "four-in-hands" than "jarveys" appeared in its streets, yet there is *one* in which there has been a most remarkable improvement, and that is in its approaches; though, strange to say, when it was difficult of access it was more celebrated and a greater object of attraction. Now, when easily reached, it is not so prized—just what we see, every day, in our experiences of life. The rising generation, who, when travelling, only know the luxury of a railway carriage, and think it slow if they glide smoothly along at the rate of twenty miles an hour, can scarcely picture to themselves the stage coach of even modern days, which, leaving at eight o'clock in the morning, generally reached Dublin about six in the evening; in which to secure an inside seat, you should engage it two days before, and when such passengers as were sufficiently active were requested to get out and walk up the steep hills at Ballitore and Kilcullen. But those were then considered days of easy travelling, as compared with the previous generation, when there was not even a *daily* conveyance, when the road to Dublin ran through Magdalen-street, up Windgap-hill, and to Cork through Walkin-street—when neither the Ormonde-road nor the present commencement of the Dublin-road existed; when the perils of the journey began at Windgap-hill, where, if (as frequently occurred) an upset took place, the intending traveller should return home until the following day, to allow of the conveyance (whether coach or caravan) being put to rights.

I do not mean, in what I am about to state, in order to prove the preamble of my paper, to draw from imagination, or even from tradition, but will quote from the dry details of Grand Jury Presentments, and other equally undoubted

authority, and, referring to them, I may, in passing, observe that the term "Queres" in our modern Presentment Books, and which may appear unintelligible to some, is explained by the language of our ancestors, who, to say the least, were not our inferiors as men of business.

The first extract I shall give is from the Presentment at an Assizes held in Kilkenny, in the reign of Queen Anne, A. D. 1714. The heading is in Latin, which was frequently used in legal matters at that time. I may observe that the Presentment is signed by thirteen of the Grand Jury:—

" Coñ Civit' } Noña Jurat' ad Inquirendum tam ꝯ Dñā Regin' qm̄ pro
Kilkenny. } Corpoꝛ Coñ Civit' Kilkenny prest' ad General' Ass', &c.,
tent' apud veter' Thol', 17 July, 1714.

" Will. Baxter,
Tho' Phillips,
John Blunden,
Edward Evans,
John Plumer,
James Hoskins,
Benjamin Meares,
Daniel King,

John Blunden, Jun'.
Stephen Chapelier,
Edward Gent,
John Downes,
Jo' Smith,
Will. Perceval,
Giles King.

" Gent', you are to inquire according to your Charge.

" Ordered:—

" Whereas the Great Roade from Limbrick and Cashell to this Citty within the Liberties, just next to the Liberty Post, is extreamly out of repair and impassable in the Winter, wee therefore doe Present the sum of Thirteen pounds eight shillings and six pence to be raised on the four Parishes and paid unto Stephen Haydocke, Esq., for paving four hundred yards in length and four yards in breadth, at two pence per yard, beginning at the Liberty Post, and ending at the end of four hundred yards; that Stephen Haydocke, Esq., and Mr Matthew Knaresborough be overseers of the said work, and that the Parish of St. Canice doe give the six days' labour for the same."

Cashel being named as the terminus of a road from Kilkenny sounds strange to us now, but it was then an important city, and in all probability the highway to the South, as the road from this to Cork did not then exist as it runs at present. It may be a matter of doubt where the great road was, which formed the subject of the above presentment. I find several roads of that day described as leading to Cashel, amongst others the road over Barnaglissane Hill; and it will be seen that, in a later presentment of the year 1718, the latter is described as "the great road:."

I have been told, however, by those better informed than myself, that the great road to Cashel began at Blakmill, up by Kenny's Well, Kilcreene, and Drakeland, over the steep ascent of Ballycuddihy and through Kilmanagh. Supposing that to be the road, it must have gone by Dama (where a pavement still exists), and where another obstacle presented itself, as will appear by the following Presentment, made at an Assizes held "at the old Tholsell," the 2nd day of April, 1718, and which brings us back seven years earlier by a reference to the year 1711:—

"Wee find and Present that at July Sessions, 1711, held in and for the said Citty, the summ of Five pounds six shillings and five pence sterl^e was Presented and then ordered by the Court to be raised in the four Parishes, and paid unto John Archdekin, sen^r., for BREAKING and PAVING the Rock of Damagh, the worke being 284 yards, at 4^d per yard, and that the said sum of five pounds six shillings and five pence was accordingly raised and paid unto M^r Robert Connell, the then public Receiver, is still in his hands, and not paid to the said John Archdekin, though the worke is compleatly finished and done pursuant to the said Presentment.

(Signed) "EBEN: WARREN, cum Sociis."

This was doubtless the celebrated Alderman Robert Connell who formed the subject of the Act of Parliament 4th Geo. I., ch. 16, passed in the year 1717, one of the objects of which was for "punishing Alderman Robert Connell for withdrawing himself, with the books and papers belonging to the said Corporation."

The next document from which I quote is not a Grand Jury Presentment, but probably it is a Presentment of the period antecedent to the days of presentments by grand juries. It bears a list of names, headed "Noia Jurator'" on the fly-sheet, but unfortunately has no date; but, from its style and the character of handwriting, I have no hesitation in saying it is fully 200 years old. It refers to a well-known locality close to us—"Loughbuy:"—

"By the Maior of the Cittie of Kilkenny and others his Mat^r Justice of the Peace for the Co^m of the said Cittie.

"Whereas we are informed that the high waie neare the poole of water caled Loghbuy, being the high waie leading from the said Cittie to Waterford is somtymes ov'flowen wth the water of the said poole, to the greate newsance at somtymes, speciallie in winter tyme, of his Ma^{ty} subiects passing that waie. These are therefore to will and require you to take

p'nte order for reparcōn of the same in such sorte as is according to law. And where we are informed that the soyle or muck falling in the said Logh is an occasion that the water thereof doth swell and ov'flowe the said highwaie. These are therefore to will and require you to give warning unto the landlords & possessors of the lands adioining to the said Logh or Poole to take order for taking upp the said muck or soile, or in their default that you cause the same to be takē awaie by some others of yo^r p'ishioners."

It is fortunate for us, and for our Rev. Hon. Secretary, who has to pass that way, that this approach to Kilkenny has been improved, otherwise we could not, without "greate newsance" to him, have the benefit of his attendance at our meetings, specially in winter time.

The next is a Presentment referring evidently to what is now called the "Old Colliery-road," leading to Castlecomer :—

"Coñ Civit' } Que^r and Presentments att a General Assizes and
Kilkenny. } General Gaol delivery held at the old Tholsell, in and
for the Citty and County of the Citty of Kilkenny,
the 2nd day of April, 1718."

The first Presentment begins thus: "Gen^m, you are to enquire according to your charge, and further you are to enquire whether," &c.

(The names of the Grand Jury are set out.)

"We find the old Pavement on the High Road leading from the Coal pits to this Citty, in the Parish of St. John, beginning at the Liberty Post, and so forward to Shrahan Sanny,¹ to be much out of repaire and unpassable for Carryers and Travellers who go the said Road, and therefore Present that the sūme of Five pounds sterling be forthwith raised in and throughout the four Parishes for the paveing, gravelling, and well amend-ing the same, beginning and ending at the places aforesaid, and paid unto Oliver Cramer, Esq., and M^r James Davis, who are fit persons to see the same done accordingly."

Paving in these days was a favourite way of making roads, and the remains of it are still to be seen in many

¹ The following inform us exactly where "Shrahan Sanny" lies, and what it is :—

A Presentment made at an Assizes held 15th March, 1769, for repairing part of the "Road from this City to Castlecomer, between the Glinn on the Lands of Glanndine and the Brook called Shroughan

Sunny, on the lands of Ratestown Stopford."

A Presentment at an Assizes held 10th April, 1772, to repair part of the "Road leading from this City to Castlecomer, between Nowlan's Gate, on the lands of Glandyne, and Shroughane Sunny Brook."

places ; it was, no doubt, durable, but expensive and unpleasant in travelling.

The next Presentment is of the same date (1718), and should make us appreciate the present good road to Freshford, particularly at that part which leads round by Troyswood, under the hill of Barnaglissane :—

“Whereas the great Roade on the hill near Thornback, within the Parish of St. Kenny’s, in the County of this Citty, is, by reason of the narrowness thereof, very dangerous for Coaches, Carrs, and Carts passing that way, we therefore Present that the inhabitants of the Parish of St. Kenny’s doe, before the next Assizes, with the assistance of their six days’ labour, widen and enlarge the said Road in the Rock of the said hill four foot, and sink the same in the height thereof three foot at the least more than now it is, and bring the gravell and dirt so dugg away unto the great road on the foot of the said hill, and there place it in such manner as Aldⁿ John Cooksy and M^r William Williams shall think convenient, who are fitt persons to see the work done accordingly.”

We may imagine what the road must have been before the above-mentioned improvement was made, by lowering the hill three feet, and widening the road four feet, in the rock.

At the same Assizes, held 2nd April, 1718, the following Presentment was made :—

“Whereas the bridge on the Causeway in the Great high Road on or near the Lands of Greenridge, within the Liberties of this Citty, is four foott at the least too narrow for Coaches, Carrs, and Carts to passe safely thereon, and that the said Causeway is so very much broken and out of repair that the same are verry dangerous for passengers and travellers who go on the said Road, we therefore Present that the sum of three pounds sterl^s be forthwith raised in and throughout this Citty and County thereof and paid unto M^r Nich^s Knaresbrough, of Purcells Inch, and Richard Lamb, of Garricreene, Mason, for and towards the sufficient making and new building of an arched addition of four foot in the cleer in the breadth to one end of the s^d bridge, with a wall on each end thereof three foot high, all of lime and stone, and for the sufficient and well gravelling of the said Causeway on both sides of the said Bridge; and that the s^d M^r Nich^s Knaresbrough and Richard Lamb are fitt persons to see the same done accordingly.”

At the same Assizes the following Presentment, which fixes the date of the present “Blackmill Bridge,” was made :—

“Whereas the foot bridge of Timber, neare the Blackmill, over the River Bregagh, is in the Winter, and especially in the time of any great Flood, very dangerous for Passengers and Travellers who go on the same :

we therefore Present that the summ of five pounds ster^s be forthwith raised in and throughout this Citty and County thereof, and paid unto Ebenezer Warren and Edward Evans, Esq^r., for and towards the building and new making of two sufficient arches, with lime and stone, over the said River, near unto the old wall of M^r Cramer's late Orchard, with side walls thereon three foott high and two foot thick, the said Bridge to be tenn foot wide in the cleere from side to side; who are fitt persons to see the same donn accordingly."

There is no trace now remaining of an orchard in that locality.

I shall give one more extract from the Presentments of 1718 as to the "Great Road leading from Lymerick to Cashell and to this Citty." From the description given, it is hard to imagine how a carriage could pull through it:—

"We find that the space between the two pavements on the great Road leading from Lymerick to Cashell and to this Citty, beginning at the farr end of the pavement on Kilkenny side, and ending at the next pavement going to the Liberty Post, being four score and thirteene yards in length; also one hundred and seaven yards more on the said Road, beginning on Kilkenny side of Matthew Knaresbrough's house, and ending at the end of the former pavement, is very deep and dangerous for Travellers and Passengers who go on the said road, and therefore Present that the sum of five pounds ster^s be forthwith raised in and throughout the four Parishes for the new paving and gravelling the said Road, beginning and ending as aforesaid, three yards wide, and paid to Josias Haydocke, Esq., and Ald^r Robert Sherrinton, who are fitt persons to see the same donn accordingly."

As one of the instances of how Kilkenny has in some ways retrograded, to which I have referred at the outset, I give the following extract from the Presentments of the same Assizes (1718), showing that Kilkenny then had its "Exchange," where, we may suppose, the merchants met to transact their business; but still, even there, dangers beset the path:—

"We find that on both sides of the Stepps or Staires going from the Exchange into St. Mary's Churchyard it is very dangerous for Passengers who go thereon, by reason of the stepps of a ground cellar near thereunto, and therefore Present that the sum of ten shillings ster^s be forthwith raised in and throughout the Parish of St. Marys, for the making with lyme and stone a sufficient wall on both sides thereof, five foott high and five foott long, and paid to Ebenezer Warren, Esq., who is a fitt person to see the same donn accordingly."

The next Presentment, of the same date, relates to the

Dublin road, and sets forth the dangers of Windgap, to which I referred at the outset:—

“Whereas the great Road leading from this Citty to Dublin, commonly called Wind Gapp, is very narrow, steep, and dangerous for passengers and travellers who go on the said road, we therefore Present that the sum of five pounds ster^s be forthwith raised in and throughout the said Citty and County thereof, and paid unto Aldⁿ Stephen Haydocke, M^r William Percivall, M^r James Oldfield, and William Hogan, Cotner, for and towards the levelling and enlarging the said Road, who are fitt persons to see the same done accordingly.”

Before leaving Windgap I will pass on to the Lent Assizes in the year 1757 (nearly forty years later), when it appears it still continued in a dangerous state. The foreman of the Grand Jury on that occasion was William Colles, the great-grandfather of Alexander Colles, Esq., J. P., when the following Presentment was made:—

“We Present the sum of Seventeen pounds five shillings sterl^s to be raised as aforesaid [on the four parishes of the city], and paid to George Carpenter, Esq., Mayor, and M^r Joseph Blunt, whom we appoint overseers, for building a wall of lime and stone, at Wind Gap, to prevent Carriages and Passengers falling over the Precipice; the same to be sixteen perches sixteen feet long, and five feet high above the ground on the upper side, and two feet thick; the said wall to be flatted at top, and covered with large stones.”

It would be tedious were I to go through all the instances in which I find the approaches to Kilkenny described as “dangerous and scarce passable;” all seem alike. In 1755 I find the road to Carrick (now called the Kells-road), from “Bregagh Ford” to Rev. Mr. Broderick’s, at Birchfield, spoken of, thereby showing that no bridge then existed. In 1758 I find the road over Barnaglissane Hill again referred to, and then called the road to “Birr,” and described as dangerous for carriages and passengers. I have omitted any mention of bridges carried away by floods, as they are likely to be brought under notice at a future day.

I shall conclude my remarks as to the ancient approaches with a presentment made at an Assizes held in and for this city, the 15th day of March, 1769, for making

a new line of road from the Castle Gate through the Castle Garden:—

Names of the Grand Jury :—

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| “ Thomas Butler, | William Hartford, |
| Anthony Blunt, | George Smith, |
| George Carpenter, | Parr Kingsmill, |
| John Blunt, | Thomas Bibby, |
| Thomas Wilkinson, | Ferd° Leonard, |
| Fran° Lodge, | Richard Reily, |
| Joseph Mathews, | John Cartwright, |
| Jonah Wheeler, | John M’Cloughey, |
| Will ^m Watters, | John Hogan, |
| Robert Blake, | Nicholas O’Mealy, |
| Lewis Chapelier, | Thomas Shearman. |

“ Whereas so much of the old high Road leading from the City of Kilkenny to Thomastown, in the county of Kilkenny, as extends from the old Castle Gate to the road leading to the Stone Mills, now occupied by Henry Scott, miller, is at present much out of repair; and whereas the said high Road may be considerably shortened by running the same through the Castle Garden, within the Liberties of this City, and Walter Butler hath accordingly proposed to make a new Road from the Town Wall, adjoining the old Castle Gate of this City, through the s^d Castle Garden, to the old Lime Kiln on the said Road, of the width of Forty feet at the least, and containing in length sixty Perches, at his own proper costs and charges; and whereas the said new Road, when completed, will be much more commodious to the Public, we therefore present that the said Walter Butler have liberty to make the said new road accordingly at his own expense.”

The above-named Walter Butler was the father of John Earl of Ormonde, the great-grandfather of the present Marquis. Roque’s Map of Kilkenny shows that where the present road, commonly called the Upper Parade, runs was then part of the Castle Garden, or pleasure-ground. The old paved line of road, I understand, was found some years since, while trenching the lawn to the south of the Castle.

While the approaches to Kilkenny, of which I have been hitherto treating, are, as to their origin (except the last mentioned), lost in the mist of ages, and no record thereof exists, it may not be uninteresting to refer to the first formation of those broad and convenient entrances, to which the present generation has been accustomed, but all which have been made within the last sixty years. I shall therefore give *in extenso* the original Presentments¹ for making them.

¹ To prevent any misconception hereafter, I think it well to take the present opportunity.

THE NEW ROAD (NOW KNOWN AS THE ORMONDE ROAD) FROM PATRICK-STREET
TO ROSE-HILL.

"Summer Assizes, 1816.

"To the Right Hon. the Earl of Desart, the Hon. Charles Butler, the Mayor of the City of Kilkenny, and the Deputy-Mayor, both for the time being; the Rev. Archdeacon Helsham, John Helsham, Charles Madden, John Barwis, Thomas Neville, Timothy Nowlan, and William Robertson, Esq^r, Commissioners, to lay out, form, level, fence, drain, and gravel 127 Perches of the new line of Mail Coach Road between Dublin and Cork, commencing at the North end of Mr. John Watters's Garden, in Patrick-street, and ending at Mr. Robertson's field Gate, at the Bregagh Bye Road, £257 3s. 6d.; 1-12th of which to be raised at each Assizes until all is raised."

THE CASTLECOMER ROAD.

"Lent Assizes, 1817.

"To the Right Hon. the Earl of Desart, the Hon. James Butler, W^m Wheeler, Joseph Bradish, John Barwis, Lewis C. Kinchela, and David Ryan, Esq^r, Commissioners, to form, fence, level, and make 194 Perches of the new intended Mail Coach Road between Kilkenny and Kilcullen-bridge, through Castlecomer and Athy, commencing at John's Green, near the new Barracks, and ending at Ja^s Nowlan's bounds on the lands of Glandine, £351 15s. 4d.; 1-12th of which to be raised at this and each succeeding Assizes until all is raised."

THE DUBLIN ROAD.

"Summer Assizes, 1818.

"To John Kinchela, William Hartford, James Loughan, William Wheeler, John Barwis, and Timothy Nowlan, Esq^r, Commissioners, to lay out, form, fence, level, and make, with foot paths thereon, 70 Perches of a new Mail Coach Road from Kilkenny to Carlow, between the Pound, in Upper John-street, and the top of Windgap Hill, £212 1s.; 1-12th of which to be raised at this Assizes, and an equal sum at each succeeding Assizes until all is raised."

THE NEW LINE OF ROAD TO FRESHFORD.

"Summer Assizes, 1829.

"To the Marquis of Ormonde, William Bayly, Esq., the Rev. Luke Fowler, Richard Sullivan, Esq., Mr. James Healy, and John Timmins, Overseers, to form, fence, level, and make 712 perches of a new intended

tunity of stating, that the following original manuscript Presentments, and those only, are in my possession, as Town Clerk of Kilkenny; how they came to be amongst the City MSS. I cannot tell, but am happy to have them now to produce, as throwing light on matters of local interest:—

Presentments, viz., of Assizes held 17th July, 1714.

| | | |
|---|---|-------------------|
| " | " | 9th April, 1715. |
| " | " | 26th March, 1716. |
| " | " | 12th Oct., 1716. |
| " | " | 2nd April, 1718. |

One bound book, from Spring Assizes, 1754, to Spring, 1796, both inclusive. This book, in addition to what it contains of local history, is interesting as having the autographs of the Judges of Assize, before whom it was then customary for the Treasurer to make an affidavit of the correctness of his accounts; amongst others, of 'Toler,' afterwards Lord Norbury, and 'Scott,' afterwards Lord Clonmel.

The Presentments at Spring Assizes, 1754, amounted in the aggregate to the sum of £69 4s. 9d.

line of Road between Kilkenny and Freshford, beginning at the small bridge near Mr. Atkinson's gate, and ending at the county bounds, near Denis Kirwick's, £625 ; 5 per cent. to be raised at each Assizes until the principal sum and interest, at the rate of 5 per cent., shall be paid off, this being the first instalment, £31 5s."

I feel it would be an unpardonable omission to conclude this paper without a reference to the approach to our City by the river side, though only for pedestrians, originally formed in or about the year 1757, by the enterprise of our ancestors, and then intended solely for the purposes of trade and commerce, and which, though it proved a failure in that respect, now forms one of the most beautiful public walks perhaps to be found in any town in the Empire; I allude to what is still known and called the Canal Walk. Nor can I omit the approach from Green's-bridge, by the eastern bank of the Nore, known as the Mayor's Walk, displaying to view the interesting ruins of St. Francis' Abbey and our ancient Round Tower and Cathedral (to say nothing of the picturesque mills, over the weirs connected with which the water falls so musically), and in the proper season the orchards covered with bloom ; and for the formation of which, within the last fifteen years, the public are indebted to our present Corporation. And surely I may now say, what a revolution has there been since the days of Good Queen Anne, in whose reign my humble paper first began.

THE WHITTY MONUMENT IN THE RUINED CHURCH OF KILMORE, COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

BY M. J. WHITTY.

KILMORE is in the south-east of the Barony of Bargy, which runs parallel with the Barony of Forth to the town of Wexford. Both baronies have been inhabited by the same race, and a peculiar dialect of English was spoken in them not very long since. What is called the Barony of Forth language virtually disappeared about fifty years ago, but

originally it prevailed over the larger portion of the county. It seems, however, never to have extended into any other county, except slightly into Carlow and Wicklow.

The existence of an old English dialect in Wexfordshire is easily accounted for. There are but a few miles between Carnsore Point and St. David's, in Wales; and it will be seen from the Saxon Chronicle that in early times the intercourse between the English and the people of the county of Wexford was intimate. When trouble prevailed in the southern counties, the defeated took refuge in Forth and Bargy. When the Danes prevailed, the defeated fled to Ireland, and in due time returned in great numbers to re-establish themselves in their native home. In the reign of King John a large portion of land in Staffordshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and Cornwall was confiscated, and the rebellious chiefs evidently betook themselves to Wexford. The names of the leading families in Forth and Bargy leave no doubt upon the fact that the Staffords, the Devereuxes, the Sinnotts, the Coddys, the Rossiters, the Hays, the Cheevers, and the Whittys fled from the rage of power, and settled amongst their countrymen in the south-east corner of Ireland. Castles at that time were numerous erected in England, and particularly along the coast of Wales. The example was extensively followed in the new English colony. The remains of the castles are still to be seen within a line drawn from Mount Leinster to the British Channel near Gorey. Along the coast they were erected sufficiently near each other to afford instant communication. Two of these castles, one at Ballyhealy and the other at Ballyteige, and a third, it seems, in Baldwinstown, were erected by the Whittys. Records exist to show that the Castle of Ballyteige was always in possession of the Whittys; and romance and legend would seem to indicate that the Christian name of the possessor was nearly always Walter. And it has been observed as very curious, that in almost every family of the Whittys the eldest son has almost invariably been called Walter. Sir Walter Whitty, of Ballyteige, has been made the hero of a very interesting romantic poem by a learned Clergyman of Wexford; and the legend of "Sir Walter Whitty and his Cat" was produced some years ago, for popular recital, in the "London

THE CHITTY MONUMENT

The Chitty Monument,
IN THE RUINED CHURCH OF KILMORE,
COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

and Dublin Magazine." It seems to have greatly interested the late Mr. Talbot, the father of the late Countess of Shrewsbury, for he had it reprinted for circulation among the people of the two baronies; and he went to the expense of having one of the pillars of the Whitty Monument in Kilmore Church restored.

The old Church of Kilmore lies seven miles from Wexford and two from Ballyteige Castle. No doubt remains that it had been erected in very ancient times, for the materials of the walls consist entirely of boulder stones, supplied abundantly along the shore from the Bar of Loch to the Lady's Island. The building was long and narrow, additions having been made to the length at various times. The Monument to the memory of Sir Walter Whitty, of which an accurate representation,¹ from a drawing by Mr. Solomons, the eminent Engineer, faces this page, stands in the Sacristy, and is in a perfect state of preservation. The marble used appears to have been brought from Kilkenny. It is the only ancient monument within the walls; but tombstones and headstones have recently been numerously introduced. The consecrated ground attached to the church constitutes a large and well-tenanted cemetery. There is hardly a spot in it where a headstone does not stand; and these headstones, particularly the older ones, commemorate the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the two baronies. No vaults have been discovered, but in the small church of Killagg, on the opposite shore of what was once called the lake, a vault existed, in which it is said the remains of fourteen knights and their wives had been deposited. No record, however, of the fact exists, but the walls are still perfect. The Whittys, the Staffords, the Devereuxes, and the Eustaces intermarried, as may be seen from the epitaph on the Whitty Monument.

We learn from the MS. Collections of the late Herbert F. Hore, of Pole Hore, Esq., that Sir Richard Whitty was summoned as a Baron to Parliament, 48 Ed. III. and 1 Ric. II. His son and heir, Richard, held three carucates of land in Ballyteige, &c.; had licence to feoff his Manor

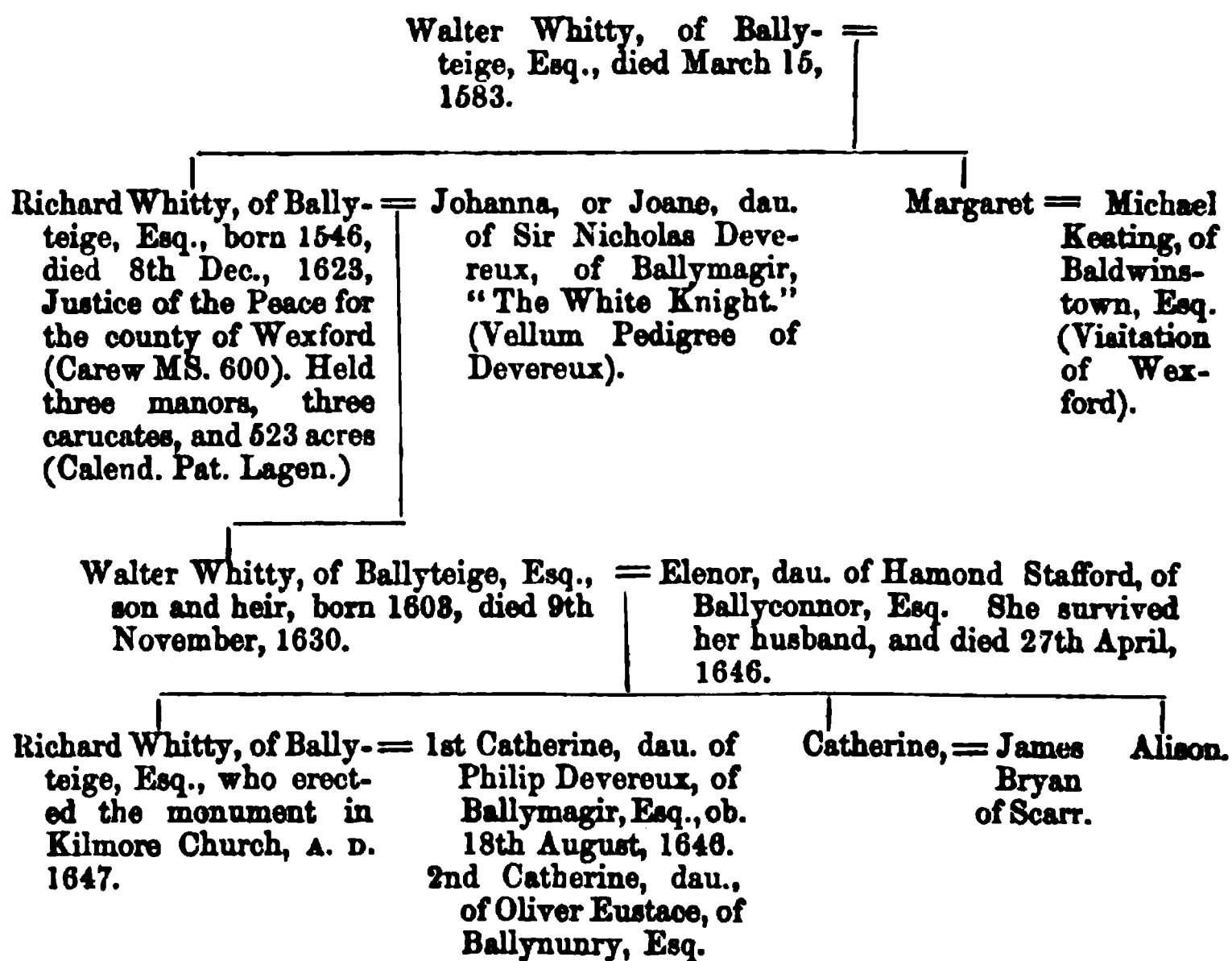
¹ The Association is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Whitty for this Plate, which

he has presented to the "Journal" free of cost.—ED.

of Ballyteige, held of the King in capite, 8 Feb., 5 Ric. II., and was appointed one of the three gentlemen of the County of Wexford who were to provide 20 archers for its defence, 18 Aug., 5 Ric. II. This Richard had three sons, Walter, his son and heir, Chief Justice for seven Counties 4 Hen. VI. ; Richard, and John.

A Richard Whitty, of Ballyteige, Esq., died May 14, 30 Henry VIII., leaving a son and heir, Robert, a minor, aged 14 at his father's death, whose Custodium was granted to John Devereux, Esq.

The following pedigree, also taken from the MS. Collections of the late Herbert F. Hore, serves to explain the inscription on the monument :—



Not very long since a notion universally prevailed that the Kilmore burying ground afforded an ample supply of dead bodies for anatomists, who came in boats over the lake and carried off the recently buried ; and, in consequence of this alleged practice, it was the custom for armed men to guard the graves of deceased friends for at least a month after interment. Affectionate regard was

implied in this practice, but the anxiety was perfectly useless.

The lake was once a large sheet of shallow water, and extended over three miles within the spit of sand, or "borough," which separated it from the Channel. Recently the spaces not covered by the tide at low water have been reclaimed, but as yet with very little profit, for the prevalence of salt in the earth interferes with every form of cultivation.

According to a quarto dictionary of heraldry published some sixty or seventy years ago, the Whittys constituted three distinct families,¹ each having appropriate arms; but the monument in Kilmore Church is the most authentic record now available. The lion on the shield in all probability suggested to the people the legend of Whitty's cat; for the writer of this, some five or six years ago, in rendering the head visible by removing the weeds and grass, was told, on inquiry, that this, of course, was Whitty's cat.

It may, perhaps, be curious to mention here that the people of these baronies have no history. The local nature of their vocabulary, and their remoteness in something like a peninsula, shut them out from intercourse with inland peoples. Their ancient records are therefore nil. No man of any note whatever was ever produced amongst them, unless the Devereux who assassinated Wallenstein can be set down as one. Perhaps we may repeat the well-known saying, "Happy are the people that have no history." The saying is particularly applicable to the people of Forth and Bargo. They have always been an industrious, sober, moral, and honest people. They have never, we believe, furnished a felon to the gaol, and were never guilty of political movements, except the terrible and sorrowful one in 1798. At very distant intervals executions have taken place at Wexford Assizes, but a Forth and Bargo man never suffered. The whole county retains the influence which anciently entitled it to be called an English shire; for it stands out very proudly as being utterly exempt from the agrarian outrages which have often characterized

¹ In the MS. Collections of the late H. F. Hore, Esq., the Whittys of Kilgorman (A.D. 1307); of Dungulf; of Ballinacushen;

of Neweastown; of Killarvan; of Ballyteige; of Belgrow or Ballygow; of Gents-town, &c., are mentioned.

its neighbours. The celebrated Judge Fletcher, in his charge to the Grand Jury in 1814, described his feelings, after passing through disturbed counties, at finding all things orderly and prosperous in Wexfordshire. Mr. Brewster, in his "*Beauties of Ireland*," testifies to the same moral state of things.

Mr. O'Connor Morris, the late "*Times*' Commissioner"—well disposed to find fault—expressed his delight at finding everything in Wexfordshire the very reverse of what he witnessed elsewhere. Within a comparatively recent period, what might be called the Irish element has largely entered the county. Sixty years ago all the business transacted in Wexford, New Ross, and even in Carlow, was done in the Irish language. Now all this is altered. English is universally spoken—almost exclusively—in all these places. The O's and the Mac's now commingle with the few remaining names of the ancient inhabitants of Forth and Bargy. In comparison, the latter resemble exactly the people of Dorsetshire and the adjoining counties, as recently pictured by two able writers in the *Spectator*, whose contributions have been published in a very useful volume. The Whittys and the Devereuxes monopolized power, and were the especial favourites of the British Government. They seem to have founded the few religious establishments in the county. One of them is entitled to the praise of having erected Selsker Abbey, in the town of Wexford, and the other gave a park to the town. The remains of Selsker Abbey are still visible—a very fine piece of masonry ; but the park, though recorded in legal documents, has concealed its sight from archæologists. Wexford, it has been shown in the published Records of our Society, was very often under the necessity of paying black-mail to the Kavanaghs of Carlow, and it is traditionally said that in the last raid made into the county the Castle of Ballyteige was destroyed. The tower and southern walls remain ; all else has disappeared. There is a dwelling-house now within the walls, and it is inhabited by an estimable lady named Meadows.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a GENERAL MEETING, held in the apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday April 3rd, 1872,

The REV. PHILIP MOORE, P. P., in the Chair ;

The Chairman said he had not had an opportunity of examining the Museum for the past two years, until he had gone through it before the Meeting : it afforded him the utmost gratification, and he regretted that the Association should not be able to have a resident attendant of intelligence to exhibit it to all visitors. He should like to see some action taken to get a small annual grant from Parliament for the proper arrangement and support of the Museum—to pay the salary of a resident caretaker, and supply fuel for keeping it well aired ; he thought £100 a year would do all that was requisite, and it ought to be easily got.

The Rev. J. Graves said that they would make an effort, which he hoped would be successful. He was in communication with a gentleman connected with the South Kensington Museum, who had encouraged him to hope that some annual grant might be got for the purpose, if the locality showed a wish for the permanent sustentation of the Museum by contributing towards the expense. They had, at the January meeting, on the motion of the Mayor, nominated a Committee to take the necessary steps in the matter, and he was only waiting for the season to be more advanced, and the country gentry certain of being at home, to call the Committee together to commence operations.

The Rev. J. Graves reported the receipt of the followig letter from the Hon. L. G. Dillon, to whom he had written in accordance with the instructions of the last Meeting, consequent on a communication received from Lord Courtown :—

“ Clonbrock, Ahascragh, March 9, 1872.

“SIR—In reply to your letter of the 5th instant, I beg to inform you that I have written to inquire about the Round Tower of Kilmacduagh, which is at a considerable distance from here—about 30 miles. I hear that it was struck by lightning some years ago, which broke down some part of the stone roof, and caused a fissure which extends about half way down; also that it is now out of the perpendicular. Very little, therefore, has, as yet, been thrown down, but it probably is in a very precarious state. With reference to your question as to what local assistance may be expected towards its restoration, I am not in a position to give you any information, but I am informed that Lord Gough, who lives within a few miles, takes an interest in the matter, and that small subscriptions might probably be obtained from others in the neighbourhood.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

“Your obedient Servant,

“L. G. DILLON.”

Mr. Graves was requested to continue his inquiries on the subject, and report further to the next Meeting of the Association.

The Treasurer's Account for the year 1869 was submitted to the Meeting by the Auditors, as follows :—

CHARGE.

| 1869. | | £ | s. | d. |
|----------|--|-------|----|----|
| Jan. 1. | To Balance in Treasurer's hands (See Vol. I., 4th series, p. 114), | 420 | 3 | 7 |
| Dec. 31. | „ Annual subscriptions, | 394 | 4 | 0 |
| | „ One year's rent of land at Jerpoint, | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | „ Cash received by sale of “Journal” to Members, and for advertisements, | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| | „ „ for woodcuts, | 2 | 18 | 0 |
| | „ Donations towards expense of “Journal” viz. :— | | | |
| | „ Hon. B. E. B. Fitzpatrick, 1 10 0 | | | |
| | „ Maurice Fitz Gibbon, Esq., and A. Fitz Gibbon, Esq., being the cost of printing Unpublished Geraldine Documents, 32 13 2 | | | |
| | | <hr/> | | |
| | | £855 | 11 | 9 |

DISCHARGE.

| 1869. | | £ | s. | d. |
|----------|--|-------|----|----|
| Dec. 31. | By Postages of parcels and correspondence, . | 23 | 16 | 2 |
| | „ „ of “Journal” and “Annual Volume, | 24 | 9 | 11 |
| | „ Illustrations for “Journal” and “Annual Volume,” | 48 | 15 | 8 |
| | „ Printing, paper, &c., of “Journal” for July and October, 1868, and January, April, and July, 1869, | 165 | 15 | 3 |
| | „ Printing, paper, &c., of “Annual Vol.” for 1869, | 46 | 4 | 0 |
| | „ General printing and stationery, | 29 | 5 | 6 |
| | „ Collection of subscriptions, | 31 | 15 | 0 |
| | „ Sundry expenses, | 18 | 10 | 11 |
| | „ Early Numbers of “Journal” and books purchased, | 9 | 13 | 0 |
| | „ Rent and caretaker of Jerpoint Abbey, . | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| | „ Rent and insurance of Museum, | 20 | 12 | 0 |
| | „ Transcribing original documents, . . . | 20 | 2 | 6 |
| | „ Balance in Treasurer’s hands, | 414 | 11 | 10 |
| | | <hr/> | | |
| | | £855 | 11 | 9 |

We have examined the Accounts, with Vouchers, and have found them correct, leaving a balance of £414 11s. 10d. in the hands of the Treasurer.

26 February, 1872.

J. G. ROBERTSON,
J. B. FITZSIMONS, M. D., } *Auditors.*

The following election to Fellowships took place :—

The Most Hon. the Marquis of Hartington, Chief Secretary of Ireland : proposed by the Marquis of Kildare.

The O'Donovan, A. M., Lissard, Skibbereen : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The following Member of the Association was admitted to Fellowship :—

J. Casimer O'Meagher.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Right Rev. Dr. Conroy, Bishop of Ardagh : proposed by the Very Rev. Dr. Russell.

Thomas M'Clure, M. P., Belmont, Belfast : proposed by R. Young.

Miss Mauleverer, The Mall, Armagh : proposed by the Rev. G. H. Reade.

Professor Ernst Windisch, 19 Zeitser Strasse, Leipsig, Germany ; Richard Langrishe, A. I., C. E., Sion Lodge, Kilkenny ; the Rev. William Iago, B. A., Westheath, Bod-

min, Cornwall ; and the Dean and Chapter Library, Durham : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

John Barrett, Green's-bridge, Kilkenny : proposed by the Rev. P. V. Skelly, O. P.

Patrick Traynor, 8, Grafton-street, Dublin : proposed by W. A. Hinch.

Maurice Hennessy, C. E., Architect, Limerick : proposed by Maurice Lenihan, M. R. I. A.

Robert Arthur Wilson, Enniskillen : proposed by W. F. Wakeman.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

"Feudal Manuals of English History," edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M. A., F. S. A., &c. ; published under the direction and at the expense of Joseph Mayer, Esq., F. S. A., &c., of Liverpool : presented by Mr. Mayer.

"American Journal of Numismatics, and Bulletin of American Numismatic and Archæological Societies," published by the Boston Numismatic Society," Vol. VI., Nos. 1, 2, and 3 : presented by the Society.

"The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," Vol. I., No. 1 : presented by the Institute.

"Proceedings of the Natural History Society of Dublin," Vol. VI., Part 1 : presented by the Society.

"The Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," No. 111 : presented by the Institute.

"Transactions of the Clifton College Scientific Society," Part 1 : presented by the Society.

"Report and Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire," for 1870 : presented by the Society.

"Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society," for 1870–71 : presented by the Society.

"The Reliquary," No. 47 : presented by Llewellyn Jewett, F. S. A.

"The Builder," Nos. 1529–1592, inclusive : presented by the Publisher.

“The Irish Builder,” Nos. 253—272, inclusive : presented by the Publisher.

A small iron cannon ball, weighing about 3lbs., and two leaden musket bullets, obtained by him at Aughrim on the 12th July, 1853, whilst exploring the battlefield—undoubted relics of that famous fight ; also a rubbing of the armorial bearings of the De Fraynes of Ballyreddy, from the ancient family monument in Ballyneal church, Co. Kilkenny : presented by the Chairman.

Some ancient buckles, an upper leather of an antique shoe, and a considerable number of modern and ancient coins, also a small stone on which was carved a headless naked human figure ; the antiquities and coins had been found near Athlone, the stone at Ballinderry Lake, near Moate, County of Westmeath : presented by J. H. Browne, Manager, National Bank, Roscrea.

Photographs of two monuments at the Franciscan Abbey, Galway ; one, the tomb of William de Burgo, 1645 ; the other a tablet with the armorial bearings of Sir Peter French and Mary Brown, his wife, of the same period, the supporters of the shield being figures representing St. Patrick, and St. Nicholas, Bishop of Moyra, patron saint of the Diocese of Galway : presented by the Rev. Martin Hologhan, O. S. F., Waterford.

A small silver brooch of rare type : presented by Mr. Thomas Stanley, Tullamore.

Mr. Prim said, that, wishing to form the nucleus of a collection of specimens of the arms and accoutrements of the old local volunteer corps of the period of the Rebellion of 1798, which might be placed in the same department of the Museum with the colours of the Kilkenny Rangers (1782), and a colour staff of the Kilkenny Militia, lost at the fight of Castlebar (1798), and subsequently recovered when the regiment was again quartered there a year or two after the Rebellion,¹ which were already in the Association's possession—he begged leave to present a sword of the Gowran

¹ To prevent their falling into the hands of the French, the colours were torn from the staves by Captain Poole Morphy, and

carried off the field, when the Kilkennies executed a “masterly retreat” at Castlebar along with the rest of the English forces.

Yeoman Cavalry, the weapon in question being that carried by his grandfather, the late Mr. John Anderson, of Dunbell, who, as were most of the neighbouring gentry and farmers of the locality, was a private of the corps, commanded by Mr. Bailey, of Gowran, as Captain, in 1798. Also on the part of Mrs. Henry Bird, James's-street, he presented a uniform coat of the Kilkenny Legion, a volunteer corps of the city, at the same period. This was the coat of her grandfather, the late Mr. Bassil Gray, Wine-merchant, who was third Sergeant of the second Company, the first Sergeant being the late Dr. Pack, the second, Mr. Way, a gentleman of property residing in the town, and the fourth, Mr. Brennan, the then extensive Brewer. The corps was commanded by the Hon. James Butler, afterwards Marquis of Ormonde; the late Sir J. Wheeler Cuffe, Bart., was Captain of the first Company, and the late Sir John Blunden, Bart., Captain of the second Company; Mr. J. Kinchela, Adjutant. Mr. Prim said he had another presentation to make. This comprised the uniform (shako, coatee and pantaloons) of the Band of the Kilkenny Regiment of Militia in 1808. The Band of the "Kilkennies" was famous at the time for the superior excellence of its music and the splendour of its equipment, Logier having been the Bandmaster, and the Marquis of Ormonde giving his entire pay, as Colonel, to the Band fund. He (Mr. Prim) had rescued these relics of the finery of the old Kilkenny Militia Band from being set up as a "scare-crow" in a garden in the city, which he chanced to visit just as they were being applied to that purpose.

Dr. Long, Arthurstown, exhibited a piece of embroidery executed on crimson silk in the richest manner with coloured silk, and gold and silver thread. It measured two feet by one foot ten inches, and represented the Royal Arms and supporters, with the letters A. R., one at each side above the shield; at top the Imperial Crown; and round the edge a floral pattern. It represented the Arms of Queen Anne; but of its history nothing was known.

The Rev. Chairman said that on a former occasion he exhibited the greater number of the portraits of remarkable Irishmen which he had collected up to the time. They seemed to excite some interest amongst the Members who

were present at that Meeting, so that he had now brought a few more, since obtained. He was glad to find that we were about to have an Exhibition of Portraits in Dublin, those which had taken place in England having been most successful. He hoped the Dublin Exhibition would prove equally successful. His present selection of portraits were of every period from that of Elizabeth downwards. There were Gentle Edmund Spenser ; Blount, Lord Mountjoy ; Owen Roe O'Neill ; O'Sullivan Beare ; General Preston, the not very successful Commander of the Confederates' Army ; Daniel Axtel, the Regicide, Cromwell's Governor of Kilkenny ; Le Duc de Lauzun, General of the French contingent to the army of James II., and who saved Kilkenny Castle from being pillaged by the infuriated Irish on their retreat from the Boyne—the Duke of Ormond being then in William's Camp. Marshal Auverquerque, brother to the Countess of Ossory, who fought for William at the Boyne and Aughrim ; Hamilton, Earl of Orkney ; Tyrconnell, a very fine French engraving ; George Mackenzie, Earl of Cromarty ; Dr. Sheridan, the author of the famous lines on Ballyspellan Spa ; Wentworth Dillon, Earl of Roscommon, the poet eulogised by Pope and Dryden ; Edward Campion, the Jesuit, author of the History of Ireland ; Thomas Carue, who had vindicated the conduct of Butler in connexion with the death of Wallenstein ; Carolan, the Irish Bard ; John Banim, of Kilkenny ; Thomas Haines Bayly, the lyric poet, who was a Cork man ; General Sir de Lacy Evans ; the ill-fated Tyrone Power ; and several others.

The inspection of these portraits created a great deal of interest, and the Members present were unanimous in expressing their thanks to the Chairman for exhibiting them.

Mr. Graves brought under notice a fine bronze seal connected with the Primatial See of Armagh, which had been entrusted to him for exhibition by John Blackett, Esq., J. P., Ballyne, Piltown. It was the seal of Octavian, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, as appeared from the Legend—*sigillum octaviani primatis hibernie*. The device was a Bishop, robed, with a crozier in the left hand, the right hand raised in blessing ; the figure standing under a late perpendicular canopy. It was sharply cut, and in excel-

lent preservation. Mr. Blackett only knew of this antique, that it was said to have been found at Old Buckingham in Norfolk, and came to him as executor of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Bailey, who had it from her husband, Captain Charles Bailey, R. N., late of Southwold, Wangford, Co. Suffolk. How it came thus from Ireland to England was not known. Octavian de Palatio was a Florentine, advanced in 1480 to the Primacy of Ireland by Pope Sixtus IV. in the room of Connesburgh, who had resigned. He was a strenuous supporter of the rights of King Henry VII., against the efforts of the Earl of Kildare to set up the pretensions of Perkin Warbeck to the crown, and was reputed to be the author of the curious Latin satire on the people of Armagh :—

Civitas Armachana
Civitas Vana,
Absque bonis moribus:
Mulieres Nudæ
Carnes Crudæ
Paupertas, in Ædibus.

which Harris translated thus :—

“ *Armagh* is notorious
For being vain-glorious,
The Men void of Manners ; their Spouses
Go naked ; they eat
Raw Flesh for their Meat,
And Poverty dwells in their Houses.”

Mr. Graves said he was glad to be able to state that Primate Beresford would give a subscription towards having the seal engraved for their “Journal,” for which also the Rev. Dr. Reeves would supply a memoir of Archbishop Octavian. They were much indebted to Mr. Blackett for lending them the antique.

Mr. Joseph Nolan, F. R. G. S. I., sent the following paper on an ancient bell said to have been found near the ruined church of Drumrath, county Tyrone :—

“Through the kindness of Mr. D. Nolan, of Omagh, I have been favoured with a photograph of this very interesting relic, together with such traditionary history as it possesses.

“This bell is of that peculiar quadrangular form which Petrie says ‘characterizes all the consecrated bells which have been preserved in Ireland, as having belonged to the celebrated saints of the primitive Irish Church,’ and it is said has been for 200 years in the possession of a farmer’s family named McInCill, residing near Omagh. Its dimensions are—

height $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches, girth at the mouth $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches, diminishing to 8 inches at the top. Unfortunately no authentic account of its early history could be learned, but its present possessor gives the following tradition concerning it:—

“On a certain day about 200 years ago, two funerals were proceeding to the graveyard of Drumrath, near Omagh, one of a member of the Mc InCill family, the other belonging to a family named Campbell. When the corpse borne by the Mc InCills passed over a certain spot the ringing of a bell was heard. As the two funerals, however, passed over the ground about the same time, the ringing of the bell was heard by both. A discussion therefore took place as to which of the corpses the bell rang for, when it was agreed to bring them over the ground separately. This was done accordingly, and the bell rang only when the Mc InCill corpse passed over the spot where the bell was afterwards found. The interment of the bodies proceeding then, as now, in country places very slowly, some of the younger relatives of the two deceased persons amused themselves by leaping over the ground, lately the scene of such a remarkable circumstance. The bell was again heard to ring only when young Mc InCill leaped over the place above mentioned. A spade was brought from the graveyard and the bell was dug out. The people present considered that Mc InCill, by the supernatural ringing of the bell, was pointed out as the person who was to take charge of it, and accordingly it was delivered into his possession, and has remained an heir-loom in the family ever since.

“Mr. Mc InCill, the present owner, says that ‘Columbkille, when fleeing from his enemies, having this bell with him, threw it across the river opposite Drumrath Church to prevent its falling into their hands.’ It was supposed to have remained there till discovered in the supernatural way related above. The owner also adds, that ‘From that time it never spoke till it came again to the Mc InCills.’

“It had a silver tongue till it was lent to a man named ——— on the death of his wife, who was of the Mc InCill family. After the funeral of his wife he took out the silver tongue, and replaced it by one of iron. It is said that he sold it, and that it is now in a bell in one of the churches in Derry.

Mr. Mc InCill says that this is the tradition in their family, which has been handed down from father to son; and to the present day the bell is rung at the funeral of each member of the family from the house to the grave.

“The workmanship is excellent, but perfectly plain, and the metal very like bronze; there is no trace of an inscription on it.

“That this bell really belonged to the venerable saint whose name is associated with it, or at least to a period nearly as remote, does not seem impossible. It is not unlikely that it was preserved in some part of the ruined church; probably it had a shrine or covering, though there is no mention of any such: yet as it seems little affected by time, it must have occupied some position remarkably free from atmospheric influences. Here we may suppose it to have remained till discovered by some member of the Mc InCill family.

“The church of Drumrath is believed to have been dedicated to St. Columbkille, though it is by no means so ancient as his time. It is of a rectangular form, extending NE. and SW. Some remains of a decorated

window are seen in the N.E. end, and there is the mutilated top of another window in the S.E. wall."

Mr. W. H. Patterson, Belfast, sent the following notice of a silver brooch found at the crannog in the bog of Aghaloughan, near Randalstown, County of Antrim:—

"This very beautiful, and, so far as I know, unique specimen of early Irish art, was found in the autumn of 1870. It is now in the possession of the writer. The place where it was found is known as 'the island,' in Aghaloughan bog; this bog is situated on the road leading from Randalstown to Toome, about two miles distant from the former place. The bog, previously to its becoming drained, was called Lough-revel; it is in the Parish of Duneane and Barony of Upper Toome.

"It will be seen from the accompanying woodcut, which is the size of the original, that the design of the brooch, or fibula, consists of two monsters—bird-headed serpents—joined together by a fillet. Both sides of the brooch are just alike; the metal is of about the thickness of a worn shilling. The pin is wanting.

Silver Brooch found at Aghaloughan, Co. Antrim.

"It is of course impossible to fix, with any degree of accuracy, the age of ornaments of this class; but I would suggest that this one is probably of not later date than the tenth century. Those learned in Celtic ornaments will observe a resemblance in the design of the brooch to some of the initial letters in the 'Book of Kells,' and other early Irish manuscripts."

Mr. W. F. Wakeman sent the following paper on the *curach*, or wicker and skin boat, formerly in use on the rivers and lakes of Ireland:—

"The great majority of the members of our Association have doubtless read of that primitive Celtic boat, constructed of basket-work, and skins, which has not seldom been referred to by old authors. At the same time, few persons of the present generation can declare that they have seen the true *curach*, the name, for a considerable number of years past, having been transferred to boats covered with coarse tarred canvas, and widely differing, in form and method of construction, from their more ancient sisters.

"In 1848, having recently become attached, as Visiting Master, to the College of St. Columba, then situated at Stackallen, near Slane, County of Meath, I had many opportunities of witnessing the operations of the fishermen of the River Boyne, and of observing the kind of boats

THE "CURACH," AS USED ON THE BOYNE, 1648.

in use amongst them. There were ordinary punts, and other small row-boats; cots, or flat-bottomed vessels, square at the ends; and, the subject of my present communication, *curachs* made of basket-work, cow, or horse hides, and willow ropes; the only board or piece of seasoned timber used in their formation being a single thwart, or seat. Of the general appearance of these curious skin boats, the engraving which faces this page will convey a very accurate idea. The method of constructing the Curach appears to have been as follows:—A regular frame of willow ribs, generally laid in pairs, and extending along the sides and floor, formed the skeleton of the future boat, which was in the form of the bowl of a spoon, a little broader towards one end than the other, about 8 feet in length, but very nearly circular. The extremities of the ribs, for a depth of about 18 inches from what would now be called the 'gunwale' were set in a very thick, strong and closely woven band of wicker-work, above which the ends of the rods slightly projected. 'Midships' was a thwart of ash, or oak, pierced with four holes, two near either end, through which were 'rove' thongs composed of twisted osiers connecting the seat, or thwart, with various portions of the above mentioned band, so as to bind the work together. The frame was then covered over on the outside with skin, untanned, of the horse, or cow; and the result was the completion of a boat well adapted to the requirements of fishermen, and very useful, as I have myself experienced, as a means of crossing the Boyne at a place distant from any bridge, or practicable ford. Adamnan in his 'Life of St. Columba,' refers to a voyage made by St. Cormac, in a *curach* with a covering of skins. Many other instances of allusions made to the use of the *curach*, or *cor-rach*, by the ancient Irish might be pointed out. Within the memory of people still living, this primitive vessel was almost the only kind of small boat or fishing skiff known on the western shores of Ireland. It was succeeded by the 'Canoe,' composed of wicker-work covered with canvas. Such boats, their owners declare, will live in a sea which would probably prove fatal to a well found ship. They are so light that they literally dance upon the crest of the highest wave. Their bows are of a peculiar form, considerably elevated, bluff, and projecting. When a broken sea is observed approaching, the rowers turn the boat's head to the danger, and pull with all their strength; and this they continue to do until the wave has passed. I, myself, on more than one occasion have crossed from island to island of the Aran group, during the prevalence of weather which few would like to brave, in one of these frail boats, without shipping a pint of water.

"The original *curachs*,¹ of osier covered with hide, still lingered upon

¹ Since the above was written, I have been informed by our brother Member, Mr. Thomas Plunket, of Enniskillen, that until very recently a kind of rude substitute for a boat was not uncommon upon the waters of Lough Erne. This it would appear was also styled a "curach." It was composed of wreaths of bull-rushes tied upon a frame, or raft, made of rough branches of trees, or saplings. A most notable craft of this primitive kind was in

use some thirty years ago upon a portion of Lough Erne, adjoining Ely Lodge. One Charlie O'Neill, commonly called "Donkey," was its owner. This strange individual lived an isolated life, having no settled habitation, and owning no landlord. He passed his time fishing and poaching, as he drifted from shore to shore, from island to island. His habit was in summer time, as indeed in every season, excepting that of winter, to sleep under

the Boyne, down at least to the eventful year 1848, during the summer of which I made the accompanying sketch from a couple of specimens which lay upon the shore of that river, not far from the scene of the famous battle on the result of which 'James and William staked a Crown.' Upon one side of the bridge of Drogheda might then be observed that marvel of modern engineering skill, the iron steamer with its gilded 'saloons,' spring cushioned 'loungers,' and mirrors of glittering plate glass; upon the other the *curach* of the Firbolgs, identically the same (we may suppose) as it existed more than 2000 years ago!

"As the *curachs* of the Boyne were in all likelihood the last used in Ireland, and, as the two which I now figure were declared by their owner, at the time the sketch was made, to be probably the last which would be constructed for use on those waters, the accompanying representation, which was most carefully done from the originals, as artists say, 'upon the spot,' is perhaps not unworthy of being reproduced in an engraving. It may be observed that the paddles used with these boats exactly resemble articles of the same class which have been discovered in connexion with several of our earliest crannogs."

Dr. Henry Mac Cormac, Belfast, sent the following communication on the Irish harp:—

"*Ta anaim fos an Eirin.* Is there yet a soul in Ireland? It is the motto which I have had engraved on the counterpart which I got constructed of the ancient harp of Brian. If, indeed, there be a soul in Ireland, it will not surely suffer the harp to perish. The harp—the Irish harp—is one of the simplest of instruments, and likewise one of the most effective. It is played preferably in one, or at most, two keys. It is easily learned. It is readily kept in tune. The strings are touched at once by the hand of the player, and not through an elaborate and costly system of levers, and consequently they lend themselves to an amount of expression not otherwise, if at all, compassable. The harp is an admirable accompaniment to the voice, as well as to the flute and violin. The arpeg-

the trees of the islands, or amongst the brushwood of the shores which girdled the scene of his operations. He possessed an utter antipathy to strangers, especially to those of the higher class; and on one occasion when some members of the Ely family, accompanied by a few friends, approached his haunt in order to see, and perhaps converse with, so great an original, our wild man of the Lake suddenly dived under his would-be visitor's boat, and, baldcoot-like, reappeared at what to him probably seemed a safe distance, on the opposite side. I, myself, have observed but one boat, like that of Charlie O'Neill, in Fermanagh; it might have been seen some three years ago, upon the crannoged lough of Coolmer, near Letterbreen. Probably this rush-buoyed raft

is the earliest kind of inland, or fresh-water craft known to the primitive inhabitants of Erin. It is ruder in character, and more easy of construction than either the single-piece canoe, or the wicker and skin boat. Upon the beds of several of our drained lakes, artificially severed limbs of trees have been found either singly or in small groups, apparently unconnected with neighbouring crannogs. Could these have been the remains of rafts, the buoyant portions of which had been removed, or had possibly rotted away, leaving an old and saturated frame to sink? Whoever has practically examined even a few of our recently discovered Lake Dwellings must have remarked that here and there, quite beyond the extreme range of piling, such collections of timber occur.

gios produced on it are very fine. It can also be played in harmonics. It is readily and cheaply constructed, and with common care will outlast a century. Moreover, it is extremely portable, may be carried from room to room, out upon the grass, or conveyed to the seashore—all with the utmost possible facility. The Irish harp is not of elaborate costly construction, like the modern or French harp. Owing to the exceeding cheapness of drawn wire, as contrasted with catgut, the strings are economically and readily replaced. Lastly, the harp, endeared to us by a thousand associations, is the musical instrument of Ireland, and ought not to be suffered to go down. With all these recommendations, the harp, I submit, ought to be taught in all our National schools, as I would have the Irish tongue itself taught, not compulsorily, indeed, but permissively. I would have it heard in every concert room; I would introduce it into every place of worship. From music we cannot, at least we ought not, to live apart; and, without prejudice to other instruments, I really know of none capable, on the whole, of yielding higher or greater satisfaction than the Irish harp, whether as an accompaniment to the voice, to some other instrument, or simply alone.

“It only needs the decision of an intelligent and appreciative community to raise the Irish harp to a position which it ought never to have lost, and to render it, as it proved to those who have gone by, the solace and the delight of generations to come. Any professor of music is competent to give instruction in respect to playing upon the harp, and to incorporate the not yet wholly vanished traditions of the past with the taste and ability of the present time. There is also abundant constructive ability extant, and harps, if needs were, with golden strings, could be as readily fabricated now as ever they were in days that are past. Therefore, I say, let us have the harp once more, and let its name serve for something yet better than merely to round the measure of a song, or its effigy, as an impress, upon the meanest of our coins.”

The Rev. Michael Malone, Administrator, St. John's, Limerick, contributed the following observations, accompanying the presentation of an admirably executed photograph of the west end of the ancient Church of Donaghmore :—

“The old Church, or ruin of Donaghmore, of which, I must say, very little seems to have been hitherto known—neither Petrie nor any other archæologist that I know of having ever described to it—stands within a short distance of Limerick. The parish of the same name, Donagh—or, as it is here spelled and pronounced Dounaghmore,—in which it is situated, adjoins that of St. John, in the Roman Catholic distribution of the diocese of Limerick, of which parish I am, at present, Administrator; and, from my residence, in St. John's Square, to Donaghmore, the distance can be little more than two miles, or two and a-half, at furthest. It stands a little to the right of the Bruff and Kilmallock road, as you approach Cahirnarry from Limerick. It is pleasantly situated, only a few fields distant from, and within sight of, the ancient round Castle of Rathard, built on the site of the still more ancient fort known to our Irish Annalists as *Rath-Arda-Suird*. It is also within view of the ancient Castle of

Lickadoon, situated close to the birth-place of Dr. O'Hurly, Archbishop of Cashel, who, as every Irish historian knows, was most cruelly put to death, in Dublin, A. D. 1584.

"From the photograph itself, and from the engraving of the doorway given here, a general idea of the building may be formed. The large, rude, horizontal lintel will at once be perceived; the narrow top and much wider base of the doorway, also the large polygonal stones, just as they came from the quarry, which form the remaining portion of the western gable; and the curious position of the only window on the west end will also, no doubt, be observed. It is *not* in the centre, or *over* the door, but considerably to the right of it. There is no corresponding window on the left. I should remark, that exteriorly this window is very narrow, only a few inches wide, and terminated apparently with a trefoil at top. But it splays rather widely on the interior. I examined the door lintel closely and carefully, but could discover no traces of Ogham characters. However, I may be deceived; and, therefore, beg a passing visit to the old church from some of our brother Members who may, perhaps, pass through Limerick, next summer, on their way to Kilkee, or Lisdoonvarna. There is, as you perceive, no appearance of architrave about the door; and the dimensions of its massive and unhewn lintel are as follows:—Length, 6 feet 9 inches; vertical height, 2 feet; depth, 3 feet 3 inches, completely bonding the wall. The door itself is 6 feet 4 inches in height. Its width, at base, is 3 feet 1 inch; and at top, 2 feet 10 inches. This western end is, at its summit, most inconveniently—at least for an explorer—festooned with ivy. The same, and even more, I have to say of the east end. The ivy there is so thick, and its branches so massive, that it quite intercepts all possible view of anything underlying its dense foliage.

"The external dimensions of Donaghmore church are as follows:—Breadth of western end, as seen in photograph, 26 feet, same at eastern end; external length of ruin, which is, at present, a simple oblong quadrangle, 39 feet 6 inches. I say *at present*; for, as I shall afterwards remark, the eastern gable, which exhibits no appearance of a window of any kind internally, bears evident external indication of comparatively recent re-edification in its central portion. The roof, of course, has long since fallen in, or been otherwise destroyed; and of what its materials were composed there remain no data whatever to determine. There is no trace of corbels; and the height of wall is, from ground line to level of eave, externally 11 feet. The quoins, on the south-east side appear to have been 'dressed,' and are of that style known to builders as 'long and short,' whereas the corresponding quoins on the north-east side are quite 'undressed,' of almost Cyclopiian dimensions, and show that this gable is of various dates. Altogether, it is a most curious ruin. It could never have accommodated many worshippers; and where its sister temples were, we are yet at a loss to discover. The nearest ecclesiastical ruins are Raheen and Friarstown, each, at least, two miles distant—and of which, I shall feel most thankful if any brother Member kindly affords me any information he may happen to possess. I have looked everywhere for an authentic account of these two ancient churches, but I regret to say, hitherto without any satisfactory result.

"To return to Donaghmore. Entering the edifice we, at present, find no possible means of lighting it, save the little lancet window seen in the photograph to the right of the doorway, and another small ope or orifice,

DOORWAY OF DONAGEMORE CHURCH, NEAR LIMERICK.

splayed internally, in the south wall quite close to the eastern gable. This aperture or window is, internally, a fac-simile of the similarly rounded narrow window still to be seen *internally* in St. Nesson's Church at Mungret. Speaking of Mungret, I regret to have to inform the Association—and I do so with shame as well as regret—that a pig-stye, or cow-house, or some such structure is permitted, by whoever is the responsible party, to *completely cover up the outer portion* of St. Nesson's window, of which Dr. Petrie gives a drawing at page 180 of his work on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, &c., designating the building in which it stands as 'the very ancient Church of Mungret.' This 'very ancient Church'—with its doorway and lintel the same as at Donaghmore—is, I have further to add, without a door; and the last time I saw it, its interior was half filled with litter and manure, on which a number of swine, young and old, were lying. Could our Association do anything to remedy this sad, shocking state of things? There is no one here with authority, that I know of, to look after, or remedy it.¹

"To return again to my subject. Whatever may be the external appearance or condition of the window, at present hidden by the thatch of the pigstye, at Mungret, the Vandal has thoroughly done his work at Donaghmore by completely removing all vestige of the external face of the little window in the southern wall. It was most probably a narrow ope. But of this we have no positive proof, as all the stones forming the top, sill, and sides have been removed. On the north or opposite side, there is no sign of any aperture at all. How then, the question naturally arises, was the building lighted? As far as we can see, at present, there is no trace whatever of the existence of any means for the admission of light, save the two small windows or apertures already alluded to. Hence I am disposed to think that there must have been originally either an eastern window or a narrow chancel at the east end, by which the church was lighted. All that I could discover would rather lead one to arrive at the latter conclusion. For instance, the east gable, though now densely covered with ivy, and *possibly*, containing, near its apex—at least 30 feet high—some small window which I could not discover, bears evident marks of having been rebuilt, in the centre, at some epoch far more remote than the present sexton—a man seventy-five years old—ever heard his father or grandfather speak of. On the north side of this eastern gable, the stones are almost, if not absolutely Cyclopiian, and the masonry the work of men coeval almost with the Goban Saer himself; whereas, in the centre, though now lapped with thick-stemmed ivy, the masonry, though undoubtedly ancient, is evidently of a far more recent style and date. Beyond doubt, the central portion of the wall was rebuilt, though unquestionably at a very remote period, and this most probably after the destruction of the eastern window or chancel. Another argument in favour of the chancel theory, if I may so call it, might be found in the fact that there is no trace of the *piscina* which, in old ecclesiastical buildings, is found near the altar.

¹ This, as also all other ruined parish churches, are now vested in the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland, and the 25th section of the Irish Church Act provides for the preservation of all such national monuments, and sup-

plies the funds for that purpose; but unless Irishmen bestir themselves, and pressure is placed on the Executive to put the powers of the Act properly into force, it seems likely in this respect to remain a dead letter.—ED.

Possibly it stood in the chancel now destroyed. I have formed no decided opinion on the matter myself, but only give you the ideas suggested to my mind by the aspect of the ruin as it stands at present.

"The interior is, I am happy to be able to say, in a good state of preservation ; and, in this respect, contrasts most favourably with Mungret, owing to the care bestowed upon it by the Kelly family of Newcastle. The late Mr. T. Kelly caused the crumbling masonry of the ancient ruin to be re-pointed, some years ago ; and also had a wooden door erected in the western entrance—the key of which may be had at all times, from the old sexton or caretaker, who resides in a cottage adjoining the cemetery. Within its walls are interred the deceased members of the Fitz Gibbon family of Ballyseedy, and their relatives the Hemsworths. The narrowness of the old inclining doorway very recently obliged the coffin of almost the last of his race—Captain John Fitz-Gibbon of the County Limerick Regiment to be borne *sideways* to its last earthly resting place. Within the hallowed precincts of this ancient fane were also buried, in olden times, the Roches and Kellys of Limerick. Their tombs, at present, lie *outside* the walls, at the south side, quite close to the present eastern gable. At the south side also—but more to the west—was the burial place of the famous clan Ua CONAILL who gave a name, which they still retain, to the Baronies of Upper and Lower Connelloe in the County of Limerick. I transcribe for you the epitaph on the tomb of George John O'Connell, "*the last of his race*"—a magnificent man—fully six feet two inches, if not more, in height—and formed in proportion. He is still well remembered in Limerick. He was attended in his last illness, which he bore with exemplary patience, by the present R. C. Bishop of Limerick, Most Rev. Dr. Butler, who was then a curate in St. Michael's Parish where Mr. O'Connell died. By his own special orders, given on his dying bed, he was buried at Donaghmore—at midnight, and by torch-light—such, as he stated, having ever been the mode of burial of his ancestors, the chiefs of the Ua Conaill.

"The following is a copy of the inscription on the tomb of the last of the O'Connells of Upper and Lower Connelloe, in Donaghmore churchyard, County Limerick :—

*' This tomb contains the remains
of Turlough O'Connell
who descended from the ancient
barons of Upper and Lower
Connelloe, his son John and
also his grandson John Connell
and Margaret Clanchy wife of
the 2nd John—it also contains
the remains of George John O'Connell
son of the 2nd John who died
13. February 1853 aged 52 years
The last of his race.
May their souls rest in peace.'*

"Whether this old church—to us, at present, so scanty in its dimensions, but once, to our fathers, the *Domnach Mor* or Great Church—be one of the original *Damhlaigs* built by St. Patrick's three masons Caeman, Cruithnech, and Luchraid, or by any one of them, or by their famous suc-

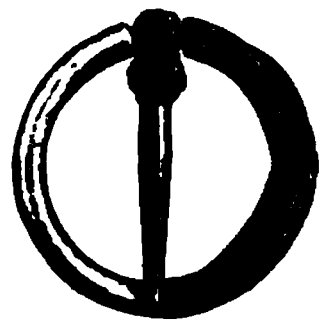
cessor in ancient Irish masonry, the Goban Saer—I don't pretend to determine. All I can say is that Donaghmore is deemed *very old*—next in fact to Mungret—if not actually coeval with it—by all who come to bury their departed friends within or around its venerable walls; and I shall feel much gratified, indeed, if the photograph which I send, and the little information I am able to furnish in connexion with it, be the means of inducing some of my more learned brother Associates to turn their attention to Donaghmore and its very ancient historical antecedents."

Mr. Thomas Stanley, of Tullamore, sent the following observations, accompanying the silver brooch, the presentation of which has been already recorded :—

"The facsimile of the ancient map of Leix and Offaly, published in your Journal for the year 1863 (second series, vol. iv., p. 345), has one of the shaded stripes—described as fortified passes—laid down west of Kileigh, in the King's County; one end of which terminates immediately after crossing the river there. I hope I may be excused in attempting to describe its probable state about the time the map was constructed. A road, in part a causeway, took the shortest route from Kileigh to the ford on the river. This cannot be supposed to be the earliest road, it being carried a great part of the course over bog and swamp. The earliest road must have taken the more circuitous line pursued by the present road; as this is all on dry solid land. At the river it became a narrow lane, passing into the ford between high banks of raised earth. A similar bank was piled on the east side of the river, and went up stream from the ford, to a distance of at least one hundred yards, passing the site of the present Gurteen Bridge. The road occupied about the same length of the opposite side of the river until it turned off abruptly, to be continued on part of what is now known as the 'ould road.' Alterations made in the 'ould road' banks were so various, that it is impossible to say whether they were ever intended for a defile. Down stream the original river banks have been undermined, and washed away by floods. Much of the above described banks was on the farm where I was cradled, and I assisted my father in the removal of some of their last sods: our excuse to antiquarians must be—none of us had any idea of the purpose for which they were thrown up. In fact, Du Hamel was in my hands prior to Ledwich, and the great French agriculturist whetted my natural propensity for farm improvement so very well, that such mounds standing in its way must be more than adamant, if they resisted its edge. I pointed out the fragments of the old causeway to some of the men engaged in the Ordnance Survey; conducting one of them to that part of the 'Ra' through which it entered the town. Midway between Kileigh and the river are patches of the 'double ditch,' a fosse carried across terra firma, from a great bog which enters the Iregan *dominions* on one side, to a chain of bogs which encompass the lands adjoining this town on the north-west. The work is not half a mile in length; but if made before causeways or drainage altered the state of the bogs, it protected Kileigh from an irruption of horse, in at least seven miles of a semicircle-like figure, which embraced it in this direction. I am ignorant of any 'find,' of relics in this place, with the exception of a small buckle, or brooch, of silver, which was found by my brother William amongst those river side earths. I give it to your Archæological

Society. Remains of a great number of bottles were strewed through a ditch which had been the division between two townlands; and possibly was once the boundary of the most ancient highway. They are of a forgotten pattern, and their coating of corroded glass as complete as if the master hand of Alchemy had been engaged upon them for centuries. It seems pretty certain, that they were not made for the rude brewings of the Green Island. On my part, it would be as highly improper to speculate on who wore the brooch, or upon what occasion the wearer lost it. It is not 'Brummagem.' It is the best of all work, which is solid work. The bead ornament was made with a punch, one bead with each stroke; and this apparently after the brooch was moulded into its present form."

The Rev. James Graves said that the brooch had been engraved the size of the original, and formed the subject of the accompanying wood-cut. The punched work described by Mr. Stanley was well represented by the engraving, and gave peculiar interest to this diminutive example of that rare class of Irish Antiques—silver brooches; of which another specimen had been described for us by Mr. Patterson (see p. 74, *supra*). It would almost seem as if the brooch presented by Mr. Stanley was intended to confine the dress of a child.



Silver Brooch found at Kileigh, King's County.

The following papers were contributed :—

THE HISTORY OF THE KILKENNY CANAL.

BY PATRICK WATERS, A. M.

It has been suggested to me to give an account of the origin of our far-famed "Canal Walk," which must always be a source of pride to Kilkenny men, as it is an object of admiration to strangers; and truly it ought to be beautiful, for it was dearly bought, and is all that we have now to show for a sum of £18,000 expended with the most praiseworthy intentions of improving the land, creating profitable employment for the poor, and increasing the revenues of the nation, under the fostering care of an Irish Parliament.

The first enactment with regard to canals in this country originated in the Parliament held in Ireland in the 2nd

year of the reign of George I., A. D. 1715. This Act is entitled "An Act to encourage the Draining and Improving of the Bogs and unprofitable Low Grounds, and for easing and dispatching the Inland Carriage and conveyance of Goods from one part to another with in this Kingdom." It commences by reciting that—

"The great tract of bogs, and fenny waste ground which incumber the midland parts of this kingdom, are not only lost and useless to the owners, unpassable and inaccessible in themselves, but a bar and hindrance to the inland commerce of the habitable remainder, a retreat and harbour for malefactors, and an occasion of a corrupt air, to the prejudice of the health and lives of the inhabitants of the territories adjacent; that by a survey and estimate already made of the several rivers, bogs, &c., it is judged that the same are capable to be made navigable and communicable together, and that the making such navigable and communicable passages for boats, and other vessels of burden to pass through the midland country into the said principal rivers, and thence to the principal seaports of the kingdom, would not only open a cheap and expeditious communication betwixt his Majesty's subjects inhabiting the several parts of his said kingdom, but would also facilitate, and, by the benefit of such master drains, in a good measure effect the draining, recovering, peopling, and improving the said bogs, and other lost grounds, and thereby recover and enlarge both the land and product of the kingdom, create profitable employments for the poor, and encrease the revenues and public funds of the nation, in proportion to the trade, wealth, numbers and employment of the people thereof."

The Act then proceeded to appoint certain persons to make the several rivers therein named navigable, including the River Nore, &c., and the then Members of Parliament, and Justices of the Peace for the several adjoining counties, were appointed Commissioners to mediate with the owners and occupiers of lands intended to be made use of, and to settle the proportions of purchase money they should receive for their respective interests.

By the Act of 3rd George II., A. D. 1729, Commissioners were appointed for the several Provinces of Ireland, those for the Province of Leinster being, The Right Hon. Robert Earl of Kildare, the Right Hon. Chaworth Earl of Meath, the Right Hon. Joshua Lord Viscount Allen, the Right Hon. Brabazon Lord Viscount Duncannon, the Right Hon. Henry Singleton, Esq., his Majesty's Prime Sergeant-at-Law; Maurice Keating, Esq.; John Rochford, Esq.; Cæsar Colclough, Esq.; William Connolly, Esq.; Jeffery Paul, Esq.; Luke Gardiner, Esq.; Thomas Burgh, Sen., Esq.; Doctor Thomas Trotter, Samuel Burton, Esq.; the

Hon. Thomas Marlay, Esq., his Majesty's Attorney-General; Richard Warburton, Sen., Esq.; Patrick Wymes, Esq.; James Hamilton, Esq.; James Stopford, Esq., and the Right Hon. Marmaduke Coghil.

By the Act of 25th George II., A. D. 1751, the Commissioners theretofore appointed were made a body corporate by the name and title of "The Corporation for promoting and carrying on an Inland Navigation in Ireland," and by that name should have perpetual succession and have a common seal; the said Corporation were empowered to treat and agree with owners of land which should be made use of for making any canal, and it was enacted that all lands, &c., which then were, or thereafter should be taken, purchased and enclosed, and all bridges, locks, drains, trenches, towing-paths, banks, &c., should be vested in said Corporation and their successors, for ever; and that any person convicted of damage thereto should forfeit treble the sum necessary for the repair thereof, and be committed to the common gaol of the county until said sum be paid. The said Corporation were empowered to appoint three or more members to treat of all disputes with owners of land, and it is supposed that it was under this authority, and the Act of 29th George II., hereafter referred to, that the Board of Local Commissioners were appointed for Kilkenny.

By the 29th George II., chapter 1, A. D. 1755, the sum of £10,000 was granted by the House of Commons for making the River Nore navigable from the City of Kilkenny to the town of Inistioge, in the county of Kilkenny. By the 10th chapter of this Act, the Corporation for promoting Inland Navigation were again empowered to appoint such persons as they should judge fit to treat and agree concerning all differences and disputes with any persons whose lands might be made use of, and it was declared that such persons so appointed should have like *powers and authority as the Commissioners or members of said Corporation had by the Act of 25th George II., chapter 10*. This was a further confirmation of the Board of Local Commissioners hereinafter referred to.

By 33rd George II., chapter 1, the further sum of £4000 was granted by Parliament towards making the River Nore navigable, from the city of Kilkenny to Inis-

tioge : and by 1st George III., chapter 1, there was a like grant of £4000 for same purpose.

The 27th George III., chapter 30, recites that the funds granted to the Corporation for promoting Inland Navigation expired on 25th March, 1786, and that it has been deemed expedient that the powers given to said Corporation should cease, and enacts that said Corporation should cease and be dissolved, and that all canals, trackways, lands, locks, &c., belonging to said Corporation, should be severally and respectively vested in the persons who should happen to be *local Commissioners* of each several navigation at the time of such dissolution. It also enacts that if any person should wilfully and maliciously damage any lock, towing path, bank, &c., such person being convicted, should be guilty of felony and be transported for seven years, or be fined, whipped, or imprisoned, according to the direction of the Court. By this Act the Mayor of Kilkenny for the time being, who was one of the local Commissioners, was one of those in whom the old canal with its trackways, lands, and locks, then vested.

The first appointment of local Commissioners appears to have been in 1756 (a second commission having been issued in 1760); but I find that even before the first appointment, our Kilkenny Corporation of that day became in some measure connected with the undertaking, and entered into a resolution for paying money out of their revenues for keeping the locks, &c., in repair; therefore, before giving any of the proceedings of the local Commissioners, I shall, as it precedes them in date, give an account of a meeting of the Kilkenny Corporation held at the new Tholsel, the 1st day of February, 1755, William Evans Morres, Esq., Mayor, in the chair, when the following resolutions were passed :—

“ Whereas, the city of Kilkenny, and county of Kilkenny, are making application to the Trustees for putting in execution the Tillage and Inland Navigation Act of Parliament, in order to have the River Nore made navigable to this city. Ordered, that the City Seal be put to a memorial addressed to said Trustees for that purpose; and whereas, the present Mayor has got said river surveyed, and a map of the same affixed to said memorial, and has been, and must be at sundry expenses in relation to said application. Ordered, therefore, that the said Mayor be and shall be repaid by this Corporation the expenses of said survey, and such other expenses as he has or shall be at in relation to said application. And

whereas, the principal objection to making said river navigable may be that the trade of said city, on said river, will for some years be so small that the duty on boats passing and repassing will not be sufficient to defray the expense of keeping the locks and other works in repair. It is, therefore, unanimously resolved, that in case the said navigation takes effect, this city will, for seven years from the time the same shall be finished, pay to the said Trustees, towards keeping the same in repair, the yearly sum of thirty pounds out of the customs of said city, provided the dutys payable by boats navigating said river fall so much short of keeping the same in repair."

Subsequent to the date of the foregoing meeting, a Local Board of Commissioners was appointed pursuant to the several Statutes above mentioned, and I find from the original minutes of the Board to which I have been allowed access, that on Monday, the 20th day of June, 1757, a meeting was held, there being present—George Carpenter, Esq. (then Mayor), Arthur Bushe, Esq., and William Evans Morres, Esq., when the following order was made:—

"Mr. Ockenden, the Engineer, being come to town, it is ordered that messengers be sent to the several Commissioners in the county and city of Kilkenny to give them notice thereof, and that there will be a meeting of the Commissioners at the house of Mr. John Blunt, in Kilkenny, on Thursday, the 23rd June instant, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, to concert proper measures to carry the work into execution, to which time and place this Board is adjourned."

We may imagine what a commotion was caused amongst the good folk of Kilkenny by the prospect of this great undertaking, little thinking what a failure it was to prove. Mr. Ockenden appears to have been a celebrated man at that day, and was employed in the formation of the Shannon and other navigations of the period.

At a Board meeting of the Commissioners for the navigation of the Nore, held at the house of Mr. John Blunt, in the city of Kilkenny, the 23rd day of June, 1757, pursuant to adjournment and notices served on the several Commissioners—

"Present—The Right Rev. the Bishop of Ossory in the Chair; His Excellency the Earl of Bessborough; the Right Hon. Lord Mt. Morres; Sir William Evans Morres, Sir William Fownes, Bart.; George Carpenter, Esq., Mayor, [and several others whose names are set out.]

"Then the Board came and agreed to a resolution that his Excellency the Earl of Bessborough be requested to apply to the Navigation Board for a warrant for £3,000, out of the £10,000 granted last Session of Parliament for making the river Nore navigable, payable to the Right Rev.

the Bishop of Ossory, George Carpenter, Esq., Mayor; Sir William Evans Morris, Samuel Matthews, Esq.; and Folliott Warren, Esq., or any three of them.

“Alderman Colles delivered in a proposal for supplying the Commissioners with stone and other materials, for building their first lock, upon the following terms, viz.:—hewn stone raised and cut, the faces to be punched, and the beds and ends wrought true to the square, and chiselled six inches in from the face, delivered at the lock where they are to be used and set, and a skilful person to set the said hewn stones, the Commissioners finding labourers for setting the stones, at twenty pence per foot superficial, the faces only to be measured—rough stone for building the backing of the locks, and for raising and carriage to the lock, at one shilling per perch of 21 feet long, 18 inches thick, and one foot high; roche lime at eight pence per barrel, to be measured at the kiln and delivered at the works. The hewn stone to be in the bed eighteen inches or more in some parts, and no part less than twelve inches, which proposal is agreed to by and between the Board and said William Colles, testified by his signing hereto.

“WILLIAM COLLES.”

This lock is still to be seen in a perfect state—the bridge now leading to Scott's factory crossing it. As this part of the Canal was to run through the grounds of Kilkenny Castle—

“Then this Board wrote a letter to my Lord Arran, acquainting him with the navigation of the Nore, and as a canal was necessary to be cut through part of his land, hoped for his Lordship's favour and encouragement.”

This was signed by seven of the members, including George Carpenter, Mayor. The above mentioned Lord Arran was brother of the Duke of Ormonde, in whom the estates became vested after the Duke's attainder.

“At a Board held at the new Tholsel, in the City of Kilkenny, on Thursday, the 4th day of August, 1757, pursuant to summons for that purpose,

“Then it was ordered and agreed, that Mr. Ockenden do view and examine the ground, in the County of the City of Kilkenny, through which the Canal for the navigation is to go, and that he do ascertain the same, and give an account thereof to this Board on Monday, the 15th day of August inst., so as the same may be properly considered by the several juries that shall or may be empanelled to assess the damages that shall accrue on the cutting and making said Canal; and that Mr. Ockenden do point out two ways for cutting said Canal, and give his reasons for which is most eligible.

“The several proprietors and occupiers of the lands through which said Canal is to be cut having appeared before the Board, and disagreed with the Board about the quantum of the damages, they were respectively entitled to,

"Hugh Waring, Esq., being present, did give his consent that the Canal may be cut through his land, and that he will be satisfied with whatever damages a jury shall give for cutting said Canal; and that he will not give any interruption to the cutting of the same in the meantime, until such jury shall assess said damages, who shall be appointed for that purpose.

"Ordered that precepts do immediately issue to the Sheriffs of the County of the City of Kilkenny, to empanel, without loss of time, juries to assess the damages of the respective claimants of the ground through which said Canal is to be cut; and that Mr. William Knaresborough, Mr. James Fitzpatrick, and Alderman Joseph Evans, be respectively summoned to give evidence to the respective juries of the value of the damages to be respectively assessed for said lands.

"Ordered, at the request of Mr. Hugh Waring, that such or as many of them as please, do view Mr. Waring's lands, or such part of them as the Canal will probably run through, previous to Mr. Ockenden's report to the Board in respect to said land.

"Ordered that the Clerk do give public notice that the cutting of the Canal will be contracted for on Monday, the 5th day of August instant, and that all persons who have a mind to treat, do previous to that day or on that day, lodge written proposals for cutting the same, sealed up and directed to the Lord Bishop of Ossory."

The Mr. Hugh Waring above named, who appears to have acted so liberally, in consenting to have the Canal cut through his land, and who was afterwards awarded for damages the sum of £131 19s. 7d., was the owner of that romantic locality still known as "Warrington," which lies just below the point called "Land's End," and through which the Canal was afterwards made. When this property was being sold in the Landed Estates Court, on the 10th of June, 1856, exactly 99 years from the time when the above meeting was held, the writer hereof attended the sale, and having informed the Court that the Canal formerly ran through the property, and was used by the public ever since as a walk, it was therefore ordered that the property should be sold "without prejudice to any right of way which existed, and also without prejudice to the right to the bed of the Canal;" by this means that portion of the walk has been prevented from falling into private hands, and is for ever preserved for the public use.

At a Board of the Commissioners held on the 30th day of August, 1757, ten members being present, including the Mayor of the City—

"Then the Sheriffs of the County of the City of Kilkenny returned

their precept, and a jury thereto annexed, to try and assess the several and respective damages which the owners and occupiers of the lands in the county of Kilkenny should or might sustain on account of cutting, digging, and making several cuts for making the River Nore navigable, and the several proprietors and tenants of the said lands, having been severally duly served with notices, pursuant to the Statute, to appear here; and having been severally called, Mr. Godfrey Cooksey, Attorney-at-Law, appeared for the Right Hon. Charles, Earl of Arran; Richard Helsham, and Kenny Scott; John Prendergast appeared in person, also William Colles, John Watters, Hugh Waring, and John Blunt; and Mr. Bibby Hartford, Attorney, appeared for his Grace Michael, Lord Archbishop of Cashel; and Mr. John Fleming, Attorney, appeared for Anne Archbold, widow; and the said several persons then attending, having heard the said several jurors called over, they all consented that the first twelve of said jurors which should be empanelled, should be sworn to try the several and respective damages of the several and respective owners and tenants, and they were accordingly sworn and empanelled, and directed to view the premises."

The Archbishop of Cashel, above-mentioned, who appeared by his attorney at the foregoing Board, was named Cox; he was the owner in fee of the lands of Archersgrove, through which the Canal was then about to be cut, and he was the ancestor of the late Sir Richard Cox, on whose death his property devolved on Mr. Villiers Stuart, the present owner in right of his wife, who was sister to Sir Richard; and I intend to show presently how Archbishop Cox sold all his right, inheritance, and interest in that portion of his property taken for the purposes of the Canal, and was paid for same, and that his tenants were also paid for their respective interests; and that, consequently neither his representatives nor his tenants have now a particle of claim to it.

I find that an Inquisition was held at the old Tholsel, in this city, on the 30th day of August, 1757, for the purpose of ascertaining what damages and recompense the said Michael Lord Archbishop of Cashel, as owner in fee, and the several tenants and occupiers of the lands of Archersgrove, were severally entitled to for that part of said lands to be made use of for carrying on the navigation of the River Nore, when the sum of £185 10s.—a large sum in those days—was awarded to be paid for the fee and inheritance of the Archbishop, and for the interest of the several tenants and occupiers of the land. The fol-

lowing is a copy of the Inquisition of the Jury as to the above-mentioned lands of Archersgrove:—

“ County of the City of } An Inquisition indented, taken and held at
Kilkenny to wit. } the old Tholsel, in the City of Kilkenny,
on Tuesday, the 30th day of August, 1757, before the Commisaioners
appointed by the Board of Inland Navigation of Ireland for making the
River Nore navigable from Kilkenny to Inistioge, in the county of Kil-
kenny, by virtue of a precept issued under the hands and seals of three of
the said Commissioners, pursuant to the Statutes in that case made and
provided and directed to the Sheriffs of the said County of the City of
Kilkenny.

“ The Names of the Jury :

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| “ James Perceval. | “ Nathaniel Alcock. |
| “ Ambrose Evans. | “ Lewis Chapelier. |
| “ Joseph Blunt. | “ Frederick Hunt. |
| “ Christopher Hewitson. | “ John Sargent. |
| “ William Garnett. | “ Lewis Perse. |
| “ Thomas Wilkinson. | “ Abm. Desaroy. |

“ Gentlemen,—Your issue is to try and ascertain what Damages, Satisfaction, or Recompense his Grace, Michael Lord Archbishop of Cashel, the owner, and Ann Archbold, Widow, John Blunt, William Colles, and John Watters, his Tenants and the occupiers of the Lands of Archer's Grove and the New Mills, are severally and respectively Intitled to have and receive for 884 square perches to be made use of or damnified on the said Lands for carrying on the Inland Navigation of the River Nore.

“ We find that there will be wanting for the carrying on the Inland Navigation of the River Nore, from the city of Kilkenny to Inistiogue, in the county of Kilkenny within the county of said city, on the Lands of Archer's Grove and the New Mills, of which his Grace, Michael Lord Archbishop of Cashel is owner, and Ann Archbold, Widow, is his immediate Tenant for the Term of her own life, and William Colles is Tenant to said Ann Archbold for the Term of 2 years and an half from the 29th day of Septr. next, and which contains 79 perches in length and 4 in breadth, making in the whole 316 square perch, which we find to be worth 20 years' purchase at the rate of £2 by the acre yearly, making in the whole the sum of £3 19s. per annum, which amounts in the whole to the sum of £79, and that the sum of £63 4s. sterling, part of the before-mentioned sum, is to be paid to the said Archbishop for the inheritance of the same, and that the remaining part of the said sum being £15 16s. sterling is to be paid to the said Ann Archbold as a recompense and satisfaction of her term yet to come and unexpired in the said premises, and that out of the said sum of £15 16s. sterling the said William Colles is to be paid the sum of £8 13s. 9½d. as recompense and satisfaction for his term yet to come and unexpired in said premises, so that there will remain to the said Ann Archbold £7 2s. 2½d., which said several sums amount in the whole to the first-mentioned sum of £79.

“ We further find that, in order to carry on said navigation on said lands, it will be necessary to pull down, and take away three thatched

houses on said land, belonging to said William Colles; and in order to repay him for the damage done thereby, we find him to be entitled to the sum of £7 4s. sterling; the same to be for roofs, chimney, floor, and ceiling, he having all the old materials. And, we further find, that it will be necessary to pull down 290 perches of wall on said premises, to rebuild elsewhere, which we value at 1s. 3d. per perch, making in the whole the sum of £18 2s. 6d. sterling, both which sums amount to the sum of £25 16s. 6d. sterling, he having the old materials, which we find the said William Colles is entitled to have and receive for the value of his term and damages. We further find that it will be necessary for the carrying on said navigation, on part of said lands of Archer's Grove, of which said Archbishop of Cashel is owner, and Mr. John Blunt is occupier, which contains 102 perches in length, and 4 perches in breadth, and 160 square perches more for the conveniency of the Locks, making in the whole 468 square perches; and we find the same to be worth 20 years' purchase, at the rate of £1 10s. sterling per acre yearly, making in the whole the sum of £5 6s. 6d. yearly, amounting in the whole to the sum of £106 10s. sterling; and that the sum of £26 12s. 6d. sterling, part of said last-mentioned sum of £106 10s. sterling, is to be paid to said Archbishop of Cashel, for the inheritance of said lands; and that the remaining part of said sum being £79 17s. 6d. is to be paid to said John Blunt, as recompense and satisfaction for his term yet to come and unexpired in said premises, which is a Lease for 3 lives."

I find in the Journals of the Irish House of Commons, vol. ii., anno 1757 to 59, under the head of "An Account of Money Expended upon the Navigation of the River Nore," that these payments to the Archbishop of Cashel and Mr. Waring for the land are noticed and set out.

This account of expenditure is very curious, and enters into the minutest particulars, which cannot fail to be interesting, as comparing the prices with the present day. The following are a few of the items, some being for the implements, &c., used for the cutting of the land for the canal, the trees that were planted, and the grass seed sown on the banks:—

20 Shovel handles, at 3d. per—5s.

6 Spade handles, at 6d.—3s.

For 18 rammers, 16s. 6d.

For 10 iron Crows, weight, 3 cwt. 1qr. 14lbs., at £1 1s. 4d. per cwt.—
£3 12s. 4d.

2 Hour glasses, 2s. 2d.

11 Crows, at 8d. per—7s. 4d.

To horse hire to Desart wood, 4s. 4d.

To Mr. William Wilkinson, for 360 elms, at 3d. per—£4 10s.

We may naturally suppose these are the fine old elm trees on the Canal Walk, now, alas! fast going to decay.

For 25 hand-barrows, at 1s. 4d. per—£1 13s. 4d.

To carriage of fourteen tons, fourteen feet of timber from Desart, at 4s. per—£2 17s. 2d.

To 2 barrels of grass seeds to sow the banks of the canal, 7s.

To Messrs. Howard & Merry, ship-carpenters, £4 11s.

To expenses in launching boats, 5s. 5d.

At the foot of this account, from which I have selected the above few items, there is a summary given of the expenses for three years ending 1759, viz. :—

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|---|---|-------|----|----|
| Expenses of the year 1757, | . | . | . | . | £1866 | 12 | 4 |
| Do. of the year 1758, | . | . | . | . | 3582 | 12 | 11 |
| Do. of the year 1759, | . | . | . | . | 2286 | 4 | 1 |
| | | | | | <hr/> | | |
| | | | | | £7735 | 9 | 4 |

The total account is then verified by an affidavit at foot by the pay clerk, and then follows a certificate from the Board of local Commissioners which is set out in the Journals of the House of Commons as follows :—

“ We the Commissioners for the Nore Navigation, from Kilkenny to Inistigue, at a Board held at the Tholsel of the city of Kilkenny, the 25th day of October, 1759, have examined the annexed accompt by comparing each article with its voucher, and find the whole to be right.

“ Signed, Charles Gore, Mayor, William Evens Morres, Nicholas Aylward, William Izod, John Gale, Arthur Bushe.”¹

Appended to this is a Report of Mr. Ockenden, the Engineer, as follows :—

“ An account of the progress made in the navigation of the Nore :—

“ There are very near four miles of canal completed, which with two reach of the river naturally navigable, that joins them, make five miles of navigation. There are seven Locks besides an aquaduct erected, that is to say one single lock, one rhymer lock, and five double locks, four of which are finished, and the other three will be completed in a short time.

“ And there are upon the works of this Navigation, several hundred

¹ This entry in the Journals of the House of Commons exactly agrees with an account of a meeting of the local Commissioners, held here on the 25th October, 1759, on which day an order was made, that their Minute Book be carried to Dublin, for satisfaction of the Chief Com-

missioners and the Committee of the House of Commons, thereby confirming, if confirmation was necessary, the authenticity of the Minute Book, now in the possession of Mr. John G. A. Prim, one of the Honorary Secretaries of this Association.

pounds value in timber, and number of barges, engines, and utensils which cost considerable sums, and are as absolutely necessary to the future, as they have been to the past progress of the work.

“ Signed,

“ WILLIAM OCKENDEN.”

I feel that I cannot possibly conclude my Paper in a more authentic, satisfactory, or comprehensive manner, than by giving a copy of the report furnished to the Irish House of Commons in the year 1761, on the state of progress in which the canal then was. The report is illustrated by a map and plan (of which a fac-simile, reduced one-half by the photolithographic process, faces this page), and no one now looking at the premises would ever suppose it had then arrived to such a state of progress and perfection ; and were it not for this report and map it would be incredible.

“ JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ANNO 1761, LUNÆ, 9 DIE NOVEMBRIS.

“ Mr. Morres reported from the Committee, to whom it was referred, to enquire into the state of the navigation of the Nore, from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Ennisteague, in the county of Kilkenny, what progress has been made therein, and what sum, in their opinion, will be sufficient to carry on the same effectually ; the matter, as it appeared to them, and the resolutions of the Committee thereupon, which report he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table where the same was read, and the report and resolutions are as follows :—

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ The Committee appointed to enquire into the state of the navigation of the Nore, from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Ennisteague, in the county of Kilkenny, what progress has been made therein, and what sum, in their opinion, will be sufficient to carry on the same effectually, have met, pursuant to order, and enquired into the matters to them referred ; and have for that purpose examined several persons in the most solemn manner, pursuant to the power vested in them by the House, and have ordered me to report the whole matter as it appeared to them, with their opinion thereupon to the House, and the same is as follows :—

“ Your Committee first proceeded to enquire into the state and progress of said navigation. Mr. George Smith, Director of the Navigation of the Nore, appointed by the Navigation Board, in Dublin, laid before your Committee a Paper, entitled ‘ An account of the progress in carrying on the Navigation of the said River Nore, marked No. 1 ; and also a plan and section of the River Nore, from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Ennisteague, with drafts of all the works erected thereon, marked No. 2,’ by which it appears there is now building, and nearly finished, at the head of the navigation, at the city of Kilkenny, a very convenient quay, with all its slips and landing places, three hundred feet in length and eighty feet in breadth.

“ That there is a stone mill, a very fine lock that pens sixteen feet head of water, the foundation cut into the solid rock, as appears by the draft in said plan, marked No. 1. That at the Duke of Ormonde’s meadow there is a stone aquaduct that conveys a brook under the canal, as in the draft of said plan, marked No. 2. That at Crow’s Well,¹ there is a fine stone lock, two hundred feet in length and twenty-one feet in breadth, with all its gates, sluices, &c., which falls ten feet, as in the draft, in said plan, marked No. 3. That on the lands of Archerstown, there is another lock, the same sort and dimensions which falls nine feet as in the draft in the said plan, marked No. 4. On said lands there is a rimer or flash lock, which in flood-time pens twelve feet head of water, as in the draft in said plan, marked No. 5. That, on the lands of Kilfera, there are two locks, or one tripple lock, both together fall thirteen feet as in the draft in said plan, marked No. 6. That at Maddoxtown, there is one stone lock which pens fourteen feet head of water, as in the draft in said plan, marked No. 7. That on the lands of Dunbell, there is a double lock which falls ten feet into Ballyredding pond, which is within half a mile of Bennett’s-bridge, and above four miles and a half, nearer five miles, from the upper end of the navigation, in the city of Kilkenny, as in said draft in said plan, marked No. 8.

“ That at the town of Ennistearg, in obedience to an order of the Navigation Board, in Dublin, to build a bridge and bay, there is a fine stone bridge three hundred feet in length, nearly completed, as appears by a plan of said bridge, marked No. 3.

“ Mr. Smith said he was appointed by the Navigation Board, in Dublin, Director of said Works, the 5th June, 1761, upon Mr. Ockenden’s death, and that before that he was Deputy Director of said Works to said Mr. Ockenden. That there are near four miles of canal cut, which, with two *beaks* of the river naturally navigable, makes a navigation near five miles, and that all the locks described in the said plan of navigation are built and completed, except the coping of one, the cut stone of which is ready to be laid on, and that all said locks and navigations are fit for use, and that *boats have passed* up and down through them. He says the bridge at Ennistearg is finished all to the battlements, filling, and paving. Your Committee further proceeded to enquire what sums have been received towards carrying on said navigation, and how the same had been applied and expended, to which the said Mr. George Smith laid before your Committee an account, entitled ‘ River Nore Debtor and Creditor,’ and marked No. 4, by which it appears there was granted towards carrying on said navigation by Parliament, in 1755, £10,000; in 1759, £4,000—in all £14,000, out of which there was stopped in the Treasury for pells and poundage, £420 10s., and £10,149 6s. 1d. was paid to Mr. Christopher James, Pay Clerk, towards carrying on said works; also £1,125 to Mr. Ockenden for four and a-half years’ salary; that there was cash in the hands of Mr. Ockenden’s executors, £187 7s. 11d.; also that there was paid out of said sum £687 0s. 4d. to Mr. Christopher Colles, Pay Clerk, towards carrying on said works; that there was cash paid the

¹ This is the lock at Archer’s Grove: name of the old Spa, which was formerly probably Crow’s Well was the original at that spot.

Commissioners appointed by the Navigation Board, in Dublin, to build a bridge and bay at Ennisteague, £921 10s.; and there was paid to Mr. Ockenden for his survey of the Nore and Shannon, by order of the Navigation Board, in Dublin, £206 10s., and that there remains of said £14,000 in the hands of the local Navigation Board, in Kilkenny, £302 15s. 8d., out of which there is due to John Butler, Esq., and Mr. William Colles, for the purchase of land and houses to make the quay and towing-path¹ from John's Bridge, in the city of Kilkenny, to the first lock, about £136, which, with sundry other debts due to the workmen now carrying on said works, will amount to the whole sum."

The Committee then came to the following resolution :—

"Resolved,—That it is the opinion of this Committee that the continuing to carry on the navigation of the River Nore, from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Ennisteague, in the county of Kilkenny, will be expedient and greatly advantageous to the public, and requires and deserves the further aid of Parliament."

Accordingly I find that, on the 13th November, 1761, four days after, a Committee of the whole House passed the following resolution :—

"Resolved,—That it is the opinion of this Committee that a sum of £4,000 be given to the Corporation for promoting and carrying on an Inland Navigation in Ireland, towards making the River Nore navigable from the city of Kilkenny to Ennisteague, in the county of Kilkenny, to be by them accounted for to Parliament."

In compliance with this resolution, the further sum of £4,000 was granted by the Act of 1st Geo. III., ch. 1, to which I have already referred, and this sum makes, with the sums of £10,000 and £4,000 previously granted, the total sum I have mentioned of £18,000. The same quantity of work, it is supposed, would not now be accomplished for four times the amount, when it appears that the sum granted for building the bridge, crossing the Nore at Inistioge, which is considerably more than the span of John's Bridge, in the City of Kilkenny, was only £921 10s. The map or plan, which accompanied this report of the House of Commons, is most elaborate, and

¹ This, no doubt, was the first formation of that part of what is now the Canal Walk, commencing close to St. John's Bridge, at

the entrance gate, and leading under the high wall of the Castle grounds, opposite the College.

with a representation of the various locks and of the boats plying on the canal, forms altogether a pretty and lively picture, and shows the state of perfection to which the canal had then been brought ; and we may imagine how the hopes of our ancestors were then raised as to the prospect of wealth and commerce likely to ensue. "*Sed Diis aliter visum!*"

Although a bridge appeared to have been built at Inistioge, out of the funds granted by Parliament, still the canal never reached so far, nor do I believe was it even completed to Thomastown ; and, whether from the failure of funds, or disagreements among the Board of Local Commissioners, the project was finally abandoned. To show what castle-building there then was, and how great the expectations of success at the time when the above-mentioned map was published, I shall copy a note which is printed on it :—

"By this map is seen the communication the Nore has with other navigable rivers and canals in the kingdom ; it now communicates with the Suir and Barrow ; the first is navigable to Clonmel, the latter for small boats to Monastereven ; these three rivers measure together above 130 miles, but when the Grand Canal is finished, that 130 will be increased to above 320, by going down the Nore and up the Barrow into the Grand Canal, and so turning eastward to Dublin, or by turning westward and going on to the Shannon, where boats can go as far as it is navigable, or down to Limerick and the sea, making in all a navigation of 320 miles. The speedy uniting of the Nore to these rivers will be of great use to the Kingdom, as its banks abound with many useful commodities much wanting in other parts, viz., corn in great plenty, butter, tallow and beef, great quantities of which are daily sent by land to the seaports for exportation ; black marble (the best in Europe), coals, lime, marle, and many other articles on which the land carriage raises the price considerably."

Proving how man proposes but God disposes!—Nothing is easier than to find fault, after others have done things, which often those finding fault would probably not have done half as well ; but I believe there can be no question that our ancestors began the canal at the wrong end. Had they begun at Inistioge, and advanced towards Kilkenny, then every mile completed would have been of use, and had it even come to Thomastown and no farther, it might have been better for Kilkenny in a commercial point of view ; but in that case we would never have had our far-famed "Canal Walk."

The following is a copy of the first Commission issued in the year 1756, appointing Local Commissioners for making the River Nore navigable, referred to in the foregoing history of the Kilkenny Canal :—

“ Whereas the sum of Ten Thousand Pounds was granted by Parliament and vested in the Corporation for promoting and carrying on an Inland Navigation in Ireland, to be by them applyed to making the River Nore navigable from Kilkenny to Ennisteage. Now Know All Men by these Presents that for the more Prudent and Speedy Execution of the same the s^d Corporation for promoting & carrying on an Inland Navigation in Ireland, have authorized and appointed, and by these Presents Do authorize and appoint his Excellency the Earl of Bessborough, the R^t Hon^{ble} the Earl of Carrick, the R^t Hon^{ble} the Lord Viscount Mountgarret, the R^t Hon^{ble} the L^d Visc^t Castlecomber, the R^t Rev^d Rich^d L^d Bishop of Ossory and the L^d Bishop of Ossory for the time being, the R^t Hon^{ble} the L^d Desart, the R^t Hon^{ble} the L^d Mountmorres, the R^t Hon^{ble} the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir W^m Fownes Bar^t, Sir W^m Evans Morres, Knight; the Hon^{ble} Benjamin Burton, Esq^r; the Mayor of Kilkenny, and the Mayor of Kilkenny for the time being, the Hon^{ble} Warden Flood, Esq^r, Att^{ny} General; Joseph Robbins, Esq^r; James Agar of Gowran, Esq^r; Hugh Warren, Esq^r; Folliott Warren, Esq^r; John Blunden, Esq^r; John Baily of Gowran, Esq^r; Samuel Matthews, Esq^r; Rob^t Boyde, Esq^r; W^m Ryves, Esq^r; Amyas Bushe, Esq^r; John Flood, Esq^r; Rob^t Langrishe, Esq^r; Eland Mossam, Esq^r; Jam^s Agar of the Roar, Esq^r; Arthur Bushe, Esq^r; Pat^k Weymes, Esq^r; W^m Izod, Esq^r; Nich^s Aylward, Esq^r; Ralph Gore, Esq^r; George Reade of Rossenarrow, Esq^r and John Geale, Esq^r, to be Overseers, Managers, and Directors of the s^d work, and Do by these Presents give and Grant unto them or any three or more of them, full Power & Authority to take all proper means for making the s^d River Navigable from Kilkenny to Ennisteague by Employing Skilfull Persons, making contracts, and doing every other thing that may be necessary thereto. And Whereas sevⁿ Disputes may arise between the Commⁿ hereby authorized as afores^d and the Person or Persons, Bodies Politick or Corporate whose Lands it may be necessary to make use of in carrying on or finishing the s^d Work, Therefore the s^d Corporation for promoting and carrying on an Inland Navigation in Ireland by virtue and in Pursuance of the Powers to them given by sevⁿ Acts of Parliament and of all other Powers them thereunto enabling Have authorized and appointed and by these Presents Do authorize and appoint the s^d Earl of Bessborough, Earl of Carrick, L^d Visc^t M^t Garrett, L^d Visc^t Castlecomber, L^d Bishop of Ossory and the L^d Bishop of Ossory for the time being, L^d Desart, L^d M^t Morres, The Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir W^m Fownes, Sir W^m Evans Morres, Benjⁿ Burton, the Mayor of Kilkenny, and the Mayor of Kilkenny for the time being, Warden Flood, Joseph Robbins, James Agar, Hugh Warren, Folliott Warren, John Blunden, John Baily, Samuel Matthews, Robert Boyde, William Ryves, Amyas Bushe, John Flood, Robert Langrishe, Eland Mossom, James Agar, Arthur Bushe, Patrick Wemys, W^m Izod, Nich^s Aylward, Ralph Gore, George Reade, and John Geale, or any three or more of them, to treat and agree for and concerning all differences and Disputes which shall or may arise

wth any Person or Persons, Bodies Politick or Corporate whose lands, Tenem^{ts} or Heriditam^{ts} may be made use of, or are so situated as to be useful and necessary for the better Carrying on, and finishing the s^d Works, yet so nevertheless as that no such Agreem^t by them made shall be final or conclusive untill the same shall be laid before the s^d Corporation and be by them ratified and approved of. And if the s^d Comm^{rs} shall make no Agreem^t, or if such Agreem^t (if any be by them made) shall not be ratified and approved of by the s^d Corporation, the s^d Comm^{rs} or any three or more of them are hereby authorized and appointed to issue out their Warrant under their Hands and Seales to the Sheriff of any County where the Matter in Dispute shall or may arise or of the County adjoining to the Place where the Matter in Dispute shall or may arise to summon impannell and return a Jury of good & lawful men of such respective County to appear before them or any three or more of them at such Time and Place and within such respective County as they shall think fit to appoint, to Enquire and assess such Damages and Recompence as the s^d Jury shall think or Judge proper to be awarded to the owners & occupiers of the s^d Lands which it may be necessary as afore s^d to make use of in cutting making or finishing any Canal, Trench, Back-Drain or Lock near or adjoining the s^d River Nore as afore s^d or for or on Account of making Banks on each or either side of the s^d River, Canal or Passage, fit & convenient for Towing Paths & ways for Towing, Hawling or Drawing of Boats, Barges, Lighters, and other Vessels which may pass in thro and upon the s^d River Nore, s^d Canal, or intended Passage by water from Kilkenny to Ennisteague. In Witness whereof the s^d Corporation have caused their Common Seal to be hereunto affixed the Twenty Second Day of December, in the year of our Lord one Thousand seven hundred & Fifty six."

THE SCULPTURED CROSSES OF IRELAND, WHAT WE LEARN FROM THEM.

BY RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M. R. I. A.

HAVING been lately looking over Mr. Henry O'Neill's beautiful and accurate illustrations of the ancient monumental crosses of Ireland, I have been deeply impressed with the great importance of these elaborate relics of early Celtic art, not only as exhibiting its progress, both in design and execution at a remote era of our history, but also as enduring records of the customs, dress, arms, and religious feeling of our ancestors in those remote ages. I have not myself examined all the Crosses depicted in Mr. O'Neill's valuable work, but I take it for granted that they are all equally faithfully represented ; those which I have,

as Kells, Monasterboice, Clonmacnoice, Kilkieran, &c., are accurately reproduced by the faithful pencil of this painstaking, but ill-requited artist. As Mr. O'Neill's work has become scarce, and as its price places it out of the reach of the majority, I have thought it desirable to give a short description of the most remarkable of these monuments, the letter-press in the original work being in this respect deficient, the artist naturally trusting to his pictorial delineations.

KILLAMERY.—The ruined church of Killamery stands on a small eminence, a short distance from the high road, between Kilkenny and Clonmel, and about twelve miles from the former. Here is a very fine and well preserved Cross, of light-coloured sandstone; the plinth is 2 ft. 2 in. high, the shaft, including the arms, 8 ft. 4 in., and the cap or terminal 1 ft. 3 in. The arms are 3 ft. 9 in. from out to out, and the circle 3 ft. 0 in. in extreme diameter; the shaft measures 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. at the plinth, and 1 ft. 0 in. by 9 in. under the cap. On the eastern face, the sculptures are well preserved; the plinth has a panel filled with interlaced strap-work, the shaft has a peculiar ornament on the angles, found on this, and several other examples; it is a running pattern, disposed like the grains in an ear of wheat, and which I have also seen in ancient Irish gold ornaments; it has a remarkably good effect. The centre of the circle is filled with an ornament formed by four serpents, with their heads and tails intertwined round a hemispherical boss. The top arm has a human mask, with a forked beard, curled up at the extremities. The sculptures in the western face are weather-worn. A panel in the plinth has some defaced ornamentation; the panel in the shaft is filled with intricate strap-work, one portion having elaborate, but regular fretwork; in the centre of the circle is a large carved boss; in the panel of the left arm is a hunting scene, a man on horseback, a hound leaping on the back of a deer, dogs, &c. In the right arm is a chariot having "spoked" wheels (of eight spokes); the driver stands, and there is also a seated figure in the vehicle, which is accompanied by a horseman with dogs, and preceded by figures on foot. The cap on the Cross is of the usual roof-shaped figure, but much dilapidated.

ARBOE.—This Cross stands outside the burial ground of Arboe, on the western shores of Lough Neagh, county of Tyrone ; it is about twenty feet in height, and is wrought in sandstone. It has a curious double plinth, at present quite rough, and unornamented ; the shaft has a double bead moulding running all round its angles, and also those of the arms ; the circle is broken on the upper segments, and has no ornamentation ; the cap is quite worn, and shapeless. The sculptures on the west face are curious ; the shaft is divided into a series of panels, with carved human figures representing subjects, or incidents, of which I can form no idea ; one of these exhibits a horseman riding with reins, the animal having a flowing tail. In the centre is a representation of the Crucifixion, with three figures in each of the arms. The east face is divided into six panels ; the lowest shows the temptation, the tree, with the serpent twined round it, Adam and Eve on either side ; the next panel appears to be an execution, a figure stoops its head, over which stands an executioner with a drawn sword. The next panel has a human figure, with two nondescript animals rearing on their hind legs and tearing at him. The next shows the story of the three Hebrew children in the fiery furnace ; we have then a panel of ornamentation, over this, one with a number of human heads, as if the trophies of the decapitation scene, shown on the lower panel. In the centre Christ coming to Judgment, much defaced.

The decapitation of enemies slain in battle appears to have been very usual in Ireland from an early period, and is frequently alluded to in our historic records ; in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at A. D. 864, we are informed, that Aedh Finliath defeated the Danes in a severe engagement at Lough Foyle, and "that their heads were collected to one place, in presence of the King ; and twelve score heads were reckoned before him, which was the number slain by him in that battle, besides the numbers of them who were wounded and carried off by him in the agonies of death, and who died of their wounds some time afterwards." In reading the above, we can scarcely imagine that we are not looking at the sculptured representations of a similar scene, on the monuments of Assyria, and Egypt ; where we see the piles of heads placed before the

conqueror, and the royal scribes taking account of the same. The following notices of a similar custom are from the same authority. "A. D., 862. The burning of Dun-Amhlaeibh at Cluain-Dolcain, by the son of Gaithen, and the son of Ciaran son of Ronan, and one hundred heads of the foreigners, were exhibited by the chieftains, in that slaughter, at Cluain-Dolcain." That this custom of decapitation was not confined to the defeated Danes, is quite evident from the following passage, which refers to a defeat given by Aedh Finliath, to "Flann, son of Conaing, lord of all Breagh," in which the latter lost his life. A. D. 866. "Mannachan lord of Ui-Briuin-na-Sinna, slew Flann;" of which was said:—"Great the triumph for Mannachan, for the hero of fierce valour [to have] the head of Conaing in his hand, to exhibit it before the face of the son of Tadhg." At A. D. 887. We are informed, that "Maelmordha son of Gairbith, lord of Conaille-Muirtheimhne, was beheaded by Cellach, son of Flanngan." A. D. 894. "A victory was gained on the same day over the Connaughtmen, at Ath-Luain, by (the men of) Westmeath, and a slaughter of heads left behind with them." That this custom prevailed among the Gaedhal at a very remote period, we have some evidence, in the well-known legend of the death of Connor Mac Nessa, where we have it recorded, that the champion Mesgedhra having been killed in single combat by Conall Cearnach, the latter decapitated him, and having taken out the brains, made it into a ball with quick-lime, to preserve it as a trophy. At what period this custom fell into disuse we can scarcely determine; the Gaedhal, with that tenacity of character for which they are remarkable in retaining ancient usages, seem to have continued this down to a comparatively late period.

Thus we are informed at A. D. 1396, that "A battle was gained by O'Toole over the Anglo-Irish and Saxons of Leinster, in which the English were dreadfully slaughtered; and six score (of their) heads were carried for exhibition before O'Toole, besides a great many prisoners, and spoils of arms, horses, and armour."—"Annals of the Four Masters." The native custom seems to have been adopted by the English settlers, as we find from the following incident at A. D. 1452, where it is stated, that Farrel

Roe Oge "was killed, and beheaded, at Cruach-Abhall, by the son of the Baron of Delvin, and the grandsons of Pierce Dalton. They carried his head to Trim, and from thence to Dublin for exhibition."—(*Ibid.*). The latest instance of this custom, as far as I have been able to ascertain, occurred in the year 1462, as recorded by "The Four Masters."

"Thomas, the son of Cathal, son of Thomas O'Farrell, Tanist of Annaly, was slain at Bel-atha-na-Palise, at night, while in pursuit of a prey, which the party of the Dillons, the Clann-Connor, and the sons of Murtough, were carrying off. They bore away his head and his spoil with them, having found him with (merely) a few troops, a circumstance of rare occurrence with him."

It would also appear that the Gaedhal were accustomed to decapitate their own chiefs, and warriors of distinction, to prevent the mutilation of their bodies by the enemy. Thus we find, from the Annals of Clonmacnoise, "A. D. 1067. Murrogh O'Bryan, prince of all Ireland, was killed by the people of Teaffa, for preying them before, whose head was buried at Clonmacnoise, and body buried at Durrowe." In the interesting and spirited record which "The Four Masters" have left us, of the death of James Fitzmaurice, we find the following instance of this usage:—

"James, the son of Maurice, had not passed far from the scene of this battle when the languor of death came over him; upon which, in a few words, he made his will, and ordered his trusty friends to cut off his head (after his death), in order that his enemies might not discover him, so as to recognise or mangle him."

It is, therefore, quite evident, that the decapitation scene, and the pile of human heads depicted on this monument, were intended to commemorate some one of the many events of this nature, so frequent in the wild warfare of the times.

CLONMACNOISE, SOUTH CROSS.—This monument stands twelve feet in height; the arms are 3 ft. 9 in out and out. The plinth is unusually high, and is divided into three compartments by two horizontal bead-mouldings, which also run round its angles. The shaft and arms have a double carved rope moulding round their angles. West Face—the lower panel of the plinth is divided into three compartments, the centre one formed of twenty circular

bosses ranged in lines of four, the other two are filled with interlaced strap ornament. The upper two compartments represent a hunting scene, much defaced. The shaft has three panels, one representing the Crucifixion, the others filled with interlaced ornamentation; the centre and four arms have each a large carved boss. East Face—the ornamentation on this face is remarkably chaste and beautiful. The panels of the plinth are filled with intricate interlaced ornamentation, as are also the panels of the shaft; one of the latter is of very exquisite design, the figures of birds, deer, &c., being involved in the folds of the ornamentation; fine richly carved bosses occupy the centre and arms. The cap is of the usual roof shape, much worn, and dilapidated.

CLONMACNOISE, NORTH CROSS.—This monument stands 13 ft. 0 in. in height, and is 4 ft. 8 in. across the arms; it is formed of two stones, the plinth being one, and the shaft and arms the other. The former is divided into two horizontal panels all around, by a bead moulding, which also runs on the angles. These panels are filled at one side by a procession of armed horsemen, with chariots, which have spoked wheels, are drawn by two horses, the driver standing, and holding the reins. East side—there are three panels in this face of the shaft; the lower one has two figures, one an ecclesiastic, or brehon, the other has long flowing hair, with beard and moustache, a tunic that reaches to his knees, with a belt and sword, which latter has a broad blade, and a heavy knobbed pommel. Between the figures is a staff with a bunch of leaves, or a flower on the head, both parties grasp the staff with both hands, alternately placed. It would appear as if they were swearing on the staff, an incident of very frequent occurrence, as we are informed in our early annals; this quaint piece of sculpture makes us acquainted with the actual form of this strange ceremonial. The staff, or bachall, here represented, is, in all probability, the pastoral staff or crozier of St. Ciaran, and which is thus alluded to in O'Donovan's "Annals of The Four Masters," A. D. 844.

"The plundering of the Termon, of Ciaran, by Feidhlimidh, son of Crinthan; but Ciaran pursued him as he thought, and gave him a thrust

of his crozier, and he received an internal wound, so that he was not well until his death."

The same legend is given in M'Geoghegan's "Annals of Clonmacnoise," at A. D. 843. The most remarkable and highly venerated of these pastoral staves, was that of Armagh, which was called the "Bachall Iosa," or Staff of Jesus, and which is frequently referred to in the historic annals, particularly in those of the "Chronicon Scotorum." Thus at A. D. 1025, we are informed, that "The Bachall Iosa was broken."

"The Bachall Iosa," or Staff of Jesu, appears to have been originally the walking staff of St. Patrick; it was shod with iron, and had a spike in the end of it, evidently to take a firm hold of the ground in using it: thus we are informed that, at the baptism of Aenghus, King of Munster, at Cashel, the Saint placed his staff unconsciously on the sandalled foot of the monarch, which the spike pierced, drawing the blood. It was natural that all the belongings of our Patron Saint should have been preserved with great care and veneration, and that the companion of his many wanderings, and weary journeys, the supporter of his age and infirmities, should be particularly distinguished in this respect; hence the Saint's staff came to be looked upon with great veneration, it being ultimately regarded as the badge of authority of his successors, in the Archiepiscopal Seat of Armagh; not only so, but it was supposed to possess miraculous powers of healing, was efficacious in the detection of theft, and became a talisman upon which oaths were sworn, solemn obligations made, the violator of such being supposed to bring down on himself the vengeance of heaven. The following notices will give an idea of the estimation in which it was held, and the uses to which it was applied. They are taken from the "Chronicon Scotorum":—

"A. D. 1028. The Bachall Iosa was profaned, regarding three horses, and the man who profaned it was killed before the end of three days." He was evidently a horse-stealer, who had sworn a denial of the theft on the "Bachall." "A. D. 1028. The community of Ciaran fasted at Tulach-Garbha, against Aedh Ua Confiacra, dynast of

Teathbha, and the Bearnan Ciarain was rung against him there, with the end of the Bachall-Isa ; and the place, moreover, where he turned his back upon the clergy—in that place, his head was cut off before the end of a month, by the men of Midhe.” This incident looks as if this class of bells were not furnished with clappers, as we know the early bells were not, being struck with a hammer. In this instance, to intensify the maledictions of the irate monks, the bell was sounded with the end of the sacred staff.

“ A. D. 1116. A hosting by Toirdhealbhach into Midhe, and he expelled Murchadh Ua Maeilsechlainn into the north, and its hostages were given to him under the protection of the Comarb of St. Patrick, and the Bachall Isa.” Under A. D. 1143, of the “ Annals of the Four Masters,” we have the following curious passage, showing the state of society then existing, and the nature of the pledges under which the highest powers in the nation were bound to the observance of their treaties :—

“ Murchard Ua Maeleachlainn, King of Meath and its Fortuatha, was taken prisoner by Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair, King of Connaught, while he was under the protection of the relics and guarantees of Ireland. These were they: the Altar of Ciaran, with its relics ; the Shrine of Ciarain, called the Oreineach ; the Matha-Mor ; the Abbot and the Prior, and two out of every order in the Church ; Muireadhach Ua Dubhthaigh, the Archbishop, the lord of Connaught ; the successor of Patrick, and the ‘ Staff of Jesus ;’ the successor of Fechin, and the bell of Fechin ; and the Boban of Caeimhghin.”

Such was the veneration attached to this relic, that the English authorities, though they derided the superstitions of the “ mere Irish,” did not scruple to turn them to their own account ; thus we find, from a document preserved in the Chapter-house of Westminster Abbey, being “ An examination of one Sir Gerald Macshayne, Knight, sworn 19th March, 1529, ‘ upon the Holie Maseboke,’ and ‘ the great relicke of Erlonde called Baculum Christi,’ in the presence of the Kynges Deputies, Chancellour, Tresoror, and Justice.”—(“ State Papers,” vol. ii., p. 146).

In Dr. O’Curry’s “ Lectures on the MS. Materials of ancient Irish History,” p. 601, will be found a translation of a legend from the “ Tripartite Life of St. Patrick,” giving an account of the origin of the Bachall Iosa, and how it

came into the hands of our Saint ; it is, however, so far-fetched, and worthless, as to confer no credit on the subject. This interesting relic was brought from Armagh to Dublin, as stated in "Sir James Ware's Annals," by William Fitz Aldhelm, and was deposited in the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity as a gift, in A. D. 1180, where it remained until the year 1538, when it shared the fate of other kindred relics, which were in that year destroyed by the Reformers.

We have evidence that the pastoral staves of other pious and distinguished ecclesiastics, were regarded with almost equal veneration, and similar powers ascribed to them. The Rev. Dr. Reeves, quoting from Colgan, has the following passage :—

"He adds that there was extant in his days, and preserved as a most sacred treasure, the staff, or pastoral wand, commonly called *Bachall-Mura*, i. e. 'Baculus Murani,' enclosed in a gilded case, and adorned with gems, by which many miracles were wrought, and through which, as the avenger of falsehood, and the unerring evidence of right, in cases where persons wished to remove all doubts from their declarations, or to terminate a controversy by the solemnity of an oath, the pious people and chiefs, and especially the members of the O'Neill family, were wont to swear." ("St. Mura," by Dr. Reeves, "Ulster Jour. of Arch.," v. i. p. 272.)

This "Bachall" is stated, by Sir James Ware, to have been in the possession of the O'Neills for several centuries ; its present identity has not, I believe, been determined, as opinions have been divided between one in the collection of the late Mr. John Bell of Dungannon, and one in that of the late Dr. Petrie. The Bachall of St. Comhgall was preserved at Bangor, until 1177, when it was forcibly taken away by the English ; its fate has not been ascertained.

The Bachall of St. Mochua, of Mahee, was also in great reputation ; a legend narrated by Jocelin intimates that it fell from heaven, hence it was called "The Flying Staff." The staves of remarkable female Saints appear also to have shared in this veneration. St. Bronach, or Broniana, was venerated at Kilbroney, near Newry. There were "certain lands, tithes, and dues," which were appendant upon the "Officium baculi Sanctæ Bromanæ in ecclesia S. Bromanæ," and were farmed by the ecclesiastic who was ap-

pointed by the bishop—"Custos Baculi S. Bromanæ." (Reeves' "Eccl. Antiq. Down and Connor," &c., p. 309.)

The next compartment has two figures facing the spectator; both have beards and moustache; one has his beard forked, the other has it platted, and hanging down to his breast; they appear to have long kilts, with cloaks over them, which are fastened by circular brooches; they wear swords depending from belts, and have no head coverings. The panel over the last has three figures, apparently ecclesiastics. The circular part exhibits the final judgment; Christ in the centre, holding in one hand a Cross, in the other a double-headed crozier, or staff; the ends of the arms, and the head, are also filled with figures.

WEST FACE.—In the lower panel of the shaft we have the soldiers guarding the sepulchre; they are represented in a kneeling posture, with conical caps, and spears; and afford us some idea of the equipment of the Gaedhelic warriors at the date of these Crosses. The next panel contains a group of three persons, each with a nimbus, and may probably represent the Trinity. The upper panel has a centre figure, with a nimbus, guarded on each side by a figure armed with a spear, and probably representing our Saviour on his way to Calvary. In the centre of the circle the Crucifixion is represented. The sides of the Cross are also richly decorated with a variety of chaste and intricate ornamentation.

This is the *Cros na Screaptra*, or "Cross of the Scriptures," which is alluded to under that name in the "Annals of Tighernach," at A.D. 1060:—

"The Elians and the Hy Focarta plundered Clonmacnoise, and carried away many captives from *Cros na Screaptra*, and slew two persons there, i. e. a student and another youth."

This incident shows us, that this monument was in existence in A. D. 1060; but two lines of inscription, in the Irish language and character, give us some certain information as to its date. The first is on a tablet under the lowest panel, on the west face of the shaft, and is given by Dr. Petrie as follows:—

"A Prayer for Flann Son of Maelsechlainn."

The second inscription is on the eastern face of the shaft, on a similar tablet, as follows :—

“A Prayer for Colman, who made this Cross on the King Flann.”

Dr. Petrie shows, by historical evidence, that the Cathedral of Clonmacnoise was erected by King Flann and Colman, A. D. 909 ; that the Monarch died in 916, and the Abbot in 926 ; we can therefore fix the date of this Cross in the early part of the 10th century. (Petrie's “Round Towers,” p. 270.)

MONASTERBOICE, SOUTH-EAST CROSS.—This monument stands seventeen feet in height, and is of massive proportions, the sculptures being of a very superior description ; it has a plinth and super-plinth ; the plinth has a torus, or bead moulding on all its angles, and also dividing it into compartments, which are filled with a variety of carving, but now much defaced ; the subjects were processions of war chariots and cavalry ; some of the panels were filled with elaborate strap work. The super-plinth is low, and has groups of animal figures, and also an inscription, which is thus translated by Dr. Petrie :—

“A prayer for Muredach, by whom was made this Cross.”

The western face of the shaft is apportioned into three panels, which are indicated by a carved rope moulding running round each ; the shaft is ornamented on the angles with a bead moulding, and the circular portions of the arms are finished on the angles with a carved rope moulding. The lower panel of the western face has three figures, a female, whose mantle is fastened at the breast by a brooch, with a male figure at each side, one of whom holds a spear and sword, the other a sword ; the latter is unsheathed, is long, broad-bladed, and has an angular point. The next panel has three figures, apparently Brehons, or learned laymen, from their dresses and long glibes. The third panel has also three figures, subject not evident. The centre of the circular part is occupied by a representation of the Crucifixion, the soldiers with the spear and sponge, &c. ; angels above the Cross. A panel in the right arm has a grouping showing the Resurrection,

with soldiers guarding the sepulchre. In the corresponding panel on the left arm, is a group of figures with musical instruments. The head is occupied by three figures, subject not evident.

On the super-plinth of the eastern face are grotesque animals. The shaft is divided into four panels, the lower one represents the temptation and expulsion; in it we have the fatal tree, Eve presenting the forbidden fruit to Adam. The expulsion exhibits but two figures, the Angel, with drawn sword, and another.

The next panel has four figures, three of them soldiers, dressed in kilts reaching to the knees, and armed with round targets and swords; one sits, another kneels, a fourth figure, which is unarmed, holds in his hands a large ball.

The next panel represents a school, or public assembly, having two rows of figures, five in each; the front figures are seated, some appear to hold books; before them stands an ecclesiastic, with his staff or crozier in his hand, as if in the act of addressing them.

The centre of the circular space represents the general judgment. The Saviour stands, holding a crozier in one hand, in the other a Cross; on his right hand is a seated figure, playing on a harp, with several others playing on trumpets; and a variety of figures representing the blessed. At His left is a prominent figure, seated on a chair, elevated on a platform, and holding a trumpet in his hand; behind this figure is Satan, with a trident, and accompanied by other evil spirits, driving a crowd before them, representing the lost.

Immediately under the Saviour's feet is the Archangel Michael, at his usual occupation of weighing souls; the balance has two bowls, in one is a small human figure, while Satan hangs on to the other, endeavouring to weigh it down. In the head of the cross is a group of three figures, two of which are seated, and hold croziers. The sides of the shafts, the ends of the arms, the soffits of the same, and the exterior edges of the circular parts, are all elaborately carved with groups of figures, and elaborate ornamentation, of the most beautiful and intricate designs.

One curious group exhibits two figures seated opposite

each other, with distinct and strongly-marked features ; having long hair, beards, and moustaches curled up at the ends ; they are engaged in embracing each other's beards, or else they are stroking these appendages—perhaps an ancient form of peaceful salutation.

In another panel is a centre figure, seated on a well-defined chair ; he holds in both hands a cup, into which an attendant pours something from a flagon ; while three soldiers, armed with swords and round targets, stand in the rear. A panel on the end of one of the arms represents a figure seated, his hands clasped together ; two soldiers, with spears thrusting at him ; perched on his head is a winged figure, with a human head, with winged figures at each side. It evidently represents a martyrdom, the soul carried off by Angels. The Cross is capped by the usual angular roof, which, in this instance, is elaborately finished, having a moulded ridge, the sloping sides being carved into a representation of ornamental tiling. On the soffit of one of the arms is a beautiful patera, with two rows of the pellet ornament ; on the patera is an open hand, beautifully proportioned and carved, and looking as fresh as if executed yesterday. The proportions of this monument are more massive than is usual in works of this class ; it is not, however, ungraceful in form, as the proportions lighten upwards, while the quantity of sculpture and ornament also contributes to this effect. It is really a work of art, both in design and execution, and I question if any country in Europe could produce its equal, executed at the same period. The age of this Cross can be decided without much difficulty. It was formerly known as Boyne's, or Buithe's Cross, but is now designated the Cross of *Muiredach*, the name in the inscription already cited. Dr. Petrie gives the following quotations from the "Annals of Ulster," containing the obits of two individuals of this name :—

"A. D. 844. Muiredach, Son of Flann, Abbot of Monaster Buiti, died."

"A. D. 923 or 924. Muiredach, Son of Domhnall, tanist-Abbot of Armagh, and chief Steward of the Southern Hy-Niall, and successor of Buiti, the son of Bronach, head of the Council of all the men of Bregia, laity and clergy, departed this life on the fifth day of Calends of December." (Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 406.)

It is certain that this Cross was erected by one or other of the above. Dr. Petrie is disposed to attribute it to the last named, from the fact of his being "a man of much greater distinction and probable wealth than the other." The Doctor's conjecture appears to me to be borne out by the fact, that the open hand, the badge of the O'Neills, is to be found on the soffet of one of the arms, as already described; it is therefore highly probable that, whoever erected this monument, or to whomsoever it was erected, had some connexion with that distinguished and powerful family.

MONASTERBOICE, WEST CROSS.—This monument is 23 ft. 6 in. in height, consisting of three stones, the plinth, shaft, and head. The plinth is rough and unfinished, the lower part of the shaft is damaged—Mr. Wakeman says by violence; but I rather think by the wearing away of the stone, as it has all the appearance of weather wear; the material is a light buff-coloured sandstone, and from its nature all the sculptures have suffered more or less, some being nearly defaced. The usual torus, or bead moulding, runs round the angles of the shaft and arms. The eastern face of the shaft is divided into six panels; the lowest represents soldiers guarding the sepulchre; the next, St. John baptizing the Saviour, with the dove descending; the rest are filled with groups of figures, three in each, perhaps the twelve Apostles. In the centre of the circle is represented the Crucifixion, the soldiers with sponge and spear; the arms and head are also filled with groups of figures, difficult to appropriate. The west side has seven panels in the shaft, filled with figure subjects, and one with interlacing patterns. The lower panel is David killing the lion; the next is presumed to be the intended sacrifice of Isaac; he is represented as if chopping up the wood on the altar, Abraham standing by, with a drawn sword; the figure of an animal, supposed to be the ram, or substitute, but alongside of it is a small kneeling figure, perhaps intended to represent the Angel. Above this, Christ is blessing little children. Another panel has a chariot having spoked wheels; there are figures standing in the chariots. In the centre of the circle is a figure with a sword and round buckler, surrounded by a crowd of figures. In

one arm of the Cross is a panel containing two figures of ecclesiastics with croziers—before them a figure, apparently an acrobat, standing on his head ; the subject is a curious one. The other panels have groups of figures, the intention of which I could not conjecture. The sides of the shaft, the soffets, and ends of arms, and the external edges of the circular parts, are all sculptured in panels, some of subjects, some of ornamentation.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a GENERAL MEETING, held in the apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday July 10th (by adjournment from the 3rd), 1872,

MAURICE FITZGIBBON, Esq., in the Chair ;

The Rev. J. Graves, Hon. Sec., stated that the inhabitants of Londonderry had memorialled the Premier on the subject of proper steps being taken for the preservation of those national monuments which, since the passing of the Irish Church Act, had come under the care of the Church Commissioners. Mr. Thomas Watson, their Hon. Local Sec. at Derry, had forwarded him Mr. Gladstone's reply to Sir F. Heygate, M. P., which stated "that the memorial from Londonderry, forwarded on the 12th instant (June), has been referred to the Church Commissioners, and their attention has been called to the subject raised in it."

The following elections to Fellowships took place :—

The Right Hon. the Earl of Desart ; and O'Connell Hackett, Esq., Mayor of Clonmel : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

John Evans, F. R. S., F. S. A., &c., Nash Mills, Hemel Hemsted, England : proposed by the Earl of Enniskillen.

Stuart Knill, The Crosslets in the Grove, Blackheath, London : proposed by E. Smithwick, J. P.

The following Member of the Association was admitted to Fellowship :—

Robert Romney Kane, A. M.

The following new Members were elected :—

Whitley Stokes, LL.D., Secretary of the Council, India ; Rev. Dr. Farrelly, Bursar, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth ; J. W. Agnew, M. D., Hobart-town, Tasmania ; and J. H. Cornella, 230, West 36th-street, New York : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

J. Townsend Trench, J. P., Lansdowne Lodge, Kenmare ; and Edward Skeffington R. Smyth, D. L., Mount Henry, Portarlinton : proposed by John G. Adair.

William O'Keeffe, Clerk of the Peace, Ring House, Blackrock, Cork : proposed by Barry Delany, M. D.

John M'Carthy, T. C., Fethard, county Tipperary : proposed by Thomas O'Gorman.

The Rev. William Ball Wright, St. Mary's Clergy House, Kennington Park Road, London, S. E. : proposed by J. G. Robertson.

P. J. Dillon, Borough Treasurer, Kilkenny : proposed by John G. A. Prim.

F. Shiel, 35, Upper Dominick-street, Dublin : proposed by W. F. Wakeman.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

"Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," Vol. I., second series, No. 2 : presented by the Academy.

"The Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," Nos. 112 and 113 : presented by the Institute.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," December, 1871 : presented by the Association.

"The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," Vol. II., No. 1 : presented by the Institute.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," second series, Vol. V., No. 3 : presented by the Society.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," fourth series, No. 9 : presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

"Original Papers published under the direction of the Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society," Vol. VII., Part 5 : presented by the Society.

"The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Magazine," No. 37 : presented by the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

"Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland," Part 41 : presented by the Society.

"American Journal of Numismatics, and Bulletin of American Numismatic and Archæological Societies," published by the Boston Numismatic Society, Vol. VI., No. 4 : presented by the Society.

"The Reliquary," edited by Llewellyn Jewett, F.S.A., No. 49 : presented by the Editor.

"The Builder," Nos. 1593-1603, inclusive : presented by the Publisher.

"The Irish Builder," Nos. 273-280 : presented by the Publisher.

A remarkably fine fictile vessel, from 15 to 16 inches in height, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter : presented by Rev. P. Neary, R. C. C., Ballyouskill, Co. Kilkenny, through Mr. John Hogan, Kilkenny. The Rev. Mr. Neary, in his letter to Mr. Hogan, dated 1st June, ult., gave a very graphic description of the discovery, and the circumstances attending it, as follows :—

"I have just secured for our Archæological Museum a very fine specimen of an urn with all the charred human bones deposited in it probably 2000 years ago. I will bring it into Kilkenny myself the first day I am going in ; as I would not entrust it to any one's care. The style of ornamentation resembles that of the one found lately in Co. Tyrone, of which see an illustration in one of the late parts of the 'Journal.' It was accidentally discovered yesterday evening by a man who was ploughing in a field of Mr. Staunton's (in the townland of Cool), beside the high road leading from Ballyragget to Ballyouskill, about two miles distant from Ballyragget. The plough-share struck against a large unhewn limestone, about 4 feet by 20 inches broad, and 6 or 8 inches thick. Thinking it to be a boulder stone, the man determined to remove it altogether, and got another to assist him. Upon removing it, the breath was nearly taken from them ! It was the cover of what appeared like a rudely constructed pump-hole (built round with dry stones, about 18 inches in diameter and 2 feet 9 inches deep) ; and to add to their surprise as well as delight, they beheld at the bottom a veritable *crock*, containing, as they fondly imagined, nothing less precious than *gold*. Fortunately their terror overcame their cupidity for the moment, else this fine urn would have certainly shared the fate of so many others. So while one remained on sentry, the other came to inform 'his Reverence' of the *find*. If he returned a wiser man than he came, he also returned a much sadder one. You never beheld a more chap-fallen man than my informant when I told him what the *crock* really contained. His golden visions vanished into

air. However he would still hope against hope that I was mistaken, and urged me to go with him at once and unravel the mystery. Though I should be hard set to get back in time for the evening devotions, I started at once in double-quick time, lest, if I delayed, the destruction of urn and *cist* might be the consequence. The cover and appearance of the *cist* was such as I told you above—the urn, at the bottom, appeared the *fac-simile* of a small straw bee-hive. Being tall and thin, I claimed the honour (which no one disputed with me) of bringing to *terra firma* and the light of heaven the crock aforesaid. I managed to plant a foot right and left of it, and get my pair of long arms in loving embrace about it, and thus lifted it with all possible care. Before I saw it, some pieces had fallen out of it at one side, but I was glad to find them afterwards at the bottom of the *cist* amid the clay and bones. I afterwards filled the ‘jerry’ hat of my informant, not with *gold*, but with the calcined bones (some white, some black) of the unknown deceased. I searched carefully for some stone or bronze arrow or spear-head, to see might he be some ‘warrior taking his rest’ *without* ‘his martial cloak around him,’ but could find no trace of any. When I had removed the remains, I found that the urn’s mouth was laid down on a flag or stone (of what kind I know not) at the bottom of the *cist*. We then partly covered up the excavation with a large stone or two, and Mr. Staunton promised that no one should disturb it or close it up for some time; so if you or any Member of the Society wish to see the *cist* and all about it, you can do so.”

The urn, which was placed on the table before the Chairman, excited great interest. The Rev. Mr. Graves had succeeded in repairing part of the injuries which it had received; and he said that he expected to be ultimately able to put together the few remaining fragments, which he had been prevented from doing in time for the Meeting, as the cement had not quite dried on those portions to which the remaining particles should be attached. The bones were carefully examined by the Members, and it was obvious that they were human bones, and had been submitted to the action of fire.

The matrix of the seal of the Corporation of Gowran, County Kilkenny: presented by the Rev. James Gaffney, R. C. C., Dublin.

Mr. Prim said, the Rev. James Gaffney had entrusted to him, for presentation to the Association’s Museum, this very curious and interesting seal, connected with the Corporation of the town of Gowran in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The seal which that body had used from the latter end of the seventeenth century till it was dissolved by the Municipal Reform Act was still extant at Gowran Castle, and was figured in the “Transactions of the

Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society," for 1856, Vol. I., new series, p. 93 ; it being there given as an illustration of a Paper by the Rev. James Graves on "The Ancient Borough Towns of the County of Kilkenny." But it was, of course, not the original seal of the Corporation of Gowran (which, under its olden title of Ballygauran, had received its Charter of Incorporation as early as the reign of King John), as it bore the date 1695 beneath the device of a castle. Mr. Graves had made every possible effort to ascertain what was the device and inscription on the olden seal, but was unsuccessful ; for, although impressions of it had been anciently attached to several documents in the Evidence Chamber at Kilkenny Castle, they had, in the lapse of time, fallen from the parchments and been lost. The seal preserved at Gowran Castle was that engraved for and used by the body which was constituted the Corporation by King William III., after the members of the Corporation embodied under the Charter of James II. were ejected from office. The seal now presented by the Rev. Mr. Gaffney was clearly not the original seal of Gowran either ; but there could be little doubt, although it bore no date, that it was a new seal used at the time of King James II. by the older Corporation. The device was very unusual in the seal of a Corporation not ecclesiastical, being, in the centre of an oval field, the sacred monogram, I. H. S., surmounted by a cross, and in base the Three Nails of the Crucifixion fixed in a Heart, in the conventional grouping of the "Emblems of the Passion." The material of the seal was latten, and the legend, which did not make good grammar, ran round the verge as follows :—

✠ SIGILE * CORPORACIO * BALE * GAVRAN.

The Rev. Mr. Gaffney, when giving him the seal to present to the Association, stated that he would forward, in time for the Meeting, a note of what he knew of its history ; however, the Rev. gentleman had not yet done so ; but he believed he himself knew almost as much about it as Mr. Gaffney. He had first heard of the existence of this seal last November, by a communication from Mr. J. Davis White, of Cashel, who, having seen that he (Mr. Prim) was editing, for the Association's "Journal," some of the Gow-

ran Corporation documents, which Mr. Watters had found amongst the Records of the Corporation of Kilkenny, sent him an impression of it in wax, considering it might be of use to him. In reply to his inquiries, Mr. White subsequently intimated that he had been some time previously given the impression by a lady, Miss Butler of Suirville, near Golden, in whose possession the seal had been, and who informed him it had been found in what appeared to have been part of the moat of an old castle, near her residence. Mr. White wrote to Miss Butler, then, on the subject, and kindly sent him that lady's reply, in which she stated she had given the seal to a clerical friend, by whom, she believed, it had been placed in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. A few months after, the Rev. Mr. Gaffney, who it appeared was the gentleman alluded to by Miss Butler, brought him the seal, stating that he had at first intended to present it to the Academy, of which he is a Member, but that, as it was connected with the county of Kilkenny, and as he was himself a Kilkenny man, he thought he ought to place it in the Kilkenny Museum. The Members of the Association, he (Mr. Prim) felt sure, would fully appreciate the motives of the Rev. gentleman in doing so. The seal was oval, measuring an inch and seven-tenths, by an inch and a half, and had a flange attached to the back at right angles, to enable the person sealing to hold it firmly.

Photographs of the front and back of a bronze shield, lately found in the county of Limerick, and now in his possession: presented by Maurice Lenihan, J. P., M. R. I. A., Fellow of the Association.

Mr. Lenihan sent to the Honorary Secretary the following observations relative to this most rare, if not unique, example of an ancient Celtic shield found in Ireland:—

“The shield, as represented both back and front on the plate which faces this page, is very slightly convex, and is strengthened by a series of concentric circles formed of bosses, parallel to the *umbo* or central boss, and numbering six. The bosses are two hundred in number. In the large, or as we shall call it the sixth circle, that is, the circle next the rim, which latter is $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in width, there are 73 bosses, in the fifth circle 64, in the fourth circle 53, in the third 44, in the second 35, and in the circle next to the *umbo* 22. The metal is about the thickness of a shilling at the rim, but thins very much to the centre, where it is not thicker than a sixpence; and that it had a lining, probably of ‘tough bull hide’

Back of Shield.

Front of Shield.

[Diameter—Twenty-eight inches.]

BRONZE SHIELD FOUND IN THE COUNTY OF LINERICK.

is proved by the rivets of the original bronze loops, attached to the back for the strap which suspended it over the shoulder when not in use, being at present quite loose, and not closed up to the metal as those which fasten the handle are.

“The dimensions of the shield, which appears, when used defensively, to have been borne in the hand, and not on the arm, are as follows:—In diameter it is 2 feet $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The umbo is 6 inches in diameter. The shield itself appears to have been *cast*, but the bosses and umbo were probably beaten up. The handle, which traverses the interior of the umbo, appears to have been intended for the grasp of a rather small hand, such as those of the Normans were, and such as those of the Scandinavians must, generally speaking, have been, if we can judge from the small size of the sword hilts preserved in Danish museums. I do not, however, contend that the shield is Danish, unless, indeed, it belongs to the old Danes or *Tuatha de Dannan*. In close fight, or against arrows, the shield, though a rather light one, would, if lined, have proved a very effectual defence.

“This shield, which I refer to the pre-Christian period of our history, was found in a bog in the neighbourhood of Ballynamona and Herbertstown, Co. Limerick, and not far distant from the celebrated Lough Gur. The shield was drawn out of a not very deep hole by a boy, with a gaff, which broke part of the shield when it struck its surface. Near the shield was found the head and antlers of the great fossil Irish deer (*Megaceros Hibernicus*). Not only the material, but the shape of the shield, convinces me that it belongs to the Celtic period (by which I mean the pre-Scotic). If we could imagine—I, however, cannot—that it belongs to a later period than I claim for it, and if we consult the Irish Annals as to the times when, possibly, shields were worn by soldiers in the locality where this one has been found, it may have been left there in the time when Brian Boru fortified that particular place, or, more probably, it may have been worn in the army of Domhnal McLaughlin, King of Ireland, and elder branch of the northern Hy-Niall or Kinnell-Owen, when he invaded the West and South, on which occasion, after taking hostages from the King of Connaught (Rory O'Connor) he burned Limerick and Kincora, and plundered the ‘plain of Munster’ as far as Emly, Bruree, and southwards. So say the ‘Annals of the Four Masters.’ The latest occasions on which shields—but certainly not such shields as this is—may have been borne in these parts, were in the times of the Earl of Desmond, when there were great hostings, if not great fighting, in the locality; for instance, in 1516, when the place was besieged by the Geraldines (under James the son of Maurice), but left uninjured on the arrival of the O’Briens and Butlers from Thomond; while in 1579 the English adopted the resolution of placing warders in the castles of the Earl of Desmond at the same place. It is not likely, however, that they left their shields behind them; and these, after all, are comparatively modern events.

“I am quite convinced myself that the shield belongs to a far more remote period. I am of opinion that it belongs to the distant ages when the Pagan predecessors of the *Scoti* (who were in possession of the isle at the introduction of Christianity) occupied the country, to whom bronze weapons, and other vestiges of a higher civilization (traced by some to a Phœnician origin) are referred. I believe the *Scoti* did not use bronze instruments at all; whereas their predecessors *did*, and were a small-handed race, as is proved by the hafts of their bronze daggers, rapiers, and leaf-shaped swords.

"The shield,¹ being of golden bronze (at least, I think so), probably belonged to some chief. In size it resembles the shields worn by horsemen.

"So far as my reading informs me, only two shields bearing any resemblance to the present one have been found, and those in Wales and Scotland.

"I should not, therefore, call the shield Cymric or Pictish; and having excluded Saxon and Norman shields, for the reason assigned, I designate it, for want of a better word, 'Celtic,' though I am aware that term is also applicable to the old inhabitants of Wales and Scotland. The number of bosses reminds us of Homer's words—

"——— *Aspides omphaloessai*
Epelent' allelous,"
 "Their bossy shields
 Each other touched,"——

and the hollowness of these bosses refers to a practice well known to classical readers, and alluded to by Milton, when he says—

"Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war."

"We may observe that there have been extremely few shields found at any period of our history, though multitudes of other arms. Rowlands' '*Mona Antiqua Restaurata*,' which refers to multitudes of bronze implements, such as celts, or truaghts, &c., makes no mention of the finding of shields. Walker, in his '*History of the Arms and Dress of the Ancient Irish*,' states that but one shield had been found in Ireland up to the period he wrote in the last century, and he throws some doubt on the existence among the native Irish of metal shields at all; but he shows that Ollave, in his voyage to Ireland from Scandinavia, in search of his father, bore aloft his bright gleaming shield. Logan ('*Antiquities of Scotland*') speaks of but one shield having been found in that country, which he states was not of bronze, but steel, and he alleges that it was in the possession of the Earl of Marr. Penant ('*Tour through Wales*,'

¹ Having ourselves examined the "Lenihan Shield" (as this antique should, in justice, be termed), we are enabled to give some additional descriptive particulars. It is not a regular circle, its greater diameter being 28 inches, its lesser 27½. Six beaten up ribs alternate with the rows of bosses, and there is a patch of bronze *soldered over* an irregular hole, such as an arrow would make, extending partly over the third row of bosses and partly over the third rib. The patch and the solder are of the same bronze as the shield. The handle (which is riveted firmly across the hollow of the umbo) is not solid, being of sheet bronze bent into a round. Its rivets form two of the bosses in the first row. The umbo projects 1½ inches beyond its base, and the convexity of the shield gives it about 3 inches projection beyond the level of the rim. The bronze is turned inwards most skilfully, so as to form a hollow round edge about ¼ inch thick at the extreme rim of the shield, as shown by a section, where there is a break.

Portions of a fibrous substance strongly resembling decayed leather remain in the hollows at the back of the shield, but unfortunately the finder was most industrious in his efforts to remove all traces of the lining, which alone could have enabled the thin bronze to offer resistance to a thrust or blow. But one other bronze shield is recorded as having been found in Ireland; it is in the Londesborough collection, and is said to have been found in a Rath near Athenry. It is only 14 inches in diameter. The design is similar to the Lenihan shield, but the bosses are larger and farther asunder.—See "*Horæ Ferales*," Plate xi., where a fine bronze shield, of the same character as the Lenihan example, dredged up from the Thames and now in the British Museum, is also figured, along with others. Two bronze shields, one closely resembling the example described by Mr. Lenihan, but smaller, have been found in Scotland, and are now preserved in the National Museum, Edinburgh.—ED.

vol. ii., p. 362-3) tells us 'that in 1784, opposite to Bedd Kōret, is Movel Hedog; in a bog not far from that mountain, was found, in 1784, a most curious brass shield, which Mr. Williams, of Lanidan, favoured him with a sight of: its diameter was 2 feet 2 inches; the weight 4 lbs. In the centre was a plain umbo projecting above two inches. The surface of the shield was marked with twenty-seven smooth concentric elevated circles, and between each was a depressed space of the same breadth with the elevated parts, marked by a single row of smooth studs. The whole shield was flat and very limber. I cannot attribute this to the Welsh, who seemed to despise every species of defensive armour. The Emperor of the East having asked of Henry II. whom he considered the bravest men in the world, was told by Henry, that he considered the Welsh were, as they met his mail-clad soldiers with their naked, or unarmed breasts.

"A small round shield seems to have been the favourite of the Celts. Logan, p. 188, states that '*Tearmum, targid*, or more usually *sgaith* (wing), are the terms for shields and bucklers in Gaelic.' The Irish have a satirical observation on a headstrong, irascible person—they call him a *bualoun scieth*—one who strikes the shield.

"Altogether the shield has been written and sung of from the earliest ages, and forms the subject of many a beautiful reference in the Sacred Scriptures. As to the shield, a photograph of which is now before the Association, at the risk of being contradicted, I argue on the Celtic, or, if you choose, Tuatha de Danaanic, or possibly Danish origin of the shield, by disjunctive syllogism, as I believe the logicians call it, in this way.

"It is not Saxon, for the Saxon shield was spiked in the centre, like a German helmet.

"It is not Norman, for the Norman shield was kite-shaped.

"It is therefore Celtic, if not Danish, for does not Ossian mention round shields? whilst all the ancient Irish bards and writers sing and speak of the Celtic shield as round, such as the fine specimen now under consideration.

"When the shield was found, the finder rubbed and scraped it, taking off a large quantity of the *verde antique*; but there has been enough left to delight the eye of the antiquary. I have thought it well to make you thus early acquainted with the existence of this curious relic of ancient Irish defensive armour, for your information and that of the Members of our Association."

[Since the above description was put in type, this ancient Celtic shield has become the property of the Royal Irish Academy, in the Museum of which it has been placed.]

A *chárá*, or thick-backed, knife-like sword, the national weapon of the Afgháns; this specimen came from Teerá, a valley to the south-west of Peshawur, inhabited by the Afreedis, one of the most powerful tribes on the frontier. His object in sending it to the Society was, that it might perhaps help to illustrate the skean, or ancient weapon of the Irish, to which it bore a resemblance: presented by J. A. Purefoy Colles, M. D., 4th Sikh Infantry.

Captain Swinhoe, of the Indian Army, pointed out that, as he understood the skean to have been exclusively used as a stabbing weapon, its connexion with the *chúra* could scarcely be deemed very obvious, the latter being always used to strike, but with a peculiar movement of the wrist, which, while it struck, also drew it back with a cutting motion, and the Afghans were so dexterous in its use, that they would chop off a sheep's head at a single blow. He drew attention to the shortness of the haft, the people referred to having small hands.

Mr. Graves said that the smallness of the handle gave the weapon a similitude in another way to the ancient Irish bronze swords and daggers, and he alluded to the theory of these countries having been originally colonized from the East; exhibiting also, in connexion with this subject and that of the bronze shield, an ancient bronze dagger, with its hilt, also of bronze, attached by rivets, found at Belleek, and which Mr. W. F. Wakeman had obtained permission of Mr. Armstrong, of Belleek, to deposit in their Museum; also the original handle, apparently of whalebone, of a bronze rapier, sent for exhibition by Mr. Crawford, of Trillick, through Mr. Stuart, Enniskillen. The smallness of the hafts, in the case of both these weapons, was very remarkable.

A counterfeit bronze sword, of small size, and of a type unlike our genuine antiques of the class: presented by Mr. William Gray, Architect, Belfast. In connexion with this presentation, Mr. Gray sent the following note:—

“I have been for some time suspecting that some enterprising speculator in Co. Antrim has ventured on a new branch of the trade of manufacturing Irish antiquities, as I have seen here and there some very new forms of swords, knives, clubs, battle-axes, &c., chiefly made of a peculiar kind of so-called bronze, but having in addition the original [?] timber handles, &c., almost complete. Some of the battle-axes are formed of stone. I send you one very good example of what is supposed to be a bronze sword; but you will observe that the bronze [?] will bend like a piece of brass; and if you examine the irregular edge—at first sight indicating decay—you will find that the file did most of the work, and a rough hammer made the indentations on the flat surface to represent decay there. You will notice also that the whole affair is covered with a dirty black composition; but by examining the rivet-holes of the handle, you will see that the metal there is as clean as when recently punched out or filed, and the black stuff is blurred over the edge. Now

I have seen, in more places than one, forged swords of this very shape, having on the edges, along the centre of the blade, irregular, lateral projections, a form of which the specimen I send you is a good example. Many of these *new bronze old Irish weapons* have the handles complete, with guard, &c., but almost always made from portions of modern articles. In this trade knives are very common, having black bog-wood handles, and in a great variety of forms. The compound articles, such as battle-axes, are grotesque, but flimsy, fabrications, not nearly so likely to take in the collector as the stone battle-axes, which are chiefly made from mica schist—a very flakey, tough rock, found in Donegal and elsewhere. As I am clearly of opinion, that this class of Irish antiquities are modern fabrications, I think it only right to ask collectors to be careful.”

A silver sixpence of King George II., and a silver twopence of William and Mary : presented by Mr. Lawless, Kilkenny.

The original Privy Seal, signed in autograph by the Prince Regent on the 11th December, 1815, for making out the Patent advancing Richard Baron Cahir to the state and title of Viscount Cahir and Earl of Glengall. The document was signed by Geo. IV. as Prince Regent. Also a copy of the programme of the “Ceremonial to be observed at the Installation of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, as Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, on the 18th April, 1868 :” presented by Mr. J. O’Reilly.

A stone inkstand, inscribed with the initials I. R., and the date 1677 ; a large lump of ancient bronze, curiously punched or bored in various places ; a flint scraper, a number of ancient and modern coins, and a piece of “bog butter,” all found in various places in his own locality ; also a photograph of the old Castle of Shragh-a-kern, in the suburbs of Tullamore, erected in 1588 : presented by Mr. Thomas Stanley, Tullamore.

With regard to these objects, Mr. Stanley sent the following notes :—

“About twelve years since, Mr. William Molloy, of Killevalley, near Tyrrellspass, sent me part of a lump of fat, which was found in a bog, not far from that place. I have been particular in my inquiries concerning it ; and from the information which I have received, I suppose I am able to say, that it occupied the place where it was found, perhaps since the time when the brothers (Professor O’Curry wont allow me to call them mythic) Eber and Eremon fought that bloody battle at Ballintogher, near Geashil, for the removal, or obliteration of the regal landmark ; and for aught I know to the contrary, may have been loot of some camp follower, which

proved an addition to his burden not to be borne to his far off home in the 'north countree.' The bog in which it was found is one of the many bogs, the strata of which may be divided into four groups; each division belonging to a distinct era. Beginning above, these strata may, in descending, be denominated the moss, the heath, the timber, and the sedge. The timber stratum is the product of a time when bogs were more or less covered with wood; the close of which period could not be later than the invasion of Britain by Cæsar. Under this bogwood stratum—midway in the lowest or sedge stratum, the lump of fat was found. It weighed about four stones; and it was about fifteen feet beneath the surface, and three feet from the gravel, or bottom of the bog. It had a wrapper—membrane-like—so very thin, and so very much decayed, that none of the peat cutters, who found it, could make any sort of guess as to what it might have been. A gentleman near that place (there is always a gentleman near the place ready to solve the difficulty) said the lump was bear's fat, or human fat. When it came into my possession it smelt strongly of mutton; and an intelligent lad—a butcher's boy whom I consulted—without a moment's hesitation, said, 'it is mutton fat.' These lumps of fat are so frequently found unaccompanied by other household concern, as to lead to the conclusion that they were not dropped by accident, nor buried simply for concealment. Mr. Molloy was present at the 'find,' and I had the account directly from him, first by note, and afterwards verbally.

"The inkstand is of the seventeenth century. It is of limestone, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 5 wide, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ thick. Two cups for ink, a trough for pens, and two letters, I. R.—apparently initials—are on the upper side; and a date, 1677, on the front edge. The initials and date are in relief, the usual style in this part of the kingdom about that period. My friend, the late Mr. John Deane, made a present of it to me. It retains much of the polish given to the under side by being shuffled about from boy to boy on the desk. Mr. Deane informs me that he took it from the ruins of a hedge-school house kept by an old man named Rourke, amongst the hills on this side of Clara, in the King's County.

"The knife, or scraper was found at Geashil Castle, and given to me by Mr. F. Prittie, a slater of this town. It is made from a piece of dark-coloured calp, which abounds in that neighbourhood. The maker knew how to turn its stratification to advantage.

"The Castle of Shragh-a-kern is said to have been built by the Briscoes, an ancient family which has some representatives still in this neighbourhood. It bore the date of its erection on a stone, which was removed by Mr. Nugent Briscoe, to his residence, Mount Briscoe. On this stone were sculptured the initials E. K. B., and the date 1588, also one of those curious figures commonly called Sheela-na-gigs. The initials are traditionally said to stand for 'Ellen Kearney Briscoe.'"

An electrotpe of a seal closely representing the present ancient Corporation Seal of Kilkenny: presented by Mr. Charles Chapin, Librarian to the New England Numismatic and Archæological Society, Boston, U. S.

Mr. Prim, in reference to this electrotpe, stated that it was in many respects an admirable imitation of the

original Corporation Seal of Kilkenny, in the custody of their Associate, Mr. Patrick Watters, Town Clerk of Kilkenny ; and it was curious that such a thing should turn up in America. The account which Mr. Chaplin had given of it, in a letter to Mr. Graves, written in consequence of seeing a notice of the existence of the Kilkenny Archæological Society in an Almanac, was this :—

“ The object from which I obtained the *mould* of the seal of the city of Kilkenny was not the *matrix*, but an *impression* thereof in *lead*, and it came into my possession in this wise :—About five or six years ago business carried me into the workshop of an artizan in this city (Boston), and while in conversation with him I noticed on his work-bench, among a lot of tools, the leaden impression of which I have just spoken. My numismatic curiosity was at once excited, and upon questioning the owner I could get no information relating to the piece. He did not know what it was, nor where it came from ; still, he would neither sell nor give it to me ; but finally consented to lend it to me to decipher, and, if I wished, to copy. I assure you, Sir, I was not long in doing the latter, and the next day returned the medal or seal to its owner, having, in the meantime, secured a mould of it, from which I obtained the electrotpe copy now in my possession, a duplicate of which I send to you with this letter. About two weeks after returning the seal, the owner's shop was destroyed by fire, and *his* copy was then lost, so that now I suppose mine is the only copy in the United States. The leaden piece belonging to my friend was evidently an *impression* of the seal of your city, taken for the purpose of proving the correctness of the *matrix*, as a printer takes ‘ a proof ’ of his types, to prove their accuracy or inaccuracy. Or perhaps it may have been the veritable seal attached to some old-time legal document, hundreds of years ago, when the practice of hanging huge leaden tokens of authenticity to articles of agreement was in vogue.”

Mr. Prim said that the first conjecture as to the leaden object being “ a proof ” taken from a seal was doubtless the correct one ; but the question was, when, and under what circumstances was the seal engraved ? Although it was so good a copy of the genuine seal of the Corporation, it was unlike it in several respects. Not only was it larger in size, but the archers on the towers were armed with the long-bow and arrow, whereas, in the genuine seal, they held the cross-bow ; and the lion passant-gardant, beneath the Castle, was an exceedingly majestic and well-fed beast, instead of the attenuated lion of heraldry appearing on the original seal. In the year 1752 a meeting of the Corporation of Kilkenny was held, at which—Ralph Gore, Esq., Mayor, presiding—an order was made that, as the

city seal, and the strong box in which it was contained, were detained by the previous Mayor, who refused to surrender them, a new seal should be made and used for the future, and the old seal should be destroyed, if it could be got at. However, the resolution set out, that not only should the city arms be engraved on the new seal, but also "the date of the year," as a distinctive mark. Now, this American seal did not bear any date or any difference intended to distinguish it from the genuine seal, and as the old seal was yet in use it was probable that it had been recovered before the necessity for making another had occurred, so that it was probable no other seal was engraved in 1752. At a later period, however, a counterfeit seal of the Corporation of Kilkenny actually *was* made, and although he had never seen it, and did not know what had become of it, he presumed this leaden proof impression, which had found its way to America, was taken from it. In the year 1838, certain of the inhabitants of Kilkenny, forming an association known as "The Citizens' Club," organised an opposition to the Corporate body, and claimed that instead of the Aldermen and Common Councilmen having the privilege of electing the Mayor and Sheriffs, that right belonged to all the inhabitants who enjoyed the freedom of the city; and for the purpose of having the legal question tested, they actually elected a Mayor and Sheriffs, and returned their names to the Lord Lieutenant for his sanction. The return of the actual Corporation, of the names of the members of their body whom *they* had elected for those offices, also went to Dublin Castle in the usual course. The Lord Lieutenant of the day, the Earl of Mulgrave, assembled the Privy Council to decide the point as to which return he should receive as being genuine, and a legal discussion took place before the Council, with the result of that body deciding that, as only one of the two returns—that of the Corporate body—bore the city seal, that only could be legally received. The Citizens' Club being thus defeated on a technical point, resolved that in the following year this difficulty should be surmounted, by their getting a seal engraved and applying it to the document. Accordingly, one of their most active and prominent members, Mr. Joseph Hackett, watchmaker—and

afterwards an Alderman and Mayor of Kilkenny, when the Municipal Reform Act had passed—was commissioned to have a seal made in imitation of the old city seal ; and he (Mr. Prim) was at the time informed by those who had seen it, that the seal had been procured. It was not, however, used for the intended purpose, whether from the danger of its being deemed an indictment might lie for forgery, or from the prospect of the Municipal Reform Act passing so soon as to obviate the necessity of continuing the struggle with the exclusive old Corporate body, he could not say ; but it might fairly be conjectured that the electrotpe before the meeting was taken from a leaden proof of this seal, which had by some strange chance been carried to America.

A stone with Ogham inscription, found in a cranoge in Ballydoolough, as described in a recent Paper on the ancient Lake-dwellings of the Co. Tyrone : presented by W. F. Wakeman, Esq.

A rubbing from an inscribed stone of an irregular form, about 14 inches by 15 inches, evidently a fragment of a larger mass, found in a field near Drumscara Castle, eight miles west of Macroom, Co. Cork, in April last. The inscribing presented Rune-like characters of some kind, but not likely to be decipherable : presented by R. Caulfield, LL.D., Cork.

The piece of embroidery representing the Arms of Queen Anne, exhibited by Dr. Long at the April Meeting : presented by Dr. Long, Arthurstown.

The Rev. Mr. Purcell, P. P., Ballycallan, through Mr. John Hogan, exhibited a very elegant silver Monstrance, used for many years in the Chapel at Ballycallan, Co. Kilkenny, and presumed to have been originally presented to that parish by Colonel Richard Butler, of Kilcash, brother to the first Duke of Ormonde, and the ancestor of the present Marquis of Ormonde. That Colonel Butler was the donor of the Monstrance there could be no doubt, from the inscription, in cursive characters, which it bore :—

God. be. merciful. to. the. Honnerable. Collonell. Richard. Butler. and. his. Right. Honnerable. Lady. Frances. Butler. alias. Touchet.

The Rev. Mr. Graves said that, in its general design, this Monstrance bore a great resemblance to one known

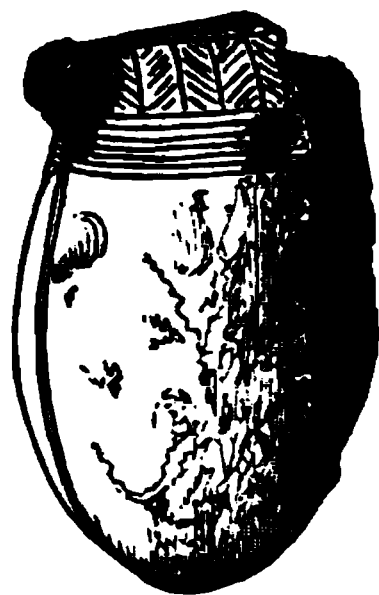
to have been made for Bishop Roth (engraved in "The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice," p. 40), and which had long been preserved in the Bryan family, until presented by the late Mrs. Bryan, of Jenkinstown, to the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Kilkenny. The Monstrance now exhibited was somewhat older, and much more highly decorated than that of Bishop Roth. It measured 19 inches in height, and weighed 21 oz. 17½ dwts. There was no plate mark visible.

Mr. Watson, Hon. Local Secretary, Londonderry, reported the purchase of a penannular gold antique, with inscribed chevron ornamentation and trumpet ends, by a jeweller in that city. It was found on Pollen Strand, in Innishowen, and weighed 3 oz. 9 dwts.

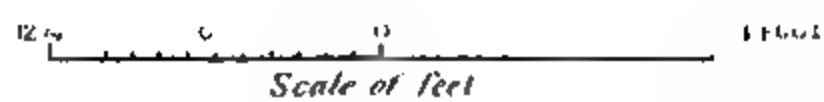
Mr. Prim said he was informed by Mr. R. Day, of Cork, that he had purchased at Londonderry, for his collection, a similar antique which he had showed lately to him at Kilkenny; it was most probably that reported by Mr. Watson.

The following communication was received from Mr. R. Day, M. R. I. A., F. S. A., accompanied by the woodcut, which he has presented free of cost to the Association :—

"In the Journal for April 1869 (Vol. I., Third Series, p. 353), an inscribed Shrine arch, from my collection, is figured and described by the Rev. William Reeves, D. D. With it, was found the bulla here engraved, both of which I purchased from a dealer in Ballymena, who informed me, that they were found on the shore of the lower Bann. This bulla differs from those described by Sir William Wilde, in his Catalogue of the Gold Antiquities in the Royal Irish Academy; for while those there figured and described are composed of lead, and covered with laminæ of gold, this is a gold envelope encasing a relic, which Professor Harkness, F. R. S., of the Queen's College, Cork, has kindly analyzed for me. He states, that the 'substance is combustible, and burns with a flame; that the ash affords phosphoric acid. When examined with the microscope by transmitted light, the substance, besides a large amount of earthy matter (clay), exhibits small irregular-shaped particles, having a brownish red colour, which are probably altered blood globules.' This leaves no doubt concerning the use of this reliquary; the contents may be the blood of a martyred saint, mixed with the earth on which it was spilled. The top of this relic-case is hollowed to admit a string for suspension, and while the body is plain and undecorated, the upper



Gold Reliquary, found in the lower Bann.



Wm. Wood & Co. Ltd.

MONUMENTAL SLAB AT KILLYBEGS, CO DONEGAL

portion is ornamented with the well-known pattern so frequently found on gold ornaments of the same period, and on Cinerary Urns of an earlier time. Doctor Reeves has assigned the Shrine arch to the twelfth century, and we may reasonably give this the same, or perhaps a higher antiquity, as both were together, when found. It is unfortunate that the finder should have broken a portion of the gold covering off, and doubly so, that other objects found with it should have been mislaid and lost by him, as he was ignorant of their value, and supposed that the reliquary was brass, and valueless. The dealer, strange to say, was equally ignorant of its worth; and here it may be remarked, that as a rule, the peasantry mistake gold for brass, and bronze for gold. A gold hoop-shaped fibula with wine-glass shaped ends, in my collection, weighing two ounces, when discovered, was broken in halves by the finder, who purposed using the pieces as hat pegs in his cabin, and who parted with both to a passing dealer for a small quantity of tobacco. Other instances have been met, and they are not a few, where finders of copper axes, and bronze palstaves, would not be persuaded but that they had secured wedges of gold; and in one case a man who had found a number of these at Renny, near Mallow, was so disappointed on learning their true character from a silversmith in Cork, that he flung all into the river there. Objects covered with thin plates of gold are often found in Ireland, and although the bullæ are scarce, the small penannular rings so well known as ring money, which have a groundwork of copper, and a covering of gold, are more frequently met with. If these circulated as a medium of exchange, they must have been forgeries of the period, and were both an admirably made counterfeit of the sterling gold ring money, and had probably an equally large circulation, for I have met with, during the past four years, in various parts of Ireland, no less than six of these spurious rings, and only four of those in solid gold.

A notice of a monumental slab found at Ballysaggart, parish of Killaghtee, Barony of Banagh, county of Donegal, was communicated by Mr. William H. Patterson, as follows:—

“The very fine monumental slab of which an engraving faces this page, is now at the Roman Catholic Church at Killybegs, county of Donegal, where it is fixed securely, against the wall of the interior of the building. The slab was brought from an exposed position, near the ruins of a small ecclesiastical building at Ballysaggart,¹ on St. John's Point in the adjoining parish of Killaghtee; according to local tradition, it had been always there, and was known and admired by the peasantry, but it was trodden over by children, and the young men used to try their strength at lifting it; to protect it, therefore, from any further injury, the Rev. James Stephens had it removed to his church at Killybegs, in 1868, where it now remains, secure from further effects of weather or from chance mutilation.

¹ The church and graveyard of Ballysaggart, “town of the priest,” are shown on the eastern shore of St. John's Point,

about half-way along the peninsula, in sheet 31 of the one-inch Ordnance Maps of the County.

"The material of the monument is sandstone of a particularly hard and close texture, but it has suffered much from long exposure, and some parts of the ornament are now very faint; however, in July, 1871, aided by the Rev. Mr. Stephens, and Mr. Barrett, of Bruckless, I was able to get a very satisfactory rubbing, from which the accompanying plate has been reduced. The slab measures 6 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 4 inches across, at the wide end, and 1 foot 6 inches at the narrow end. The whole of the ornament is in very low relief. It will be seen that the surface is divided by bands of interlaced tracery into a number of panels, each of which is filled with a design differing from the others; those on the left of the drawing appear to be the more important as bearing the human figures, &c., while those on the right, so far as I can judge, are merely ornamental, enriching the monument and balancing the other parts of the design.

"The slab is evidently a sepulchral monument, and is intended to commemorate the warrior whose effigy appears at the top, helmeted and plumed, and armed with battle-axe and sword; the weapons of the Irish galloglass. Owing to the absence of any literal inscription, it must always be a matter of uncertainty to whom this monument belonged, but local tradition connects it with the Mac Sweeny (*Mac Suibne*) family, who lived as petty princes in their castle of Rathain.

"The ruins of this castle still exist on a little promontory on the western shore of St. John's Point, about two miles distant from Ballysaggart; the adjoining inlet is named, in the Ordnance Map, M'Swyne's Bay.

"Various entries in the 'Annals of the Four Masters,' connect Rathain Castle with the family of Mac Sweeny Banagh; thus at A.D. 1524, it is recorded that 'Mac Sweeny, of Tir Boghaine' (Niall More, the son of Owen), a constable of hardiest hand and heroism, of boldest heart and counsel, best at withholding and attacking, best in hospitality and prowess, who had the most numerous troops and most vigorous soldiers, and who had forced the greatest number of perilous passes, of any man of his own fair tribe, died after unction and penance, in his own Castle of Rathain, on the 14th of December.' Again, at 1535, 'Mac Sweeny, of Tir Boghaine (Mulmurry More, the son of Niall Mac Sweeny), was treacherously slain by his own brother, Niall, at the door of Mac Sweeny's Castle of Rathain, on the festival of SS. Peter and Paul.'

"A branch of the Mac Sweenys, of Munster, removed to Scotland about the commencement of the 11th century, and some of their descendants returned to Ireland early in the 14th century, and were hereditary leaders of galloglasses to many Irish chieftains.² The Mac Sweenys, during their sojourn among the turbulent clans of the west of Scotland, had probably gained for themselves the reputation of hardy and successful captains of foot soldiers; for it appears that O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnell, encouraged them to settle in his territory, particularly along the sea coast. It is expressly stated that Mac Sweeny was planted in Fanaid, in the 14th century, by consent of O'Donnell.³ Concerning the Barony of Banagh, whose chief kept his state at Rathain, Dr. O'Donovan writes: 'according to O'Dugan's topographical poem, this territory belonged to the O'Boyle,

¹ Tir Boghaine, now the Barony of Banagh, in South Western Donegal.

² O'Donovan in "Irish Penny Journal"

for 1840, p. 382.

³ See "Battle of Magh Rath," p. 156, note p.

but for about two centuries before the confiscation of Ulster, it was the country of Mac Sweeny Banagh, a hereditary leader of galloglasses to the O'Donnells.¹ Elsewhere O'Donovan mentions that Mac Sweeny dispossessed O'Boyle, in Banagh, in 1343; this date may probably represent the first coming of the Mac Sweenys to Banagh, so that if this monument belongs to one of this family it cannot be older than the middle of the fourteenth century. Having once firmly established themselves in Donegal, the Mac Sweenys appear to have held their ground, and also to have maintained their old fighting fame. A letter written by Sir Henry Sidney, in 1583, to Sir Francis Walsingham, quoted in the 'Ulster Journal of Archæology,' mentions that 'Shane O'Neale, the arch traytor, having exiled O'Donnell, lord of Tyrconnell, and drove him into England * * * took possession of all his castles, which were many, and strong, and put under subjection all the potentates of the same dominion, namely: O'Dogherty, O'Boyle, O'Gallaghare, the three grand captains of Galloglas called Mackswynes of Fanat, Banogh and Ne Do,² all which he either held in prison or lett out detayninge their best hostages.' The Mac Sweenys appear to have always been in the front when any fighting was going on; thus it is recorded that in 1522, O'Donnell having been attacked by O'Neill and his Connaught allies, 'assembled his own small but faithful forces in Kinel Connell, namely, O'Boyle, O'Dogherty, the three Mac Sweenys and the O'Gallaghers.' The precise topographical position occupied in Tyrconnell by the three septs of Mac Sweeny is indicated in the map of Ireland made in 1567, by John Goghe, a Limerick schoolmaster, a copy of which has been printed in the second volume of the 'State Papers' (4to., London, 1834). In this map, 'Mac Swyny Fanid' is placed to the west of Lough Swilly. 'Mac Swyny ne toch' is further west, and extends along the coast southwards, while 'Mac Swyny Banigh' occupies a district on the north of Donegal bay, which seems to be co-extensive with the modern barony of Banagh. Mr. H. Hore, writing in the Ulster Journal of Archæology, concerning this map, says: 'It also depicts them (the Mac Sweenys) in a curious manner by pourtraying three galloglasses in armour to represent the three septs. These figures are clad in shirts of mail, helmeted, and holding the famous battle-axe or 'sparthe,' which, according to Cambrensis, was in use among the north-men or ost-men.' Mr. Hore, further on, in discussing the origin of the galloglass and the meaning of the word, quotes Sir Walter Scott, in his account of the Scottish host:—

'The Isle men carried at their backs,
The ancient *Danish* battle-axe.'

He goes on to say that here we have the true origin of the gallo-glass.³ Sweyn is a Danish Christian-name. The surname still lingers in the Isles. Dr. Johnson visited a Mr. M'Swyne, when in Coll. Although the word 'Scotici' stands for these redoubtable mercenaries in all the treaties made with the Irish chieftains by Lord Leonard Gray, and although Ireland (as Shakspeare, in Macbeth, says of the merciless Mac Donnell), 'from the Western Isles, of Kernes and Gallowglasses is supplied;' yet their

¹ "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 1524, note.

² Ne Do, *recte*, Na d-Tuath, which is

translated "of the districts" or "territories."

³ Gallo-glass, i. e. foreign soldier?

Cunabulum was unquestionably either Denmark or Norway, from whence the entire sea coasts of Great Britain and Ireland were peopled. If O'Donovan be correct in supposing that the descendants of the Mac Sweenys who left Munster in the eleventh century, returned to Ireland as captains of galloglass in the fourteenth, they probably had acquired their skill in the use of the battle-axe by joining in the feuds of the clansmen among the western islands. The professed galloglass does not appear to have been a native Irish institution, and the word, so far as I know, does not appear in our early historical writings.

"Considering the locality where this monument was found, it seems very probable that it belonged to a Mac Sweeny Banagh. The 'Annals of the Four Masters' contain numerous mentions of this family, and record the deaths, generally in battle, of many of them; but it seems to me extremely probable that Owen, who died in 1351, is the individual to whom the monument was erected. The entry is:—

" 'A. D. 1351. Owen-na-lathaighe Mac Sweeny was slain by Manus O'Donnell.'

"This *na-lathaighe*, I think, connects Owen with the district where the slab was found, and where Rathain Castle stood. The modern name of the parish which contains St. John's Point is Killaghtee, i. e., Kill-leacht'-oidhche—the Church of the Monumental Stone of the Night. If 'lathaighe' be a corruption of 'leacht-oidhche,' the name and title would read 'Owen of the Night Monument,' that is, of this particular district.

"In endeavouring to arrive at a knowledge of the age of this monument, some particulars, such as the place where it was found, and peculiarities of shape and pattern, give considerable assistance.

"In the first place, although Celtic in most of the ornamental details, it is decidedly non-Hibernian, it is quite unique as an Irish example of monumental art; so far as I know, nothing resembling it has been found in Ireland. The slab, however, partakes much of the character of some of those in the west of Scotland, and is of what may be called the Iona school, having, I have but little doubt, been made in that island, or made in Donegal by artists brought from Iona for the purpose, to be placed as the memorial of one of the newly arrived Mac Sweenys. For the first generation, at least after settling in Donegal, this family would naturally be more Scotch than Irish in feelings, though after a few generations these feelings would have changed. Most probably Iona had been for a long period the burial-place of their tribe, as it was of the M'Leans, M'Leods, and other families of the Isles. Ever since the time of St. Columba, Iona had enjoyed a high reputation as a burying-place, and persons were brought from distant places to be there interred. Pennant quotes a Gaelic prophecy which was probably the origin of its fame in this respect, and translates it thus:—

'Seven years before the end of the world,
A deluge shall drown the nations.
The sea at one tide shall cover Ireland,
And the green-headed Islay, but Columba's isle
Shall swim above the flood.'

"Mr. Graham has published a work on the antiquities of Iona,² in

¹ The writer has described this "leacht" in the "Journal" for April, 1871.

² Graham's Antiquities of Iona, London, 1850.

which he gives lithographs of a great number of the monuments which still exist there ; an examination of these drawings will show the points in which this Ballysaggart slab resembles the Iona ones, but any one wishing to make a still more critical comparison should consult the magnificent publications of the Spalding Club—'The Sculptured Stones of Scotland' by Dr. John Stuart, where many examples from Iona and other places in the west are figured.

"As regards the art of the stone under consideration, the interlaced riband pattern in various combinations might suggest a much earlier date than that to which I consider it probable the stone belongs ; but it must be borne in mind that this peculiar style, which was in use in Ireland from the sixth century, or earlier, was the favourite type of ornament, and continued in vogue in certain decorations, through a very lengthened period, even to modern times, as shown in the bucklers, brooches, and powder-horns of the Highlanders. The architectural or gothic panel at the upper right hand corner, gives a key to the age of the slab, and fixes a limit as to the period to which it might be referred. This limit would, I consider, be the middle of the fourteenth century, earlier than which I think the slab could not be, though it might be considerably later. Most of the other ornamental panels, including the one with the grotesque animals, might be several centuries earlier, had they not been associated with gothic work. The form of the slab, tapering from the head to the foot, is not a fashion of Celtic growth, but was introduced to the Scotie races by the Anglo-Norman invaders, as was the fashion of carving effigies on monuments. The true Irish tombstones were of totally different type, they were not of tapered form, bore no effigy, but bore invariably a cross, of more or less elaborate character, and had usually a short inscription. I would direct attention to the curious subject in the lowest left-hand panel, which evidently represents two men in kilted costume struggling together. Wrestling was the favourite pastime of all the northern nations, and the group may have represented a wrestling match, which was introduced to record the skill in this sport of the warrior, who is also displayed in full fighting costume in the principal panel ; thus indicating his triumphs both in peace and war.

"The group, however, may represent the death-struggle of the warrior, the last scene in his life ; it will be remembered that Owen Mac Sweeny was slain by Manus O'Donnell in 1351. Now, could we understand the significance of the small symbols which accompany the figures in this panel, we might make out with considerable certainty whom the figures represent ; at the back of one of them is an animal, probably a horse, and a similar figure is sculptured above the shoulder of the galloglass effigy at the top ; this may have been for the purpose of indicating one and the same person ; while at the back of the other figure, in addition to an interlaced knot, there is a square object which may be intended to represent the Cathach or 'battle book of St. Columba,' the battle standard of the O'Donnells, and a very likely symbol to be selected to indicate a chief of that race. This very ancient copy of the Gospels, said to have been written by St. Columba, and enclosed in a jewelled shrine of silver gilt, was carried before the army of Tyrconnell when it went into battle, in order to ensure victory. These attempts to read the meaning of the sculpture are rather fanciful, but at present they are all that occur to me. In conclusion, I would express my opinion that the slab is of that mixture of

Celtic and Gothic style which may be called the later Iona school, and as such represents the art of the Scottish branch of the Irish Gael; that it probably belongs to the latter half of the fourteenth century, and that it is the monument of a Mac Sweeny Banagh, of Rathain."

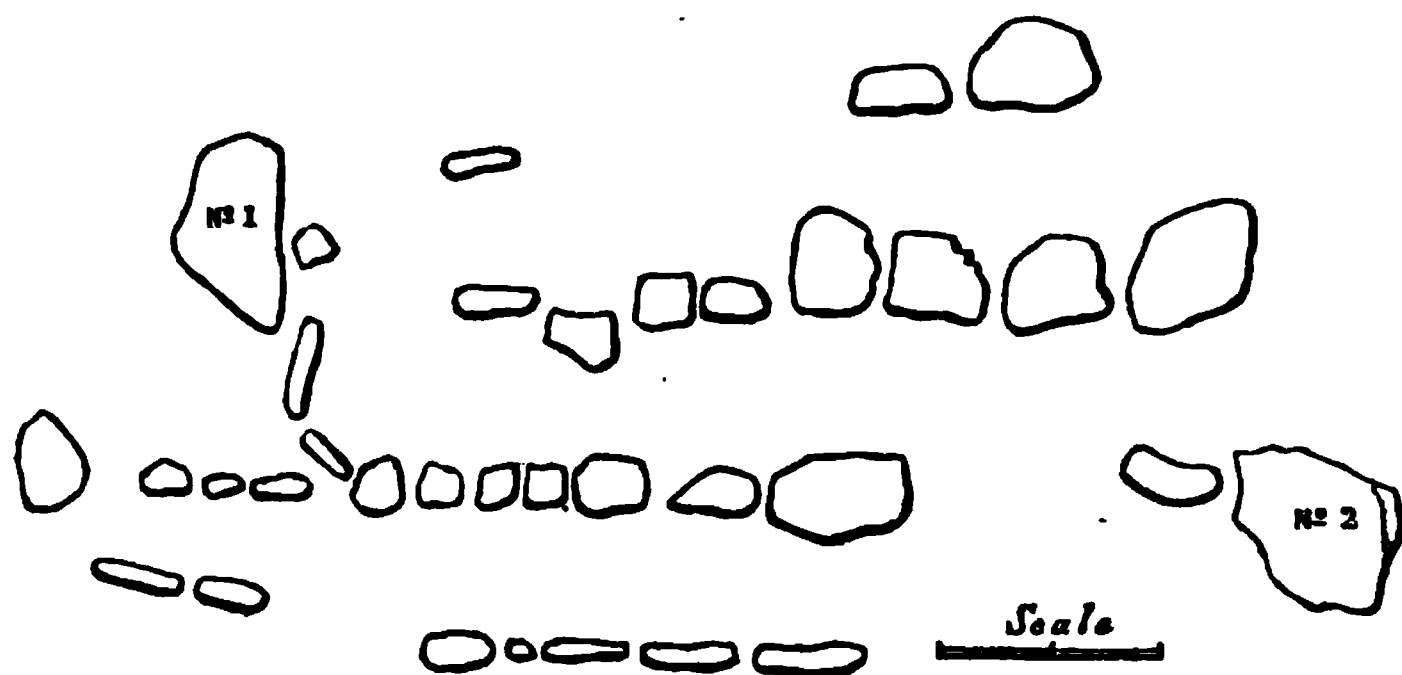
Mr. W. F. Wakeman sent the following paper on a Dolmen or "Giant's Grave," at the "Bar" of Fintona, accompanied by a plan and drawings:—

"I beg on the present occasion to lay before our Meeting a carefully executed and measured plan of one of those curious monuments of antiquity which are usually spoken of by our country people as 'Giant's Graves.' Amongst antiquaries they are variously styled, and occasionally some conflicting theories appear to have been promulgated relative to their origin and uses. That they were graves, at least, there is more than abundant evidence, portions of the human skeleton, or of skeletons, being almost invariably found within their enclosure whenever they have been explored; and indeed in many instances, when, from the disturbed state of the interior, it was evident that the work had been previously searched by treasure seekers. That the Scandinavian rovers ransacked a very considerable number of our pre-Christian sepulchral monuments is a matter of history. They were a very practical off-hand sort of depredators, and it is not probable that they would have exerted their energies over so wide a field, had they not in some instances, at least, been rewarded by the discovery of treasures, golden ornaments, and so forth. But even so long ago as the eighth and ninth centuries, Ireland was an ancient country, containing innumerable monuments of people and races which had passed away. Our northern visitors, in their thirst for buried treasure, would probably uproot, and 'poke' any primitive sepulchre which chance might throw in their way. It is not likely that their wise men had yet classified the sepulchral remains which were then, as now, to be found in Erin, and thus we may account for the unroofing and ruin of many of the so-called 'Giant Graves,' a class of monument which, so far as I am aware, has never, in this country at least, even when apparently opened for the first time, presented deposits other than bones, articles of bone, stone, or flint, and in some instances fragments of pottery. I speak, of course, only of original deposits, for in two notable instances explorers of a period comparatively late, as compared with that of the sepulchre they had violated, appear to have left behind them unintentionally, unmistakable evidence of their visit. I allude, in the first place, to the discovery within the tumulus of Dowth (plundered by the Northmen of Dublin, in A. D. 862), of an iron knife blade and a bronze pin, exactly similar to articles of the same class found in Lagore and other crannogs—and in the second place, to the fact of a Danish or Norwegian spear-head of iron, exactly like those found at Inchicore and the Broadstone, having been discovered in a splendid dolmen, situated immediately adjoining the house of Mr. Trimble, near Boho, county Fermanagh. This interesting weapon is, or was lately, in possession of Mr. Whittaker, whose father, up to last year, was Rector of the parish of Boho. Amongst objects probably lost or left behind them by early explorers of our pre-historic tumuli may be mentioned the now famous rune-inscribed sword trapping of Domnal Seals-head, described in

our Journal for April, 1871. From the appearance presented by many megalithic remains in Ireland and elsewhere it has become a question, amongst some antiquaries, whether the 'Giants' Grave' is not merely the skeleton of a chambered tumulus. This idea would appear to be wholly erroneous. Mr. G. A. Lebour, in 'Nature,' May 9, 1872, presents some very interesting remarks bearing upon this subject. In allusion to the principal dolmens and tumuli of Finistère, he states that 'in most cases in that department the dolmens occupy situations in every respect similar to those in which the tumuli are found, so that meteorological, and, indeed every other but human agencies, must have affected both in the same manner and degree. Notwithstanding this, the dolmens are invariably bare, and the kists are as constantly covered; there are no signs of even incipient degradation and denudation, in the latter, and none of former covering in the first. It would be unwarrantable to suppose that, had the dolmens been uncovered by human beings, no vestiges of the mounds would remain, or that this perfect and unaccountable removal of material being allowed, the skeleton, i. e., the part containing the most useful stones, should be left unscathed. There is, however, a more important point of difference between the dolmens and the barrow kists; namely, that in the chambered tumuli there is almost always present a floor-stone—a part of the structure which I have never seen at the base of any of the dolmens of the region in question. And there can, in their case, be no chance of removal, as the floor-stone would necessarily be the last to remain in its place. The dolmens, again, as a rule, were evidently erected with no attempt at nice adjustment of the sides or top, whereas tokens of some care and trouble are to be found in the way in which most of the entombed kists are built.'

"These remarks apply in all their force to groups of similar remains which are to be found in Ireland. About two miles and a-half from the village of Black Lion, in the county of Cavan, but on the borders of Fermanagh, may be seen two truly magnificent 'Giants' Graves,' the larger of which, measuring forty-seven feet in length, by about ten in breadth, remains in a complete state of preservation. This monument is covered in by five rocks, or enormous flags, and is closely surrounded by a line of detached stones set in an oval form. At a little distance stand a cromleac (the covering stone of which measures fifteen feet five inches in length, by fifteen feet in breadth), a perfect stone circle, a so-called 'Druidical rocking stone,' and a considerable number of pillar stones. All these interesting relics remain in the state in which they were left by the people who raised them. They have never been disturbed, and the graves were certainly not at any time covered by a tumulus. The locality is almost an uninhabited wilderness abounding in rocks and stones, so that there was no temptation or inducement to any one to interfere with them. In the immediate neighbourhood is a well preserved chambered cairn, of considerable dimensions, which was surrounded by a circle of stones, some of which rise above the bog, which appears to have grown over and hidden the remainder. One side of the mound has been broken into by boys hunting for rabbits, and a large square, or, rather oblong kist, in which was found a fine urn, is visible. Why should this cairn remain almost perfect, while the neighbouring cromleac and dolmens, if they were ever mound-enclosed, are found cleanly and completely denuded? Again, at the 'Barr' of Fintona we find two important cairns remaining almost per-

fectly preserved, while close at hand is a bare 'Giant's Grave,' of which more presently. In reference to the two cairns just referred to, I may state that one of them, containing eight cists, or kists, was described in our Journal for October, 1871. The second was explored some weeks ago by Mr. J. G. V. Porter, and myself, and found to contain a large central chamber, which had all the appearance of having been previously searched. Here nothing was discovered, not even traces of bones. The 'Giant's Grave,' situate at a little distance from these cairns, measures thirty-three feet in length, its breadth on the interior averaging three feet and a-half. It extends very nearly east and west. A portion of the eastern end appears to be partitioned off, as shown in the accompanying plan. That the grave was originally inclosed by a set of flag-like stones set on end, and forming a somewhat irregular oval figure, is quite evident. Of these stones twelve remain visible, and others may be hidden by the encroachment of the sod. The stones marked in the plan (the scale is six feet) are of heights varying from two feet nine inches, to half a foot or so above ground. For an idea of their arrangement I beg to refer to the plan. The stones marked respectively Nos. 1 and 2, were evidently covering slabs. No tradition remains as to the time and circumstances under which the monument was denuded of its covering, but that it was closed overhead I feel



Plan of Giant's Grave at the Bar of Fintona.

certain. Indeed it is melancholy to think how many works of its class have been unroofed in very recent times. The magnificent dolmen adjoining Mr. Trimble's house, at or near Boho, already referred to, was denuded of its covering flags some fifteen years ago, and the abstracted materials now form a portion of the flooring and walls of an adjoining byre. Two once splendid chambers, still grand even in ruin, may be seen in the immediate vicinity of a farm-house belonging to a man named Watson, close to the southern shore of Lough Mulshane, not far from Tempo, county Fermanagh. These, Watson informed me, had been stripped of their roofs about twenty years ago, the stones being required for an addition to his dwelling-house, which he was then making. Many such instances might be related. One of the stones which formed the 'Barr' monument is peculiar; it measures three feet two inches in length, by one foot nine in breadth; the depth is eleven inches—material, red sandstone. The peculiarity of this stone consists in its having been tooled all over what may be called its upper surface, and in having a groove cut in it. This groove

or channel, which measures three inches in depth, is admirably worked. The instrument used in its formation was probably metal, but a pick of flint would in all likelihood have answered the purpose equally well. The stone was not lying in its original position, and whether its ancient place was inside or outside the grave it is impossible to determine. The pick-marks upon the surface are very like those which appear upon some of the stones which form the gallery and chamber at Newgrange. There seems to be no other grooved stone at the place, but as the monument has evidently been much pulled about, others may have been there. The stone has all the appearance of having been used as a drain of some kind—but what did it drain? I am particularly anxious to draw the attention of Members of our Association to this curious relic, which I believe to be unique. The floor of the chamber was found, upon examination, to be unflagged; and though we caused a considerable portion of it to be dug up, no traces of bones or of charcoal were discovered. Since this Paper was commenced, I have been kindly informed by a friend that the name of the townland in which the grave occurs is in Irish ‘Cnock-na-fear-breagach,’ or *the hill of the lying man*. No doubt some old legend, now lost, was attached to the place.

“In reference to our ‘Giants’ Graves’ generally, it may be observed that, according to Colgan, they appear even so long ago as the time of St. Patrick to have been robed in mystery. In his ‘Tour in Connaught’ the late Rev. Caesar Otway gives the following translation of what appears to be the earliest notice of a ‘Giant’s Grave’ extant. ‘On a certain day, as St. Patrick was going about preaching the Gospel and healing all manner of disease, he met by the wayside a tomb of astonishing size (being thirty feet long). His companions observing this, expressed their opinion that no man could have ever arrived at such a size as to require such a grave. Whereupon the saint replied that God, by the resurrection of this giant, could persuade them, provided they were not altogether slow of faith. For just at that time there existed much doubt respecting the truth of the general resurrection. St. Patrick, therefore, prayed fervently that his statements might be borne out by facts, and that thereby the scruples of doubt might be eradicated from their minds. And lo! a wonder—wonder heretofore in past ages unheard of. For the man of heavenly might approaches the sepulchre; he pours out his powerful prayer; signs with the Staff of Jesus the tomb. And up rose the giant from the grave; and there he stood before them all, in stature and countenance most horrible; and looking intently on St. Patrick, and weeping most dolorously, he cried, “Immense gratitude I owe you, my lord and master, beloved of God and elect; because that at least for one hour you have snatched me from the gates of hell, where I have been suffering unspeakable torments.” And he besought the saint that he would allow him to follow him; but the saint refused, giving for his reason, that men could not bear to look without intolerable terror on his countenance. When being asked who he was, he said his name was Glarcus, son of Chais; that heretofore he was swineherd to King Laogair, and that about 100 years ago he was attacked and killed by one Fin Mac Coul, in the reign of King Cairbre. St. Patrick then advised him to believe in the Triune God, and be baptized, if he would not return to his place of torment, to which the giant joyfully agreed; and then he returned to his grave, and he was de-

livered, according to the word of the saint, from his place of suffering.'—Colgan 'Trias Thaum.' Sexta Vita Pat., page 83."

Mr. William Gray, Architect, Belfast, sent the following notes on some stone celts found near Belfast, and on a gold torque discovered near Bushmills, Co. Antrim:—

"In the outskirts of Belfast, on the Malone Road, there was formerly a conical hill, known as Pleasure House Hill, it commanded a good prospect, and horse races took place around its base. In olden times it was the site of one of those earthen 'forts' so common in Ireland. A few years ago, Samuel Barbour, Esq., purchased this place as a site for a dwelling house, and cut away a good portion of the crown of the hill, and on the site thus formed erected his present residence. In the process of cutting away the hill several urns were found, and one rough stone celt; and in cutting a track at the side of the hill for gas pipes two very fine polished celts were found, one of which weighs 8 lbs.; recently, within a few feet of the same spot no less than fourteen other stone celts of the same character were found; no two of them were alike in shape, but all were beautifully wrought and well finished with clean sharp edges, several having even the ends carefully rubbed. They were all found within the space of about eight feet square, each standing on its end in the sand with its edge turned upwards. There was nothing near to indicate a burial, nor were there any chips to indicate a manufactory. Mr. Barbour has the celts and urns carefully mounted in a case in his library. I subjoin the dimensions of the celts:—

| | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|---|-----------------|----------------|------------------|---|-----------------|
| Polished celt, | 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | Polished celt, | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| " " | 9 | + | 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ | " " | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| " " | 9 | + | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ | " " | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| " " | 9 | + | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | " " | 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| " " | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | " " | 12 | + | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| " " | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + | 3 | " " | 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + | 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| " " | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | " " | 13 | + | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| " " | 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ | + | 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ | Rough celt, | 8 | + | 3 |
| " " | 10 | + | 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ | | | | |

"Herewith I send you, in outline, a full-size drawing of a gold ornament of peculiar shape,¹ found during the summer of 1869, in the process of cutting a four feet drain on the lands of Mr. William Moore, at Priestland, county Antrim, within one and a-half miles of Bushmills, and three miles of the Giant's Causeway. It is made of twenty-two carat gold, and weighs eleven ounces. It belongs at present to Mr. Gilmour, of Coleraine, who also holds the very fine gold brooch known as the Dalriada brooch."

The following Paper was contributed:—

¹ The drawing represents one of those plain gold torques with straight turned up ends, of which there are several speci-

mens in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. See Wilde's "Catalogue," gold ornaments, p. 71.—ED.

THE DIND-SENCUS OF ERIU.

PARTLY FROM THE BOOK OF BALLYMOTE, AND PARTLY FROM THE BOOK OF LECAN, TWO
VELLUM MANUSCRIPTS OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY J. O'BEIRNE CROWE, A.B.

IN my introduction to "The Vision of Cathair Mor," edited in the Journal for January, 1872, I expressed an earnest desire that the Dind-senchus of Eriu might be "translated and published *in extenso*." To this expression the spirited and patriotic body who conduct our "Journal," and who have already raised it to so high a standard, have responded by inviting me, through their indefatigable Secretary, to enter on the work at once. This invitation I have accepted, and the present article on "Temair of the Kings" is my first instalment. I need not say that I feel proud of having this task entrusted to me, and that I shall do my utmost to render the result worthy both of the subject and of myself.

The nature of the Dind-senchus will be understood from the following remarks of the late Dr. O'Donovan (Ordnance Survey of Ireland, County of Londonderry, Vol. I., p. 223). "This work treats of the origin of the names of the most historically distinguished places in Ireland, as forts, cairns, mountains, rivers, lakes, &c.; and though its legends, like those of the saints, are almost wholly of a fabulous character, its evidences in regard to historic and geographic facts are no less entitled to respect. In reference to such facts, the Lives of the Saints have been received as authority by the learned of Europe, and 'rightly,' as Pinkerton observes, 'for there could be no possible temptation to fiction in *these articles*, but on the contrary, every inducement to preserve these grand features exactly in order to colour their ridiculous tales.' So, in the Dind-senchus, the places mentioned must have had a real, and the persons connected with them at least a traditional existence, or its legends could have had no interest at the period of their compilation." The Manuscript, folio, and column, from which each piece is taken, will be given in their proper places. See first note.

Dind-*peanchur* *Erend* *andreo*, *dopigne* *Amargein*, *mac* *Amalgada*, *meic* *Maile Ruain* *do na Deirib Tempach*. *Ba fili* *ren* *Diarmada* *meic* *Cearbaill*. *Ir e* *dopad* *ailgiur* *for* *Fíndtan* *mac* *Lamiach* *i* *Tempaig* *diam* *bai* *mór-dail* *feapn* *Erend* *i* *Tempaig*, *im* *riḡn* *Erend*, *im* *Diarmaid* *mac* *Cerbaill*, *ḡ* *im* *Flan* *Febhlai* *mac* *Scannlain*, *comarba* *Patraic*, *ḡ* *im* *rái-feapn* *Erend*, *im* *Ceand* *Faelad*, *mac* *Ailella*, *meic* *Eogain*, *meic* *Neill*, *ḡ* *im* *Fínnan* *mac* *Lamiach*, *apd-ḡeanóir* *Erend*. *ḡ* *co* *poṡpoirc* *Amargáin* *tri* *laite* *ḡ* *tri* *haide* *for* *Fíntan* *i* *fiadnairi* *feapn* *Epenn* *ṡeo* *mac* *ḡ* *íngeín*, *i* *Tempaig*, *con* *ecred* *do* *ṡeancara* *ṡira* *dindn* *Erend*, *ṡodeiḡ* *ṡolad* *caḡ* *duíne* *ḡ* *caḡ* *díne* *di* *o* *aímpir* *Cearpa* *ingine* *beata*—*ir* *i* *cedna* *ṡogab* *Ere*—*ḡo* *ṡlaidn* *Diarmada* *meic* *Cearbaill*, *con* *epeṡ* :

“*Temur* *din*,” *ol* *Amargen*, “*Mur* *Tea*, *ingini* *Lug-deaḡ* *meic* *lcha*, *dialuid* *co* *ḡedin* *Oll-ḡoṡach*. *Ir* *'n* *a* *ṡlaid-ṡen* *ba* *bindidir* *la* *caḡn* *duine* *in* *Ere* *ḡuṡ* *apail* *bedir* *teda* *mend-ḡṡot*, *ar* *med* *int* *ṡida* *ḡ* *na* *cairidine* *bae* *la* *cach* *di* *apaili* *in* *Epinn* : *conid* *apai* *ar* [*ṡ*] *ṡuidéam* *cach* *mur* *in* *mur* *ṡin*, *ṡobit* *it* *é* *cedna* *ṡaep-cuir* *hErend* *cuir* *Teo*, *ingine* *Lugdach*, *ṡṡi* *ḡede*.”

“*No*, *Temair* .i. *Teph-mur* .i. *Mur* *Tephir* *ingini* *bachuir*, *ṡi* *hirpaima*. *Ir* *i* *bai* *ic* [*C*] *anthon* *mac* *Cait-mend*, *ṡi*[ḡ] *ḡreatan*, *co* *ṡ'bo* *marb* *occo* *ṡi*, *ḡ* *dopadad* *hEchirun* *idal* *nam* *ḡreatan* *ṡṡi* *a* *tairec*, *ca'm* *bad* *beo* *nó* *marb*. *Rugad-ṡi* *iarum* *iarṡ* *a* *bar* *co* *hEarpain*, *con* *deṡnad* *mur* *imṡi* *and* .i. *Teph-Mur*. *Atconnairc* *Tea* *din*, *ben* *Epemon* *innṡin* .i. *Mur* *Tephir*. *Luid* *ṡen* *don* *co* *hEirid* *le* *ṡeap*, *ḡ* *dobeṡead* *di* *caḡ* *tulach* *toḡad* *in* *hEpinn*, *conid* *le* *iarum* *conapnéct* *mur* *amail* *mur* *Tephir*, *conad* *ind* *ṡoadnaḡt* ; *unde* *Temair* *dicituir*. *Temair* *ḡ* *Opuim* *Caín* *ḡ* *Liaḡ-opuim*, *ḡ* *Catair* *Cṡo-ṡind* *ḡ* *Opuim* *Deṡcen*—*.u.* *anmand* *Tempach* *indṡin*.”

¹ From the Book of Ballymote, fol. 188, col. 1.

This is the Dind-seanchus of Eriu, which was made by Amargein, son of Amalgaid, son of Mael Ruain of the Deisi of Temair. He was the poet of Diarmaid, son of Cearball. It is he who imposed a request on Findtan, son of Lamiach in Temair, when there was an assembly of the men of Eriu, in Temair, around the King of Eriu, around Diarmaid, son of Cerball; and around Fland Feblai, son of Scannlan, comarb of Patric; and around the sage of the men of Eriu, around Ceand Faelad, son of Ailill, son of Eogan, son of Niall; and around Finntan, son of Lamiach, chief-senior of Eriu. And Amargein fasted three days and three nights on Fintan in the presence of the men of Eriu, both sons and daughters, in Temair, that he might relate to him the true histories of the *dinds* of Eriu, because he encountered every person and every tribe of it from the time of Ceasair, daughter of Bith—it is she who first took Eriu—until the reign of Diarmaid, son of Cearball, so that he said:—

“*Temur*, then,” says Amairgen, “is *Mur Tea*, daughter of Lugaidh, son of Ith, who went to Gede Oll-gothach. It is in his reign that sweeter was with every one in Eriu the voice of another than would be the strings of lisping harps, on account of the greatness of the peace, and of the friendship, each had for the other in Eriu: so that it is therefore that this *mur* is the most distinguished of all *murs*, because the first free crime of Eriu is the crime of Tea, daughter of Lugaidh, with Gede.

“Or, *Temair*, that is, *Teph-mur*, that is, the fort of Tephis, daughter of Bachter, King of Spain. It is she whom Canthon, son of Caithmend, king of the Britons, had until she died with him, and hEthirun the Idol of the Britons was pledged for her restoration, whether she was living or dead. She was brought afterwards, after her death, to Spain, so that a *wall* was built around her, that is, *Tephi-mur*. Tea, then, wife of Erem, saw that, namely, the *wall* of Tephi. This lady then went to Eriu with her husband, and every plateau she would choose in Eriu was given to her, so that it is by her afterwards was invented a wall like the wall of Tephi, so that it is in it she was buried: whence is said ‘*Temur*.’ Temair, and Druim Cain, and Liath-druim, and Cathair Cro-fhind, and Druimn Descen—these are five names of Temair.”

Uel ita : **Ṭemair** : a uerbo Groeco "**Temoría**" (*θεωρέω*?) quod Latine interpretatur "conspició" hujus oppidi quod Temoriam vocamus nomen esse derivatum auctores affirmant : omnisque locus conspicuus ⁊ eminens sive in campo sive in domu sive in quocunque loco sit, hoc vocabulo, quod dicitur **Ṭemair**, nominari potest. Sic in proverbio Scotico reperitur, ut dicitur—**Ṭemair na tuaiti, ⁊ Ṭemair in tairge** : quam sententiam in suo silencio Coniuncit de hoc nomine disputando posuit. Hoc ergo oppidum, multorum sive commune [quae] vendicat, nunc cunctis Hibernensibus oppidis excellens, congruenter eorum commune vocabulum possidet, quippe cum hujus rector usque hodie totius insolae Scotorum monarchiam sortitur."

[PINTAN CECINIT.]

I.

Ṭeamair¹ b'neag cid ni di ata,
Indioidh, a Ollamna :
Cum do deagail nír inm b'nuig?
Cum pobo Theamair Ṭemair?

II.

In ac Pappthalon na cath,
No 'n ac cet-gabail Chearraic?
No 'n ac Nemead co nem nup,
No ic Cicol garb gligar-glun?

III.

In ac Fepairb bolc nam bag,
No 'n ac line Luchpoban?
Sloindoidh gach gabail dib rin
O b[*f*]uil Ṭemair ar Ṭemair. Ṭ.

IV.

A Thuain, a Fíndcharb feil,
A b'poin, a Chu Alais em,
A Fínden 'n [b]ar coicep coin
Cid on, cid di ata Ṭemair? Ṭ.

¹ From the Book of Lecan, fol. 285, col. 2.

Or thus : *Temair* : Authors affirm that from the Greek word *Temoria* (Θεωπέω?) which in Latin is interpreted “conspicio,” the name of this town, which we call Temoria, has been derived ; and every place, conspicuous and eminent, whether in a plain or in a house, or in whatever place it be, may be named by this word, which is called *Temair*. Thus it is found in the Scotie phrase, as is said—*Temair na tuaithi & Temair in taige* (Temair of the country, and Temair of the house) : which sentence the Interpreter, in discussing this name, has inserted in his glossary. This town then, which lays claim to a town of many, or a common [town], now exceeding all [Irish] towns, aptly possesses their common name, inasmuch as its ruler even to this day enjoys the sovereignty of the whole island of the Scots.

[FINTAN SANG.]

I.

Temair of the Breaga, what is that whence it is,
Tell ye, O Ollams :
When did it separate from the Brugh ?
When was Teamair [called] Temair ?

II.

Is it with Parrtholan of the battles,
Or, is it at the first invasion of Ceasair ?
Or, is it with Nemead of great splendour,
Or, is it with rough, cricket-kneed Cicol ?

III.

Is it with the Fir Bolc of the fights,
Or, is it with the race of Luchroban ?
Name ye each invasion of these
From which Temair is called Temair. T.

IV.

O Tuan. O generous Findchad,
O Bran, O active Cu Alaigh :
O Finden, as a prudent five,
What is this, what, from which Temair [derived] ? T.

V.

Robaí éan fá call-choill chaeim,
In aimpir meic áin Ollcain,
No co r' pleacht in-coill cair
Liath mac Laigne leathan-glair.

VI.

O rin amach fá Druim Leith,
A harbar fá harbar meich,
No co topacht Cain can chrao,
Mac ren Fiacha Ceind-finnain.

VII.

O hin amach fá Druim Cain,
In tulach cur tegaid maip,
No co tanic Cro-find choin,
Ingen Alloit oll-bladaig.

VIII.

Cathair Chro-find, ní r'bo cam,
A hainm oc Tuaithe De Danann,
Co topacht Tea, na r'cle,
ben Eremon con aird-gne.

IX.

Roclaitéa clab im a tech
Oc Tea ingin Luigdeach:
Rohadnacht 'n a mup amuig,
Conad uaithi ita Temair. T.

X.

Fonad na rig fá hainm dí,
Rigraio macc Milead inuí:
Cuic anmarda uirri ar rin,
Oca f'orpuim co Temair. T.

V.

There was a time it was a beautiful hazel-wood,
 In the time of the splendid son of Ollchan ?
 Until felled the tangled wood
 Liath, son of Lagin Leathan-glas.

VI.

From that forth it was Druim Leith,
 Its corn was a corn of measure :
 Until came Cain without misery,
 A son he of Fiacha Cend-fhinnan.

VII.

From that forth it was Druim Cain,
 The hill to which [the] great come,
 Until came Cro-fhind the fair,
 Daughter of the mighty-famed Allot.

VIII.

The city of Cro-fhind, it was not inapplicable,
 Its name among the Tuath de Danann,
 Until came Tea, who was not unjust,
 Wife of Erem with noble aspect.

IX.

A wall was built around her house,
 At the hands of Tea, daughter of Lugaid :
 She was interred in her wall outside,
 So that it is from her is Te-mair.

X.

Station of the kings was a name for it—
 The kings of the sons of Mil in it :
 Five names it had therefore,
 From Fordruim to Temair.

XI.

Ir mīrī Fintan file,
 Nī p'ram eicnī en-līndī
 Ir and pōmtochad ar rīn,
 Fōrr inn fōd-brug of Temair. T. .b.

Do dīngnab na Tempach fōderīn rō rīr.¹

Nemnach .i. tippa fuil ic ont Sīd in airtīur tuair-
 cīr na Tempac : glair don teid a Nemnaig .i. Nīc a
 hainm. Ir fuirpī atá in cedna muilend naponad in Epe
 la Cíannaib, cumail Chormaic.

Latrac Tige Maipīren fil of int Sīd fīr Nemnaig
 atuaib, eter .ííí. cloca bega. Ir amlaib poruīdīged in
 teac rīn—lar and 7 tuarad aīrīel. Maīrīeo don ban-
 tīebach bae im corae fīr Cormac. Cac tec rīuīdīgetar
 in tuēt rīn nī ba duabīreach 7 nī bia cen ana and.

Rat Laegairī meic Neill fīr rōdāin atuaib. ííí.
 pīrīm-doirpī cac arda inte, 7 poruīdīged Laeg[aire] fō
 rciāt gaircīud fīr in clodn imeētra 'n airtīur dērcīr
 na rīg-rata Loegairī i Tempaig, 7 a aḡaib fōder ic
 catuḡud fīr Laighīu .i. fīr claind bīearail bīic.

Ata i taeb Rata Laegairī anair-dēr Leēt Mata
 Mōr-glōndaig .i. amur bīat-beartach rōbai i fail Cor-
 maic. Robadar la and ceatrar oc-lac ic cluic i taeb
 Rata Laegairī anair-dēr. Fōeruirīm Mata a ííí. dāp
 cuimḡib al lēr i talum.

Rat Rīg i taeb Rata Laegairī atuaib. Atat tīr
 deccra irruīdīu .i. Latrac Tige Cormaic in airtīur
 dērcīr na Rata il leit fīr Rat Laegaire fōder :
 Latrac in Fōrraib i taeb Latraigī Tige Cormaic
 anair : Mur Teo a leit fōder, comd² o rāin rōhainmī-
 gead Temair .i. Tea-Mur .i. in cnoc bec fil eter in da
 mur ileit fōder. Ir ann ata

¹ From the Book of Ballymote, fol. 188, col. 2.

² Comb.—MS.

XI.

I am Fintan the poet,
 I was not the salmon of *one* flood :
 It is where I was after that brought up—
 On the sod-plain over Temair. T. B.

Of the forts of Temair itself this down.

Sparkler, that is, a well which is at the *Sid* in the north-east of Temair. A stream too goes from Sparkler, that is, Shiner is its name. It is on it is the first mill that was made in Eriu by Ciarnad, the bond-maid of Cormac.

The Site of the House of Mairiseo is above the *Sid* by Sparkler to the north, within Three Small Stones. It is how that house was positioned—its middle high and its fringe very low. Mairiseo again was a widow, who was in agreement with Cormac. Every house which is positioned in that way—it will not be sorrowful, and it will not be without plenty in it.

The Fort of Loegaire, son of Niall, is by this to the north. There are four principal doors into it, facing the cardinal points, and Laegaire was interred under his shield of valour, by the external rampart in the south-east of the royal Fort of Loegaire, in Temair : and his face to the south a-fighting against Laigne, (Leinstermen), that is, against the descendants of Breasal Breac.

By the side of the Fort of Laegaire to the south-east, is the Monument of Mata the Great-wounder, that is, a treason-hatching hireling soldier, who lived with Cormac. There were a certain day there four youths at game by the side of the Fort of Laegaire to the south-east. Mata pressed the four beyond the straits of their hips into the ground.

The Fort of Kings is by the side of the Fort of Laegaire to the north. There are three sights here, namely, the Site of the House of Cormac in the south-east of the Fort aside by the Fort of Laegaire to the south : the Site of the Station by the side of the Site of the House of Cormac to the east : Mur Teo (the Wall of Tea) aside on the south, so that it is from that Temair was named, that is, *Tea-mur* .i. the little hill which is between the two Murs aside to the south ; it is in it is

Cappac Cormaic .i. tipra fil fo taeb Rata na Rig anair; 7 tri hanmand fuirri .i. Liaig, 7 Tipra bo Fíndi, 7 Deic Dub: ir de ata "ní taet a laeg go a liaig:" ind aran ai a Tempaig riar: [alaile a Tempaig rair.]

Dumoi na bo .i. in Glair Tempach firi Duma aníar.

Duma nan Giall firi Latrac in Foppaid in airéuaib.

Fal i taeb Duma nan Giall atuaib, .i. in cloc noget-red fo corraib cae nig nogeted hEri. Fal ainm na cloice rin .i. fo-aíl .i. Aíl fo ní[ig].

Leat Con 7 Ceten ir in Leitir i comarodur Rata Rig riar. Atat .is. cloic and, Leat Con ind aran ai, Leat Ceten araili, comid [ig] nae-focal: "Domgnur Cu 7 Ceten, .i. Cu romarb Ceten, pannaire² Cormaic, ar lar in tige, co ragair cae dírigi port fo digair na Tempach riar, con arhur ann, co romarb bratair in fir romarb-rum. 7 atbert Cormac na romarbta Cu, 7 ni tarbur a edargaire co romarbaid *simul*.

Ata copur ir in Compan o Leat Ceten fo tuaid: Laeg a hainm: riar cae dírga bpuinnear. Ata Latrac na Cuetrac Cormaic for a bpu ir in leitir or Laeg anair.

Rat na Senud i comair Dumai nan Giall. Rat Senaid firi Fal atuaib.

Latrac Pupail Adomnain ir in rat rin, 7 a Chpor ar belair na rata rair, 7 a Suib, 7 a Duma firi Cpoir anear.

Leat Mainé, meic Muin-peamair firi Rat nig anair.

Ata latrac in tige poloircead for benen, gilla Patraic, 7 for Lucad Mael, dpuib Laegairi, ead beag ó Chpoir Adomnain rair-deir .i. i taeb a Rata atuaib.

¹ Dubo. MS.

² Raim.—MS.

Cormac's Foamer .i. a spring which is under the side of the Fort of the Kings to the east ; and it has three names, that is, Physician, and the Fountain of the White Cow, and Black Eye : it is from it is [the saying], " the calf does not visit his physician : " the one of them [flows] from Temair, westwards : the other from Temair, eastwards.

The Mound of the Cow, that is, the Grey of Temair by Mound to the west.

The Mound of the Hostages by the Site of the Station to the north east.

Fal is beside the Mound of the Hostages to the north, that is, the stone which used to roar under the feet of each king that would get the sovereignty of Eriu. Fal is the name of that stone, that is, " Understone," that is, a stone *under* a king.

The Monument of Cu and Cethen is in the Slope in the vicinity of the Fort of Kings westwards. There are two stones there, the one the monument of Cu, the other that of Cethen, so that a common saying is : " Cu and Cethen has been acted for me ; " that is, Cu slew Cethen, Cormac's butler, on the floor of the house, so that he went quite straight afterwards under the height of Temair westwards, so that he stopped there, until he was killed by the brother of the man whom he had killed. And Cormac said that Cu should not be killed, and interposition for him did not reach until they were killed together.

There is a spring in the Compan from the Monument of Cethen to the north ; Calf its name : westward quite straight it flows. The Site of Cormac's Tavern is on its brow in the Slope over Calf to the east.

The Fort of the Synods is in front of the Mound of the Hostages. The Fort of Synod by Fal to the north.

The Site of Adomnan's Tent is in that Fort, and his Cross in front of the Fort to the east, and his Seat and his Mound by the Cross to the south.

The Monument of Maine, son of Thick-neck, by Fort of Kings to the east.

The Site of the house that was burned over Benen, Patric's servant, and over Lucad Mael, Laegaire's druid, is a small space from the Cross of Adomnan, south-east, that is, by the side of the Fort to the north.

Teopa cloca polaiti forr na druioib : it e an amnand
.i. Mael, 7 bloc 7 bluicni : Mael fair, 7 bloc poder,
7 pluicni potuaid. Ata leact in Abuicc friu anair. Ir
amlaid ata in cubad fair-der 7 riap-der. Tri troigti
nama a comur 'n a eppaid bicc tir. Ir amlaid ita in
lige 7 cloc beg fo talmuin in a iartur. Fogabtar tri
troigti ind ind ara rect, a tri co leit in rectn ail.

Ata .ii. duma friu in Cubad atuaid .i. Dall 7
Dorca .i. Dall tear 7 Dorca tar : 7 cae pomarb
araili dib, 7 ni fail mur aturru 7 na cloca 7 in Cubad.

Mur na tri Cogur i fail Luinge [nam ban.]

Lia na Fian fri Slige anair, ar belaid Raia Senaig.

Ata Long nam ban .i. Teac Mid-cuarta, o'n duma
airtear[ec] riap-tuaid. Ir amlaid poruiged latrac in
tuge rain, leit foa futuaid 7 a upard poder, 7 comog-
bail mur uim anair 7 aniar. Ir filte big an let tuair-
ceptac de : potuaid 7 poder ata a coir. Fuat tuge
foa con dib dorrib deg fair, no a ceatar deg .i. a rect
riap 7 a rect fair. 7 arbertad ir and rin domelti Fer
Teampach. Deirbir rin, ar natallad fongla fern Erenb
and do doirib, 7 ir e rin in teach mor milib amur.

Ata duma beg fri latrac in airder ir in aircind
derceptaig .i. Duma nam ban-amur.

Ata Compot Cael-con 7 a Rat i comardur in cind
tuairceptaig do Luing nam ban. Cael-chu and rin, mac
Loairnb, meic Ruaid, meic Cair, di Eoganaet Cairil. Ir
di a ril Tuat Cir oc Teampaig.

Tri-duma Neri, ingine¹ Echach Sal-buidi, matar
Concobair, ir in cind airterac tuairceptac i comardur
cind airtir tuairceptaig Luinge nam ban.

¹ In.—MS.

Three stones were put over the druids. Their names are, that is, Bald, and Round, and Roundlet : Bald to the east, and Round to the south, and Roundlet to the north. The Dwarf's Monument is by them to the east. It is how the Bed is south-east and south-west. Three feet only is its measure in its small bend below. It is how the Bed is, and a small stone under ground in its western part. Three feet are found in it the one time, and three and a half the other time.

There are two mounds by the Bed to the north, namely, Blind and Dark, that is, Blind south, and Dark west ; and each of them killed the other, and there is no wall between them and the Stones and the Bed.

The Wall of the three Whispers, is in the vicinity of the House [of the Women.]

The Stone of the Fians is by the road to the east in front of the Fort of Synod.

The House of the Women, that is, the House of the Mead-circle, is from the eastern mound north-east. It is how the site of that house was positioned, the lower part to the north, and its great height to the south, and an erection of walls about it to the east and to the west. The northern side of it is small turnings : north and south is its lie. Its form is that of a long house, with twelve doors on it, or fourteen, that is, seven westwards, and seven eastwards. And it used to be said, that it is there the Feast of Temair used to be consumed. That was reasonable, for the most part of the men of Eriu of people would fit in it ; and this is the great house of a thousand soldiers.

There is a small mound by the Site in the south-east in the southern end, namely, the Mound of the Women-soldiers.

The Bed of Slender-hound and his Fort are in the neighbourhood of the northern head of the House of the Women. This Slender-hound, son of Loarnd, son of Red, son of Curled, was of the Eoganacht of Caisel. From his seed is Tuath Cis at Temair.

The Triple Mound of Nes, daughter of Eochu Heel-yellow, mother of Con-chobhar, is in the north-eastern end, in the neighbourhood of the north-eastern end of the House of the Women.

Rath Concobair Meic Nera i taeb in Tre-diu[ma] antuaid, 7 a dorur rair i comardur corura Cind 7 Meid Con Chulainn.

Ata Laetac Sceit Con Culainn con a Thul i comardur na Meid rair-tuaid. Samlaid ata rat cudruma cormail rair in talmain, 7 cnocan beag 'n a medon, lan na teala de huir.

Ata Sercann Tempach i comardur Luinge nam ban rair-tuaid .i. Sercann palac beg fil i taeb Cairn na Macraidi ander.

Ata Rat Thrainn o Sercann Tempach aniar for forard na telca.

Ata Fothad Ratha Thraind a tuaid Fan na Carbad, i comardur na Claen-ferda tuairceptaig rair.

Atat na di Claen-ferda rri Raith Thrainn aniar. Ir in Chlaen-ferda derceptag roort in ingenaid la Laigiu dia Samna. Ir in Claen-ferda tuairceptaig rug Lugaid in gu-breit ir in glairin do orgain do na caircaib.

Ata Cairn Macraidi Laigen i taeb Sercaind Tempach atuaid.

Atuaid ata cpor Fergura noeb-aileir, [ir e i Cairraic Clumain], i taeb Cairn na Macraidi aniar.

Ata Depeal Tempach eter da Cairn na Macraidi .i. eder in Cairn derceptac 7 in cairn tuairceptach.

Ata Cairn Macraidi hUa Nell i taeb Deil na Tempach atuaid.

Rat Colma[i]n Meic Cael-con o Cairn Ma raidi hUa Nell rair-tuaid .i. in cairn tuairceptach.

Ata Duma ind Luch Duind i taeb Ratha Colmain meic Cael-con¹ aniar.

Ata Adlaic 7 [Diadlaic] i comardur Rata Colmain rair-tuaid, .i. hi taob na Leitreaic rri in Rat anair-tuaid : .i. di tippaid indrin : Adlaic ind aran ai 7 Dia-

¹ Pael-con.—MS.

The Fort of Con-chobar Mac Nesa is by the side of the Triple Mound on the north ; and its door east in the neighbourhood of the adjustment of the Head and Neck of Cu Chulaind.

The ruins of the Shield of Cu Chulaind with its Hollow are in the neighbourhood of the Neck north-east. It is how the Fort is, level like the ground, and a small hillock in its centre, the full of the Hollow of clay.

The Marsh of Temair is in the neighbourhood of the House of the Women to the north-west, that is, a dirty little moor, which is in the side of the Carn of the Youths to the south.

The Fort of Grainne is from the Marsh of Temair to the west on the height of the hill.

The Foundation of the Fort of Grainde is to the north of Slope of the Chariots in the neighbourhood of the northern Inclined Grave eastwards.

The two Inclined Graves are by the Fort of Grainne to the west. It is in the southern Inclined Grave the virgins were slain by Laigne on Saman's day (1st of November) ; it is in the northern Inclined Grave Lugaidh [Mac Con] gave the false judgment in the case of the little green being attacked by the sheep.

The Carn of the Youths of the Laigne is on the side of the Marsh of Temair on the north.

On the north is the Cross of Fergus the holy pilgrim, (and he himself in Carraic Clumain), on the side of the Carn of the Youths, to the west.

The Deseal of Temair is between the two Carns of the Youths, that is, the northern Carn and the southern Carn.

The Carn of the Youths of the Ua Nell, by the side of the Desel of Temair, on the north.

The Fort of Colman, son of Slender-hound, is from the Carn of the Youths of the Ua Nell, north-east, that is, the northern Carn.

The Mound of the Noble Captive is by the side of the Fort of Colman, son of Slender-hound, on the west.

Desire and [Great Desire] are in the vicinity of the Fort of Colman, north-east, that is, in the side of the Slope by the Fort, north-east : that is, two springs these—Desire is the one of them, and Great Desire the other, for there is

adlaic apaili, ar ní [f]uil deocuir acurru. Conid doib
rin rocaáain inro .i.

Cinaet hUa hAragan :¹

I.

Dobeir mairi do na mnaiob
Temar gan cairi ar tocbaile :
Fuair ingen Luigdech 'n a láim
Tul-mağ buo liač do lotbaio.

II.

Ellom rogaed² ben Ğebe
For a cele, rocuála,
Dingna dat-ġlan, dġéimn áine,
ġad athlam áine im huaga.

III.

Aur, ġad dun, ġad daingean,
ġad cadur mur cen mandur,
Forrm biað Leč Tea iar tuinnem,
Com[b]að tuilleð di a hallað.

IV.

ġai ic Ğemon umal
ġen in ġlep-meadon ġemel ;
Rug uad cač roga romer,
Aġnomead cač ní adbepead.

V.

ġrega Tea, tpeab tuillteač,
Rocluinteri, uair ba ġairb-bean,
Fept forr fail in mor-Merġeč,—
Ní rom pelccec na r' ġairġeab.

¹ From the Book of Ballymote, fol. 188, col. 4, last line.

² Vel, Roguib.—MS.

no difference between them. So that it is of these he sang
this, that is,

CINAET UA HARTAGAN:

I.

Giveth beauty to the women
Temair without weakness after erection :
The daughter of Lughaidh received into her hand
A hill-plain which it was sorrow to plunder.

II.

Quick the wife of Gede requested
Of her husband, I have heard,
A colour-bright *dingna*, ascent of pleasure,
Which would be a treasure of pleasure regarding virgini-
ty.

III.

An habitation which would be a dun, would be a fastness,
Which would be the glory of *murs*, without destruction,
On which would be the monument of Tea after death,
So that it might be an addition to her celebrity.

IV.

The attentive Erem had
A woman in the choice-midst of fetters :
She received from him every wish she desired,
He used to grant every thing she would say.

V.

The Brega of Tea, a worthy abode,
Is heard of, for she [Tea] was a chief woman ;
A grave on which is the great Mergech,—
Not a burial place which was not plundered.

VI.

Ingen Fopaino co lín aipg,
 Tephí polaino luaided leipg,
 Rocum catpaign, epoda in cúipod—
 Oí a luirg porcorpa ip dí a delg.

VII.

Dopad ainm dí a catpaign caim,
 In ben con aib paémaiṛ nīg—
 Mur Tephí fṛip coirge dail,
 Or epaoirgead caén ḡrain, caén ḡnīm.

VIII.

Ní cleití múp' pa paba,
 Mur dar Tephí, poéuala,
 Foeram rund cen dual digna,
 Cumpat² mor-nigna puama.

IX.

Fad, letet eige Tephí,
 ḡan epreití mided puití—
 .Lx. epaiged can elaité—
 Conpēgrad paidi ip dṛuidi.

X.

Atcuala in Eppáin uillig
 Inḡin lepc-bain laeé-buillig,
 Cino baétip, maicc buirpīg,
 Dorpuḡ Cantōn caem cuindig.

XI.

Tephí a ainm o caé ḡepad,
 Maipg porp melad a mupad!
 Rath pēpcad epaiged tolac
 Le donad dí a punad.

¹ Vel, Run.--MS.² Cumpat.—MS.

VI.

The daughter of Forand with an illustrious band,
 Tephi the loveliest that traversed plain,
 Formed a cathair, strong the circle—
 With her wand she described it and with her brooch.

VII.

She gave a name to her beautiful cathair,
 The woman with a prosperous likeness of a sovereign,
 Mur Tephi, to which assembly came,
 From which every valour, every deed was crushed.

VIII.

The *mur* is not to be concealed to speak of it.
 The *mur* over Tephi, I have heard,
 A protection this without merit of dishonor,
 The Bed of a noble, great queen.

IX.

The length, breadth of the house of Tephi,
 Without ignorance the measure of learned—
 Sixty feet without weakness
 Prophets and druids have viewed it.

X.

I have heard in angular Spain
 Of a lazy-fair, hero-striking daughter
 Of Cino bachtir, son of Buirrech,
 Whom [being] sensible, Canthon the beautiful married.

XI.

Tephi her name from every hero,
 Woe on whom her entombing was imposed !
 A high Rath of sixty feet
 By her was made for her enshrining.

XII.

Nírtug ní breogain cen bñon,
 De r'bo tebaig la canton,¹
 Com beic a airc di a hon
 O ní nam breatanm baob-ñon.

XIII.

Eg truaig Tephí cáinig tuaid,
 Ní r' gním cleite na oen-uair;
 Canton poleig luing cen luaig,
 Tar tuind [int] íailí raeb-uair.

XIV.

Coimbiu Ca[n]tóin, ní clícti,
 Eiciríun ba epc[r]eti,
 Ír pluag nan glar-depc gleicti,
 Uad in tairc tñen-Tephí.

XV.

Rorcarc bar bretan on bruc,
 Ar baob etal² Echeñun,—
 Comb' ar blaib fñi mepp 'r in mup.
 Ter i tarblaig Tephí-ñun.

XVI.

Ír fo'n ramla rín runda
 Gnío gu calma a céet-cuma,
 Tempa gan taidliur truma
 Ar aibniur, ar eoruma.

XVII.

Teamair cáic aib, cáic írigna,
 Forrm [b]íð forca, rodingna;
 Temair cec ben nac³ bírda,
 Aic maob Emain foririgna.

¹ Cao ton.—MSS.² Etal etal.—MS.³ bendab.—MS.

XII.

The king of Breogan without sorrow did not bear,
Though it was a hesitation with Canthon.
Until her restoration from her sojourn would be,
From the king of the smooth-seal Britons.

XIII.

The piteous death of Tephi who went north,
Was not a deed concealed for one hour ;
Canthon launched ship without cheerfulness
Over the wave of the curling-cold brine.

XIV.

Canthon's Lord, it is not to be concealed,
Eitheriun, who was reliable,
And the host of the bright grey eyes,
[Was] pledge for the restoration of brave Tephi.

XV.

The chief of the Britons shouted from the shore,
For Etherun was an idol—
That it might be for fame and honour in the mur,
South in noble Tephi-shrine.

XVI.

It was in this likeness, here
They strongly make the first form
Of Temair without oppression of weight,
On account of its beauty, on account of its lightness.

XVII.

Temair [means] every height, every conspicuous place,
On which are stations, good fortresses :
Temair every Ben not pointed.
Save the very conspicuous Emain.

XVIII.

ba tarḡa tḡiaṯ ḡ tor,
 bab adba níaḡ nīṯ imneim :
 Temair cen tairi, cen tḡaiḡ
 A mairi do mḡaib dober. Dob.

Cuan [O' Lochain] Cecimic So Sir.

I.

Temair, toḡa na tulach,
 Fo ta Eriu inuḡadach
 Ard-caṯair Chormaic meic Airt,
 Meic Cuind Cet-cathaiḡ comhairc.

II.

Cormac—ba cundal a mairc—
 ba rui, ba fili, ba flait :
 ba fir-breṯem fer Fene,
 ba cara, ba coigele.

III.

Cormac noclai caegaid caṯ,
 [Roḡ]ilaid Saltair Tempach :
 Ir int Saltair rin ata
 An ur dech runn fencurra.

IV.

Irr int Saltair rin adber
 vii.n airḡ-mi[ḡ] Erend inbir :
 Coig mīḡ na coiged doḡḡnī,
 Ri Erend ir a erri.

V.

Ir innti ata do ḡaṯ leit
 In an dliḡ caṯ mī coigib :
 In an dliḡ mī Tempa tair
 Do mī[ḡ] ḡaṯ cuigib ceolaiḡ.

XVIII.

It was the meeting-place of lords and chiefs,
 It was the territory of heroes of venomous contests :
 Teamair without weakness, without ebb,
 Their beauty to women giveth. Giv.

CUAN [O'LOCHAIN] SANG THIS DOWN.

I.

Temair choice of the hills,
 Under which is plundersome Eriu ;
 Chief city of Cormac, son of Art,
 Son of the powerful Hundred-fighter Cond.

II.

Cormac—prudent was his goodness—
 Was a sage, was a poet, was a sovereign :
 He was a true Judge of the men of Feine,
 He was a friend, was a companion.

III.

Cormac gained fifty battles,
 He compiled the Psalter of Temair :
 In that Psalter is
 What is the best tree of history.

IV.

In that Psalter is given
 Seven monarchs of Erin of harbours :
 Five kings of the provinces it makes,
 The king of Eriu and his Deputy.

V.

It is in it is on each side
 What each king of a province is entitled to ;
 What the king of Temair in the east is entitled to
 From the king of every melodious province.

VI

Coimgneo, comaimreab' caic,
 Cec' ri di araili doirait,
 Cricad' gac' coigib' o cruait,
 Ota trairib' cu trom-tuait.

VII.

Trica ar tricaib' ced forgeib
 Do trictaib' ced gac' coigib' :
 In gac' coigeb' dib' ata
 Seic' p'rim-picit' p'rim-dingna.

VIII.

Rorfidir Cormac, fo ri,
 Rola cuairten Erenn fo tri ;
 Tug gíall[a] gac' muir amuig,
 Co portairealb a Tempaig. T.

IX.

Temair, di a da Temair breag,
 Muir Tead mna meic' Milead ;
 Nemnac' uad rair rruic' fo glend,
 Forr tárd Cormac ced muilenn.

X.

Ciarnad, cumal Cormaic cóir
 Mor cet nobíachad a bróin ;
 Deic' meic' la cac' laei dobleit—
 Ní p'b' opar duine denmeich.

XI.

Rortarrairg aicge in rí rán
 Inn ai tíg a haenuran,
 Co purtoirp'certair focleic' ;
 Iar rin, foremid' pobleic'h.

VI.

The syngenesia, the synchronization of each,
 Every king with the other completely :
 The defining of every province from Cruach,
 From *traiged* to heavy *tuath*.

VII.

Thirty above a *Tricha ced* it finds
 Of the Tricha Ceds in each province :
 In each province of them are
 Seven full scores of chief fortresses.

VIII.

It is known that Cormac, good king,
 Went the circuit of Eriu three times ;
 He brought the hostages of every fort abroad,
 Until he exhibited them at Temair. T.

IX.

Temair, from which is Temair of the Brega,
 Was the Mur of Tea, wife of the son of Mil :
 Nemnach from it east a stream along glen,
 On which Cormac set the first mill.

X.

Ciarnad, the bond-maid of just Cormac,
 Many hundreds she used to feed from her quern :
 Ten miachs by her each day used to be ground—
 It was not the work of a lazy person.

XI.

The noble king happened to her
 Where she was residing alone.
 So that he secretly made her pregnant :—
 After that she refuses great grinding.

XII.

Iar rin poroircír Ua Cuinb,
 Tug raer muilend tar mor-éuinb :
 Cet muilend Cormaic meicc Airt,
 Robo cobair du Chiarnait.

XIII.

Cappaic Cormaic hi Raith ríg
 O Raic Ríg rair, is e a rí,
 Co ata in tobair Tríuimí Clann,
 Fhíon apar na trí hanmand.

XIV.

Dael Duib, [ocur] Tuat-Linde,
 Ocur Tipra do Finde,
 Trí hanmand di a rloind imac,
 Di ríad copair Tempach. T.

XV.

Tarpar d'Fergur, baile ita,
 Aic i fáil Croir Fergura;
 Fan na Carbad concecca
 Etcupru is na Claen-ferca.

XVI.

Claen-ferca in gaelbair aindre,
 Claen-ferca na claen-caingne,
 Fhí Raicín Thraindi aniar anís,
 Acat gan uperán aen-mír.

XVII.

O Raic Thrainni rair 'r in glind
 Ata Sercand Tempach tind :
 Ata fhi Sercand anair
 Raic Nera,¹ Raic Conchobair.

¹ Raic .p. Era .p. Concob.—MS.

XII.

After this Ua Cuind pitied her,
 He brought a mill-wright over great wave ;
 The first mill of Cormac son of Art,
 Which was relief to Ciarnat.

XIII.

Cormac's Foaming in the Fort of Kings,
 From Fort of Kings east, it is the truth,
 To where is the well Truimi Clann,
 Which is called by the three names.

XIV.

Peevish Chafer, Country Flood,
 And Well of the White Cow,
 Three names from the calling of which out—
 From it [was] the production of the well of Temair.

XV.

To Fergus was shown, the spot it is,
 The place where the Cross of Fergus is :
 Slope of the Chariots exactly
 Between them and the Inclined Graves.

XVI.

The Inclined Graves in which the girls were slaugh-
 tered—
 The Inclined Graves of the unjust covenant—
 By the Fort of Grainde to the west below
 They are without the decay of one month.

XVII.

From the Fort of Grainne east in the glen,
 Is the Marsh of strong Temair :
 By the Marsh to the east are
 The Fort of Nes, the Fort of Conchobar.

XVIII.

Copur Cind Con Culaind cruaid
 O Rat Conchobair raer-tuaid :
 Tomar a rceit fo a cabrad
 Is ingnad,, is imadbal.

XIX.

Imraidem for Luing na Laec,
 Rir in abar barc ban baet :
 Tec na Fian, ni long lag,
 'Mo cetrí doirrib fichet.

XX.

Duma nam ban iarn am brat,
 Ar a ocair uactarae :
 Dall is Dorca rir anear,
 Ricromta ni comaiser.

XXI.

Dall ter, tiar Dorca dogra,
 Fo da duma Dall bodra ;
 Romarb cae dib araili,
 Ic cornam an almraini.

XXII.

Doluid int abuc—truas do—
 Do edargain ettorro,
 Co r[o] marbrad in abac
 Fo corraib iar crin-amarc.

XXIII.

O Lec in abuic rin riar,
 Mael, bloc, bluicni, borb a ciall,
 Forru atad na tri cloca,
 Dorparlaic Mal mor Maca.

XVIII.

The Adjustment of the Head of CuChulaind the hardy
From the Fort of Conchobar north-east :
The measure of his shield under its Cabradh
Is wonderful, is very vast.

XIX.

Let us contemplate too the House of the Heroes,
Which is called the Barque of the Foolish Women :
The house of the Heroes, not a weak house,
With its twenty-four doors.

XX.

The Mound of the Women, after their being betrayed
On its upper edge :
Blind and Dark by it to the south.
Who were killed through mutual peevishness.

XXI.

Blind south, Dark of Sorrow west,
By which is the Mound, Blind of Deafness :
Each of them killed the other
In contending for their alms.

XXII.

The dwarf went—wretched for him—
To interpose between them,
So that they killed the dwarf
Under their feet after a little look.

XXIII.

From the monument of that dwarf west,
Bald, Round, Roundlet, fierce their sense,
On them are the three stones,
Which great Mal of Macha cast on them.

XXIV.

Mur cleití na tpi cogar
 Eter Luing ír Laec-éoban :
 Lia na Fian fpi rligí anair,
 Ar incuib Rata Senaig.

XXV.

Rait Senaig, regead gac buaid,
 Fpi Fal [na] Tempach atuaib ;
 Uadí rair i taeb ind liacc,
 In teac a tepno beniat.

XXVI.

Senad Patric 'c on rait rain,
 Senad Brenaind ír Ruadain;
 Senad Adamnain ar rain,
 Ag ercúim Irgalaiḡ.

XXVII.

Fpi Rat ríḡ—nair ní ḡo—
 Leet Con, Leet Cethen, Cnoc bo :
 Ata fpiir in rait anair,
 Leet Maine meic Muind-pemair.

XXVIII.

Mapaid fpi Rait Ríḡ aner
 Rat Laegairi ḡ a Ler :
 Ír a leet for lar a lir,
 Fiabbaib Fiabad noforbriir.

XXIX.

Fegaib teac Maipre meann,
 Ar ppiim-aic aile Epenn,
 Ard aniar, irard [a]tuaib,
 Irel uait rair ; ba rain-buaib.

XXIV.

The *Mur* of the concealment of the *three whispers*
Is between *Long* and Hero-well :
The Stone of the Fians by the road on the west,
In front of the Fort of Synod.

XXV.

The Fort of Synod, that used to attain to every vic-
tory,
Is by Fal of Temair on the north :
From it east by the side of the Stone
The house out of which Benen escaped.

XXVI.

The Synod of Patric at the noble Fort,
The Synod of Brendan and Ruadhan,
The Synod of Adamnan after that,
At cursing of Irgalach.

XXVII.

By the Fort of Kings—conspicuous, not false—
Is the Monument of Cu, the Monument of Cethen, the
Hill of Cows :
By the Fort to the east is
The Monument of Maine, son of Neck-thick.

XXVIII.

By the Fort of Kings to the south remain
The Fort of Laegaire and his Court :
And his Monument on the floor of the Court,
Which the Lord's witness thoroughly smashed.

XXIX.

Behold ye the conspicuous house of Mairise—
On the chief spot of all Eriu—
High on the west, very high on the north,
Low from thee to the east : it was a peculiar victory.

XXX.

Ír and póruidiged re,
 In teac, ar bpu Nemnaige :
 Mo an teac rin dar Mide amac
 Rorileta tige Tempac. T.

XXXI.

Cael-cu macc Loairnn, meic Ruaid,
 Meic Copmaic Cair,¹ capad buaid :
 Ppim-giall fepn Epenn imac,
 O taib rúirig Roir Tempac. T. T.

XXXII.

Colum Cille cpenad bpuib,
 Robuir in cat for Diarmuid ;
 Ren dul do dar muir imac,
 Rongiallradar cuir Tempac. T.

XXXIII.

Cpetem Cpuir pocer i crí,
 Rocuir cae nept ar nemtí ;
 Ar bronod ann De'n a tairg,
 Ni tapd termund do Tempairg. T. T.

Cinaed hUa hAirtagan hoc carmen *cecinit* do ruidigud
 Tige Copmaic.

I.

Domun duthuin a laine,
 Comul cairne ced cuire :
 Bpec ilar lich re labrad,
 Ait adrad rig [nan] uile.

¹ Copmao Cair Cair.—MS.

XXX.

It is where it was positioned,
 The house, on the brink of Sparkler :
 About that house over Mide forth
 The houses of Temair were set.

XXXI.

Slender-hound, son of Loarnn, son of Red,
 Son of Cormac the Curled, who used to love victory,
 Was the chief hostage of the men of Eriu forth,
 And from him are the princes of Ros Temrach.

XXXII.

Colum Cille who used to buy hostages,
 Broke the battle on Diarmaid ;
 Before he went over sea forth,
 The chiefs of Teamair hostaged him.

XXXIII.

The faith of Christ, who suffered in body,
 Has brought every strength to nought ;
 For the violation in it of God in his (Diarmait's) house,
 He [God] gave no protection to Temair. T. T.

CINAETH UA HARTAGAN SANG THIS POEM ON THE POSITION-
 ING OF THE HOUSE OF CORMAC.

I.

World, perishable is its fulness,
 A vast caldron of a hundred companies ;
 A deceit is a multitude of festivals to mention,
 But the adoring of the King of all things.

II.

Ropaid cec pect imrad,
 Rorcaic cac cept co grian :
 Temair andiu cid farac—
 bae tan ba narad nrad.

III.

Robo blait a tor taebac,
 Cia r'bo aenach rcor rcelac :
 Socaid[e] di a r'bo domgnar,
 Indiu gid fond glar, ferach.

IV.

ba Dindon ordnigin, inglic,
 ba foirglige com bad plait ;
 Ri a taibrin ba druinn ordai[r]c
 An aimrin hi Cuind, Cormaic.

V.

Diam bae Cormac pocloca,
 ba neil, noblad dorca :
 No co fpiet dun mar Tempaig,
 Robaei pun belaiḡ beta.

VI.

baile a briḡ rein uar buidnib,
 In riḡ rin rogab Tempaig :
 Ir ferr dun, tol a fine,
 Tomur a tige teaglaig.

VII.

Nai cluid noclai garb-teand,
 La noin dui 'n a timceall,
 Ri find-airbire na find-épann¹—
 Cathair imeirpdeirc, iméend.

¹ Épann.—MS.

II.

Every law that was in motion is gone,
Every right has been finished to base :
Temair to-day though a desert—
There was a time it was the gaming-place of champions.

III.

Blooming was its sloping hill,
Though it was an assembly-place of taleful tents :
Several to whom it had been a usual residence,
To-day though a green, grassy land.

IV.

It was a splendid, impregnable fortress,
It was firm so that it was strong :
It was for the viewing of it a conspicuous ridge
In the time of the grandson of Cond—Cormac.

V.

When Cormac was very renowned,
It was splendid, very smooth it used to be found :
By no means was there found a dun like Temair,
It was the shrine of the world's pass.

VI.

Strong his power over companies,
That king's who took Temair :
Better for us—multitudes of tribes—
Is the measuring of their houses of family

VII.

Nine walls he rough-strong built,
With nine ramparts around them,
With the white inclining of the white trees,
A very illustrious, very strong city.

VIII.

Aoba níg ní uar panda
 Co an dailtí fín co fínde ;
 ba din, ba dun, ba dingna,
 Trí caegaid imdaid uime.

IX.

Bíod .l. laeic co láimb—
 Robo bnoc baeic ar bpuidin—
 he a luic línib dingna
 Caca imda do taigib.

X.

Rop alaind in plog ramlain,
 Taitned or ar a dingnaib :
 Trí .l. ad aipel eirgnaid,
 .l. in gach aipel inmain.

XI.

Caecu peictaire panda
 Rir in flait falgá, firda :
 .l. for fledach, fir-glan,
 Rí caeca[id] pprim-laeich pprimda.

XII.

Coeca fear in a feram
 Connetír in fael-forruo,
 Cen bíod in níg con o ol,
 Ar na ba dood dorum.

XIII.

An uall-nuall ní an anuabur,
 Na puieac puamna paideao,
 Ní dao dimdaig do'n aipeam—
 Trí ced daileam norbaileo.

VIII.

The residence of a king, a king over Eriu,
 With whom wine used to be dealt out with splendour:

It was a *din*, was a *dun*, was a *dingna*,
 Three fifties of apartments around it.

IX.

There used to be fifty heroes with lances—
 It was a soft enclosure on a *bruidin*—
 It was the company-fulls of the *dingna*,
 Of every apartment of its houses.

X.

Beautiful was the host in this manner,
 Gold used to gleam on its *dingaas* :
 Three fifties of splendid *airels*,
 Fifty in every precious *airél*.

XI.

Fifty active stewards
 With the princely, just sovereign :
 Fifty festive, truly-clean waiters,
 With fifty principal chief heroes.

XII.

Fifty men a-standing
 Used to guard the fire-station,
 While the king used to be at his drinking,
 That burning might not be to him.

XIII.

The pride-shout on account of their great haughtiness,
 Of the noble princes who were named :—
 They are not displeased at the enumeration—
 Three hundred cup-bearers used to attend them.

XIV.

Τρι .l. ραβα τογα
 Οι γαc δαιμ, τοla τυile,
 Σεc βα cαρρmογαl γlan, mac,
 βα hon, βα hαγγαδ uile.

XV.

βα mo δ'un mal, βα moo,
 Αρ γαc bou βα lia :
 Τριcα ceδ, nocορuiηγεαδ,
 Macc Αιητ τυιρmeαδ caς δια.

XVI.

Α ορong ρileδ βα ριρδα,
 Cuiηcιρ ολιγεαδ an δala,
 Ocuρ ni baep ci acbeρα
 'Con aer cena γach δana.

XVII.

Τυιρmem τεγλαc 'n α τοlaib
 Τιγι Tempac do δiηib :
 Ιρ e ρeo an αιηim ρiηe—
 .L. ap mιλ do mιλib.

XVIII.

Diam bae Cορmac ι Tempaiγ,
 Α ρoblaς uap γαc ρογαin,
 Ριγ adgein meic Αιητ Αen-ρiρ,
 Νι ρ'cin [do] δaηib domuin. Domun. O.
 [Ριηιτ. Amen].

XIV.

Three fifties of choice stoups

For every company, an excess of addition,
Besides that they were bright, pure carbuncle,
They were gold, were silver all.

XV.

The king had more, had more,

In every thing he was more numerous :
Thirty hundreds, whom he used to support,
Mac Airt used to reckon every day.

XIV.

His throng of poets was truthful,

They used to keep the law of their ordinance :
And it is not foolishness if thou wouldst say it
Regarding the class besides of every profession.

XVII.

Let us reckon the family in their excesses

Of the houses of Temair of races :
This is their number of truth—
Fifty over a thousand of thousands.

XVIII.

When Cormac was in Temair,

His great fame above every choice,
A king the likeness of the son of Art Aenfhir,
Was not descended of the men of the world.
World. W.—[It Endeth. Amen].

NOTES.

P. 140, line 1. *Dind-peanchup*.—There are several vellum and paper copies of the *Dind-seanchus* both in this country, in England, and on the Continent, but they all differ considerably from each other in both prose and poetry. They are also generally defective. The two copies I have selected are also each of them defective, the Book of Lecan at the beginning, and the Book of Ballymote towards the end. I take Lecan as my text, as being more uniform in orthography than Ballymote, and the deficiency of the former at the beginning I supply from the latter. The text in Ballymote begins at fol. 188, col. 1, and ends at fol. 229, col. 4: that of Lecan begins imperfectly at p. 231, col. 1, and ends perfectly at fol. 263, col. 2. Some of the poems in the *Dind-senchus* are found in other manuscripts of the Academy, for example, in the Book of Invasions of the O'Clerys, and in *Leb. na hUidre*. Whatever I can find in the latter I shall substitute for its corresponding piece in Lecan, because the text of the former is older and far better than that of the latter: the O'Clerys I shall refer to but rarely, for their texts are sometimes very much their own.

The Tract on Tara with a translation has already appeared in Petrie's *Antiquities of Tara Hill*, "*Transactions of the R. I. Academy*," vol. 18, but the text there given is a sort of recension, and both itself and the translation appear rather unsatisfactory: this is one reason why I have not omitted it. But there is another reason: I must begin at the beginning, as I hope to be able to end at the ending of this great compilation. This piece, and one or two poems, are all that have yet been done from the *Dind-senchus*.

The words *dún*, *dúne*(?), *dúnab*, *dind*, *dinnga*, *lep*, *cathair*, &c. All these words are used to signify a *fortified* or *enclosed* place of some kind. In Zeuss, "*Gramm. Celt.*" p. 29, *dun* is glossed *arx*, *castrum*. In *Leb. na hUidre* it appears sometimes as masculine, and sometimes as neuter: 'Oebela pobóí in *dún*—"open the dun was" (sailing of the Curach of Mael Duin, p. 23, col. 1): *luib appirí ip an dún*—"she went back into the dun" (Ib. p. 24, col. 2). The genitive in *Leb. na hUidre* is *dúni*, *duné*, which are frequent: *Fop togaíl in dúni*—"for the destroying of the dun" (Ib. p. 21, col. 2). The gen. *dúin* occurs in the name *Moel Dúin*. It occurs also in *Feir Duin bolg*, the Feast of *Dun Bolg*, and in *Feir Duin bucet*, the Feast of *Dun Buchet* (O'Curry's "*Lectures*," p. 588), and in a MS. of the R. I. Academy, 23, N. 10, p. 30, where the speaker gives a *résumé* of the tales of ancient Eriu: *Togaíl Duin Aengusa*, "the Destruction of Dun Aengusa," in Ara Island. We must, then, assume two declensions for the form *dún*, the one an *a*-stem, and the other a *u*-stem. The former corresponds with the last member of such compounds as the Gaulish—*Augusto-dunum*, *Lug-dunum*, &c. In the list of tales here mentioned there are several not named in the Book

of Leinster, as given in O'Curry's "Lectures," p. 548, et seqq., nor in any other authority, so far as I know. In some cases, however, these tales go by different names, or form an episode only in larger ones of different names. In Adamnan's Life of St. Columba *Óin Cetherni* is translated by "Munitio Cetherni." It is the Welsh *din*, as the Ir. *cú* is the Welsh *ci*, a hound. The form *búnað* is a neuter α -stem, and occurs frequently, but generally in the sense of a fortified camp: *Cóinici búnaðon uile Ffraech*—"the whole camp lament Fraech." (*Tain, Leb. na hUidre*). In the same manuscript, p. 19, col. 2, the expression—*an búnað pop a ceð*—"the fortification on the house," occurs, and in p. 21, col. 2, *bún*, *búnað* and *lep* are used, the one for the other, and in several passages *bun* and *cathaip* are interchanged. The word *bina* is neuter, as: *ba bina opónigin imgluc*, p. 142, quatrain 4. In the *Amra, Leb. na hUidre*, p. 9, col. 1; the genitive is *benna* in a gloss on the text—*bái páb púite cec bina .i. . . . no pab ceð benna*, "or a chief of every hill." See my edition for a translation of the Article. This *ceð*, as the genitive, shows the word not to be feminine, as the fem. form is *ceca*. So *benna* is the gen. in the Book of Leinster in the phrase *bín-pencup Denna Ríge*—"The Dind-senchus of Dind-righ." The word then is a neuter ι -stem, and if *bina* *Epena*, line 12, is genuine, this is the first gen. pl. of a neut. ι -stem as yet discovered. *Bina* in the Prophecy of Art Mac Cond, *Leb. na hUidre*, is interchanged with *buma*, a grave-mound. The word *bingna* is an $\iota\alpha$ -stem: *ó bingnu do bingnu*—"from fortress to fortress," a *dative*. (Story of Tuan Mac Cairill, *Leb. na hUidre*, p. 15, col. 2). For further examples see O'Donovan's note, Petrie's Tara Hill, p. 135.

P. 140, line 2. *Of the Deisi*.—For an account of the Deisi see O'Donovan's "Book of Rights," p. 49, note k. Diarmaid reigned from 539, A.D. to 558. See "Four Masters."

P. 140, line 4. *Findtan son of Lamiach*.—More properly "son of Bochna." See below. In this first *fasciculus* I have preserved in the English proper names the variations of the Irish text, as "Findtan;" but in my future numbers I shall in this regard adopt one uniform mode of spelling. I have also omitted the aspiration mark, wherever omitted in the original, and this I shall do throughout, so as to give the student a true idea of the manuscript from which I copy.

P. 140, line 6. *Im planb*.—Note, that in the Book of Ballymote and other manuscripts of about the same period, we find a mark like the actual *length-sign* (erroneously called *accent*) even over a short *.i.* This is done in order that the reader may not confound the stroke of the *.i.* with that of the preceding or following letter. In the preposition *in*, for example, in which the *.i.* is short, we find the *.i.* so marked, as *ín*. This mark, which is the origin of our dotted *i* and *j*, will prevent our confounding *in* with *ni*, a thing; in MSS. not so marked, there is sometimes a great difficulty in distinguishing the one from the other. This conventional sign I have omitted altogether, except in the first paragraph, in which I have retained it as a specimen, and in after cases where it coincided with the genuine *length-sign*. The examples retained are: *ím*, *Finnnan*, *duíne*, and *áimrip*. The true *length-sign* is but very rarely found in Ballymote or Lecan.

P. 140, line 12. *Con ecpeð do*.—In my construction of this passage I differ from Dr. O'Donovan in Petrie's Tara. Amargein requested Fin-

tan to reveal to him the history of the forts of Eriu, and this request is immediately granted, not in words, but as if by inspiration. Then Amargein proceeds at once with the prose, which portion only of the Dind-senchus is assigned to him. The poems are, some of them, anonymous, others by well-known authors.

P. 140, line 17. *Ḫede Oll-ḡotac*, "the Loud-voiced."—He was monarch of Ireland for 12 years, having ascended the throne in Anno Mundi 3960, and fallen in A. M. 3971, by the hand of Fiacha Finnachta. See "Four Masters."

P. 140, line 29. *Tea bin, ben Eremon*.—There is some confusion here. The "Tea," who went to Gede Oll-gothoch, is said to have been the daughter of Lugaid, son of Ith, and also is the "Tea," whom Eremon married in Spain and brought to Eriu. Eremon is also said to have been called "Oll-gothach," and though his date is given as something about five hundred years before that of Gede, the former being, according to the "Four Masters," A. M., 3500, and the latter 3960, still it is very possible that one original legend has, in this case, been divided into two. "Eremon" is the genitive of *Erem*, like *bríchem*, "judge," gen. *bríchemon*, a masculine n-stem. In Ballymote we have *Eremoin*, as if the nom. were *Eremon*, a masculine α-stem; and this tendency of bringing up an oblique consonantal stem to the nominative and then turning it into a vowel stem, is universal in the progress of a language from its ancient to its modern form. A contrary example, however, is the Homeric *φύλακος*, "a guard," become *φύλαξ* in Xenophon.

P. 140, last line. These five names, save the last, are in the poem represented as derived from personal names. The form *depcen* is probably for *decpen*, gen. of *decpiu*, so that the idea may be "Ridge of Prospect," that is, from which there is a fine view, as there really is from Temair. For *Opuimn Depcen* here the poem has *Forðpuim*, "Great Ridge." But as it is usual among all ancient peoples to derive local names, originally descriptive, from personal names, as done in the poem, I have no doubt but the five names here given are also descriptive. *Temair*, gen. *Tempach*, "Gloom-gleam" = *tama-ruch*, Skrt. *tama* (darkness) Ir. *teime*, (id) root *tam*, to be dark, *ruch* (light, splendour, beauty) *ruch*, to shine. The meaning then will be "that which gleams in the gloom," or transitively, "that which lightens the gloom," and this agrees very well with *Temair* either as the proper name of a woman, as it frequently has been, or as a sunny hill. For the principal places in Ireland called "Temair" see O'Donovan's "Supplement to O'Reilly's Dictionary."

Opuim Cain, "Beautiful Ridge:" *Liach-opuim*, "Grey-ridge:" *Catair Cpo-pind*, "City of the fair Enclosure:" *Opuimn Depcen*, "Ridge of Prospect." This last name as well as "*Forðpuim*" would seem to refer to the time of "Ollchan," quat. 5, for *Forð na ríḡ*, "Station of the Kings," quat. 10, was a name given immediately after "Temair," and is not included in the five "from Fordruim to Temair." With regard to the name *Catair Cpo-pind*, I may say that the word *catair* does not, as Petrie and others maintain, necessarily imply a "stone enclosure." In many passages, as I have said (first note), the words *bún*, *lep*, *catair*, &c., are used indiscriminately, the one for the other.

P. 140, line 23. *Mup Cephir*—*Mup Ḫephir*. MS.

P. 142, line 8. *In suo silencio Coniuncit*.—The word *silencium* is used to signify a glossary or commentary: it properly means a conference or

discussion, and is accordingly rendered by Zonaras by the Greek *διάλεξις*. See Du Cange's "Glossary" under the word "silentium." The form "Coniuncit" has been read *Cormacus*, but this cannot be correct. It is very probable it was intended to express *Commentator*, or some such term. In the Book of Leinster opposite this article is written in the margin "Cormac mac Cuilennáin," and it is on this authority the word *Cormac* has been introduced into the passage.

The article in the Book of Leinster is as follows:—*Temuir unde nominatur? Nin. Tea-mur .i. Múr Tea, ingine Lugdaic maic Itha, ben hEremón, maic Miled .i. ip and pohadnaict hí. Unde poeta cecinit:—*

In éet ben luib in úaig úair
Do'n éúain ó Tur bregaín báin—
Tea brega, ben in ríg,
Dianib ainm Temair rir Fail.

Uel, *Temair*: a uerbo *ῥοεο* "temoro" (*θεωρέω*?) .i. "*conspicio*:" úair ip *Temair* ainm do caic inab arrib roirb fezag rabairc. Unde dicuntur *Temair* na tuaithe 7 *Temair* in tige.

"*Temuir*, whence is it named? Not difficult. *Tea-mur*, that is, *Mur Tea* (Wall of Tea), daughter of Luguid, son of Itha, wife of hErem, son of Mil, whence the poet has sung:—

The first woman who went to cold grave,
Of the troop from the Tower of white Bregan—
Tea Brega, wife of the king,
From whom is the name, bright Temair of Fal.

Or, *Temair*: from the Greek word *temoro* (*θεωρέω*), that is, "*conspicio*:" for *Temair* is a name for every place from which a viewing from the eye is easy. Whence is said "Temair of the country, and Temair of the house." It is hardly necessary to say that the celebrated hill of Teamair (Tara) is situated in the county of Meath, a few miles west of Dublin.

P. 142. *Fintan cecinit*.—It will be seen further on that it is inconsistent to ascribe the whole of this poem to Fintan. The text is from the Book of Lecan, fol. 285, col. b.

P. 142, quatrain 1. *Temair brega*.—This should not be rendered "Temair of Bregia," as it universally is, as *brega* is the genitive plural of *brega*, a personal noun, and used in the plural only. Thus nom. *brega*, gen. *breg*, dat. *bregaib*, acc. *brega*. It is a *g*-stem, the nominative singular of which would in Gaulish be *Brex* (old Irish *breg*, shortened from *breg*, like *rí* from *ríg*). The word *laighe* (Leinstermen) is another example: nom. plur. *laighe*, gen. *laigen*, dat. *laigib*, acc. *laighe*: and so *Ulaib* (Ulstermen): nom. *Ulaib*, gen. *Ulaib*, dat. *Ulaib* (contracted into *Ultaib*), acc. *Ulaib* (contracted into *Ulta*). It is unnecessary to give parallels from the classical languages. According to Tighernach, Magh Breg extended from the Liffey to the Boyne, but according to Mageoghagan's translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, from Dublin to Belach Breck, west of Kells, and from the hill of Howth to "the Few's" mountains, in Armagh. See O'Donovan's "Book of Rights," p. 11, note z.

The Brugh was that called "Brugh Maic ind Oc," lying on either side of the Boyne, but principally on the south, and in Magh Breagh. Boand, who was *Sidé* governess of the Boyne, and gave it a name, was a sister to Befind, mother of Froech, son of Idath. In the "Spoil of the Cows of Froech," edited by me in the Royal Irish Academy Irish Manuscript Series, p. 136, it is said: "He (Froech) goes accordingly to sister, that is to Boand, until he was in Mag Breg." It seems that after the establishment of the royal seat in Tara the name Breagh was withdrawn from the Brugh, and thus happened "the separation."

INDIPIDH, line 2.—In the MS. INDIPICH = INDIPIG = INDIPID, 2nd plur. pres. Imperative. In the later manuscripts .ḡ. has frequently superseded .ḃ: this never occurs in Leb. na hUidre. The medial .ḡ. however, is often in old Irish put for the aspirated tenuis .ch., though the reverse is but rarely the case. The later writers seeing the .ḡ. put for .ch. imagined they could use the latter also for the former, whether the .ḡ. was primitive or a corruption of .ḃ. Thus cu allach "wild hound" for cu allad. We must not think of any connexion between this termination—ich and the Welsh—*uch*—*ich*, which is also the ending of the 2nd plur. pres. Imperative. Or, the .ch. may have arisen thus: The medial ḃ is frequently written for the aspirated tenuis, though .ch. for .ḃ. is very rare; and as .ch. in modern writing is frequently found for .ch., as bpúch, (judgment), for bpúc, so the original .ch = ḃ could easily glide into ch. An example in old Irish of .ch. for a primitive .ḡ. is tech = teg, a house; and examples of .ch. for a primitive .ḃ. are, macche = macḃe, childish; and coppche = coppḃe, corporeal. See Ebel's "Zeuss," pp. 63 and 792.

P. 142, Quatrain 2.—Here the author of the poem requests his brother *filis*, or poets, but more particularly further on, asks the five great sages of Eriu to declare the origin of the name "Temair." In this second quatrain in each half-line, the order of the arrivals in Eriu is reversed. Ceasair was the first, next Partholan, next, or as some say before Partholan, came Ciccol. In the Book of Ballymote, p. 13, col. 2, Ciccol is stated to be of the Fomorians, who were a race of demons in human form, having but one hand and one leg. They were expelled by Partholan.

Next came Nemed, though mentioned before Ciccol. The Luchrubain, more properly Luchrupain, called also Luprachain, &c., were the descendants of Cam according to a passage in Leb. na hUidre, p. 2, col. 1: conid hé (Cam) comarba Cáin íapn dílinḃ, ⁊ conid húad rogenatar Luḃrupain ⁊ Fomóraig ⁊ Gobor-ḃind. ⁊ ceḃ ecorc dodelbba apcena píl pop doinḃ—"So that he (Cam) is the successor of Cain after the Deluge, and that it is from him have been descended *Luchrupain* and Fomoraig, and Gobhor-chind, and every other ill-shaped form which is on men."

The Luchrupain are regarded at present as fairies having various occupations both in water and out of it. See the story of Fergus, King of Emania, "Senchus Mor," Vol. I., p. 71, where it is stated that he went with them (the Luchrupain) *under the seas*. The Fomoraig were also sea-giants or monsters: the Gobhor-chind (goat-heads) must also have been of the same class. From these references I should say that luch or loch, a lake, is the first part of the compound. Others have interpreted it lu-ḃoppam, "little-bodies," but the passage above quoted presents the oldest form of the word. There is a chasm in a field in the parish of Cong, county of Mayo, from which the rumbling of run-

ning water is constantly heard, and this chasm is called Muilend luppaćan—"the Mill of the Lupruchans." In times of old the inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhood used to bring there Christmas *cosgeen* and lay it on the brink of the chasm, where for a certain allowance the owner would find it ground in the morning. On one occasion, however, some irreverent woman said that an undue share was taken out of her sack, and this so provoked the honest miller that he ground no more *cosgeens*. The Fir Bole (literally, "Men of bags") arrived next. With these the author of the poem ends the invasions preceding that of the sons of Mil, regarding, I suppose, that of the Tuatha de Dannan as a fable.

The poet now (quat. 4) turns to the five great sages of Eriu, and begs of them to declare the origin of the name *Temair*. These sages were "Tuan Mac Cairill of Ulster, Finnochadh of Leinster, Bran of Burren in North Munster, Cu Allaid of *Cruachan Conallaidh*, probably in South Munster, and Dubhan of Connaught [in present copy *Finden* of Magh Bile]. Fintan, himself, on whom this poem is fathered, was believed by the old Irish Shenachies to have lived from the time of the first colony which came into Ireland until the reign of Dermot Mac Ceirbheoil; having during this period undergone various transmigrations." (O'Donovan's notes, Petrie's Tara, p. 132).

The manuscript, in ascribing this poem to Fintan, has led O'Donovan to imagine that Fintan and Tuan Mac Cairill were different persons. But this is not the case. In the Book of Lecan, fol. 275, col. 2, it is stated that all the descendants of Partholan died of a great mortality in Ireland except Tuan, son of Starn, son of Teara, who was the nephew of Partholan. That this Tuan was preserved by the will of God in various forms and shapes until the time of the saints. That, while in the form of a salmon, he was caught in a net by a fisherman in Ulster, who carried it to the king's court, where it was purchased by the queen, who on eating of it conceived, and in due time brought forth a son, the same ancient Tuan, son of Starn. That he received the name Mac Cairill from his reputed father Cairill, son of Muiredach Muin-dearg. At the close of the article the writer states that this Tuan was Fintan. In Leb. na hUidre, p. 15, col. 1, Tuan is introduced as giving Finnen of Magh Bile an account of all the invasions of Ireland from Partholan to the days of the saint. We can now see the *rationale* of the poem. The author is represented as asking the great sages of Erin to declare the origin of the name *Temair*, and in doing so, to put Tuan, *alias* Fintan, first. Fintan, that is Tuan, begins his poetic sketch with quatrain 5; Robaí ćan, &c., and from this to the end of the poem may quite consistently be assigned to him. In Ballymote we have instead of "Tuan" in the first line "Dubhan," and this is repeated in the third line. The probable reason is, that the copyist believed Fintan and Tuan to be the same individual. See Leb. na hUidre, p. 120, col. 2, for the four great sages, who have preserved the history of the four quarters of the world since the Deluge. Fintan took charge of the history of the western world. He died at Dun Tulcha, otherwise called Fert Fintan (Fintan's Grave), and Tul Tuinde. See "Four Masters," A. M. 2242, and note.

Quat. 5. Ollchan.—A derivative of ollać = uallać, proud, where the —an is not a diminutive termination. In the next line the MS. reads in choill ćap, which would be the nom., as coill is feminine. I have

substituted the proper acc., and next line for *glap* I have substituted *glap* to rhyme with *caip*. Line 4:—*Liath*, &c., that is, “Grey, son of Broad-green Lance.”

Quat. 6. *Opum Leith*.—“Ridge of Liath,” that is “of Grey.” In the next, Ballymote and O'Donovan read *meich* for our *meich*, and O'Donovan translates “rich,” but in this sense I think *meich* would not be correct. The epithet is usually given to animals. The word *míac*, in the sense of a measure of corn, is common, and the idea, of course, is *richness* or *abundance*. Fiacha Cend-finnan, son of Starn, was monarch of Ireland from A. M. 3278 to 3283. Cend *pínnan*; that is, “whitish head:” *pínnan*, diminutive of *pínn*, white: old Irish *pínb*.

Quat. 7. *O hin*.—For *ó* *pín*, the mortified *p* becomes *h*. Examples rather rare. *Opum Caen*, “the Ridge of Caen.” *Cup cegaid maip*: here *cegaid* is the later form for *cegaic*. Ballymote, a *cegaip*, “from which used to go;” O'Donovan, *cup cegaid*, “to which used to go.” The present scribe perhaps represents this quatrain as written before the destruction of Tara. *Catip Cpo-pínb*, that is, “the City of Child-bright,” a proper name. All the names of “Temair” given in this poem are as we have said above, represented as derived from personal names, with the exception of “*Popopum*,” that is, “Great Ridge,” which is here substituted for “*Opum Oercen*” of the prose. See note on p. 140, last line but one. *Alloic*: the gen. *Alatto*, has been found by Dr. Ferguson in an Ogham inscription. *Alatto celi battigní* “[the stone] of Alattas servant of Battignus,” that is, *bachene*.

Quat. 10. *Popad na píg*.—The word *popad* means a *conspicuous* or *particular station* at a public meeting. In *Leb. na hUidre*, p. 52, col. 1, it is stated that a great assembly was held at *Tailtiu*, where—*pohop-daigic tpa píp hEpend pop popadaib ind oenaig .i. cae ap míadaib 7 dánaib 7 blepcunur and, amail bá gnae corrin. bai ban popud ap leic ac na mnáib im dá rétic ind píg*: “Now the men of Eriu were arranged on the stations of the assembly, that is, every one according to dignities, and professions, and legality there, as was customary until then. The women also had a station apart around the two wives of the king.”

NOTES ON THE PROSE.—My remarks on this portion of the tract as well as on the corresponding portion of O'Lochan's poem, which begins at p. 161, will be very brief, as the places named are laid down in order, and fully discussed in “*Petrie's Tara*.” My chief object is to give an accurate text and as good a translation as I can. By this means I shall be able to afford our non-Celtic scholars, many of whom are practical antiquaries, an opportunity of corroborating our linguistic researches, which alone, if only in existence on a given question, must always lead the way in all archæological investigations. I shall of course, as I have hitherto done, try to remove what I deem erroneous theories on certain antiquarian problems; this, however, I shall hold as a secondary object. Of the proper names in the text so far as they were palpable I have given the English equivalents: the doubtful I have left for future examination.

P. 146, line 6. *lc ont Síó*.—This *Síó* is not noticed by Petrie. What *Síó* and *Síóé* mean will be gathered from the following note of mine *Tain Bo Fraich*, “Manuscript Series of the Royal Irish Academy,” Vol. I., p. 159: “There are in Irish two words, which must not be confounded; namely *Síó*, an artificial structure, within which has been laid, that is to say, dwells a deified mortal; the other *Síóé*, which means

that Deity himself. The former is the Lat. *situs*, a substantive gunated *situ*: the latter is *situs*, an adjective, gunated, and with -*ya* termination, *sétya*. The verbal root is *si-*, "to enclose," "to mound." For the former compare Hor. lib. 3, Od. 30:—"Regalique situ pyramidum altius;" and for the latter, Cic. de Leg., lib. 2, cap. 22:—"Declarat Ennius de Africano: Hic est ille *situs*. Vere: Nam siti decuntur ii qui mortui sunt." The two forms occur in the following passage at the close of the *Serg-ligé*:—*conib ppur na caibbrib rin atbepac na haineolaig Sibe 7 dep Sibe*: "So that it is to those apparitions the unlearned give the name *Sidé* and the class of *Sids*." That the ancient Irish held this *rationale* of the word *rib*, "a residence for the immortals," is clear from the following, the most ancient Irish passage on the subject:—*Sib mór hitaam, conib depuib nonnainmnigcep dep Sibe*: "it is a large *Sid* (structure) in which we are, so that it is from it that we are called the class of *Sid*." This is the explanation of the *Sidé* goddess to Conla Ruad, when inviting him away to the "Lands of the Living." (Leb. na hUidre). See my note on "*Sib Cpuachan*," (Tain Bo Fraich, "Irish MSS. Series," Vol. I., p. 167).

P. 146, line 7. *Nemnach, Ních*.—The word *nem* means something sparkling. In Zeuss it is glossed by "onyx," a *precious stone*, for which see Pliny, lib. 37, cap. 6. In the *MS. H. 3. 18.* (T. C. D.) p. 73, *nemain*, nom. plur. of *nem*, is glossed by *uible*, as *nemain beḡa .i. uible teneb*, "sparks of fire." The well was called *nemnach*, not from its yielding pearls, but translatively from its glittering water. "Sparkler" comes pretty near the meaning. In the same way *Ních* is the root "nit-," which we find in the Lat. *nit-idus*, "gleaming," "glittering," &c., Sanskrit. *nat*—"to shine." "Shiner" comes pretty near the meaning. For *Nith* and *Nemnach* see conjectural etymologies, "Petrie's Tara," p. 76.

P. 146, line 9. *La Ciarnaid*.—"By *Ciarnaid*," that is, at the request of *Ciarnad*.

P. 146, line 11. *Ecep .fff. cloca*.—The word for "ecep" in the original is the contraction *7 = and*, but with a horizontal stroke drawn over it (thus *7̄*) it becomes = *ecep*. I have supplied this stroke. Other copies read *7*, and supply *imbe* (about them) at the end of the sentence.

P. 146, line 16. *Ppurn-doirri cab apda*.—Literally—"chief-doors of each point," that is one facing each cardinal point.

P. 146, line 18.—See Petrie's "Tara," p. 169; but remember that in the second line of the extract from Leb. na hUidre the words *h1 comlinḡ* do not mean "in friendship," as there rendered, but the very contrary, "in conflict." This I have shown in one of my notes on the *Taeth Fiada*, commonly called St. Patric's Hymn.

P. 148, line 5. *In ḡlaip*.—*Glas* was the name of a fabulous cow. See Petrie's "Tara," p. 158.

P. 148, line 12. *Oomgnur Cu 7 Cetén*.—Dr. O'Donovan translates, "They have acted like *Cu* and *Cethen*," but the text will not admit of this. I take *Oomgnur* as a passive primary preterite of *dognu*, "I act," like *poperr*, "has been known," *pochlor*, "has been heard," &c., (Ebel's Zeuss, p. 478), and the *.m.* as the infixed pers. pronoun of the first person, in the sense of a dative. See Ebel's Zeuss, p. 328. The name "*Cethen*" I cannot analyze: "*Cu*" is, of course, "Hound," a name of frequent occurrence.

P. 148, line 22. *Rat na Senub.*—Two Forts are here distinctly mentioned, though Dr. O'Donovan from the same text renders thus: "Rath na Seanadh (fort of the Synods), lies opposite *Dumha na n-giall*, and to the north of *Fal*." "Tara Hill," p. 139. This is evidently incorrect, and accordingly in Petrie's Plan of Tara one rath only is laid down. "The rath of the Synod" should be looked for either just north or south of "Duma nau Giall," for the text can admit of either position, but south of "Lia Fail." "The Fort of the Synod" is again mentioned, next page, in connexion with "the Stone of the Fians." For the origin of "the Fort of the Synods," see p. 171, (Ibid.)

P. 150, line 4. *Cubad*.—This *cubad* and *compot*, line 24, are forms of the Latin *cubitus*. The genuine Irish word is *líge*.

P. 154, line 2. *Ročacain*.—This is a reduplicated preterite. The MS. bi-duplicates, reading *pocacacain*.

P. 154, line 3. *Cinaec hUa hArtagan*.—This name is usually written *Cinaech*, or *Cinaebh* in the late manuscripts. *Ua hArtagan* was a famous poet. His death, A. D. 975, is thus recorded by Tigernach: *Cinaet Ua hArtagan, ppim-eiccep leite Chuinn mopitup*—"Cinaeth Ua hArtagan, chief poet of Leth Chuinn, (Conn's half, or Northern division of Eriu) dies."

P. 154, quat. 1. *Óobeip maip*.—Some MSS. read—*Óa beip maip do na mnab*. "If beauty is given to the women." In this case *beip* would be 3rd sing pres. Indicative passive = *bepp*, Z. 466: *Temair* would be *nominativus pendens*, and *cul-mağ* would be in sense-apposition with it, but in the *accusative* case, in apposition with the understood pronoun object of *puair*. The literal translation would be: "If beauty is given to the women—Temair without weakness after erection—the daughter of Lugaid found [it, Temair] in her hand—a hill-plain which it was sorrow to plunder." The meaning would be: "If any thing beautiful is given, as it ought to be, to women, then the daughter of Lugaidh got it, for she got beautiful Temair." But this is not the idea. If the word *Temair* means literally, as I have suggested above, "darkness-lighter," that is, *light*, the *sun*, *moon*, a *cloud-dispersing hill*, and so forth, then *Temair* and *maip* will relieve each other, while the second line of the quatrain will still refer to Teamair proper. I may observe that a name for *sun*, *moon*, *fire*, *light*, &c. in Skrt. begins frequently with *tama*, as *tamódhna*, "darkness-destroyer," from *tamas*, "darkness," and *dhna*, "destroyer;" *tamónuda*, "darkness-disperser," from *tamas*, "darkness," and *nuda*, "disperser," "destroyer:" *tamóhara*, from *tamas*, and *hara*, "remover."

bud liad do lotbaib.—Literally "for plundering." O'Donovan translates—"which was sorrowful to a harlot." But this rendering has no meaning. I take *lotbaib* to be a derivative from *lot*, *wound*, *rapine*, *plunder*, *loot*; a formation like *piabb*, "grove," from *piu*, "tree." In these formations the .b. represents a .v. obtained from the coalescing of .u. with .a. Thus *piu* = Gaulish *vidu* with *abá* becomes in Irish *piabb* = *piuab* = *vidvada*. This form is a fem.—a-stem. *Ip lipiu peoir no polt piabairde ill-pacha in mapbnuda noib-pea*—"More numerous than grass on a grove's hair the many blessings of this holy elegy." Leb. Breac. p. 121, col. 2. *Ocbad*, a warrior, is another of those formations.

P. 154, quat. 2, line 1. *Ellom*.—This word has been rendered "portion" by O'Donovan, on the authority of a gloss on this passage in a MS.

of the Library of Trinity College, H. 2, 17, p. 671, where the word is explained *coibcī*, "dowry." Now, as I have not met the word in this sense, I am inclined to think the gloss erroneous, though O'Clery has inserted it in his vocabulary. In the *Tain, Leb. na hUidre*, the word occurs at least twice, where "promptness" seems to be the idea: Ailill orders his jester to go with his own diadem on his head, to meet Cu Chulaind, and bring Find-abair, his daughter, with him, and offer her to him from a distance: and then he says: *cecat app ellom fo'n cput rín*: "let them come from it promptly in that form" (p. 71, col. 1): *Neč úaib im bápač co ellom ap cend pap céle*: "One from you to-morrow promptly to meet your friend." Ibid., p. 73, col. 2. Again in "the Sailing of the Curach of Mael Duin," the crew being terrified at what occurred in one of the islands they met with—"They came accordingly promptly after that from the island"—*Tancatár iapom co hellam iap rín o'nd inri*. Ibid. p. 24, col. 2. The word seems to be equal *eplam*, "promptus," by assimilation of the .p. in *ep*—Ebel's "Zeuss," p. 868. In the next quatrain "*hallab*" has also been taken to mean "dowry," but the word *allab* is an abstract noun of frequent use, and meaning,—*distinction* or *celebrity*. Thus in *Leb na hUidre*, p. 78, col. 2, Cu Chulaind's father from the *Sidé* tells to his son, that he would not join him in fighting against the hosts: *uaip, cib mór* (he says) *do čompamaib žaili 7 žarcib dožné neč hi č'[p]appab-ro, ni pap bīap a nōp, náč a allub, náč aipbaipcup, acp popt-ro*:—"for, though one might perform a great deal of contests of valour and championship in thy company, it is not on him shall rest its honour, or its celebrity, or its conspicuousness, but on thee." So O'Clery and Cormac's Glossaries.

P. 154, quatrain 2. *bad ačhlam*.—Dr. O'Donovan takes "*bad*" as a primary preterite, but the form is conjunctive. Tea asked her husband to build her a *dun*, which *would be*, &c. This *dun* she had a right to in exchange for her virginity.

P. 154, quat. 4. *ba ic Epemon*.—This form is the dat. from *Epem*, an n-stem declined like *bpetem*, gen. *bpeteman*. See above.

P. 155, quat. 5. The quatrain is given differently in the different copies. According to the transcriber, "the Brega of Tea" would have been the "Mur Tea" proper of Temair: "the great Mergech" would have been the tall-pole from the top of which waved the royal standard, *meipge*, a standard: *meipgech*, a standard-bearer. With regard to the last line, an Irish writer of the tenth century might well say that "Mur Tea" was *not* a grave which was *not* plundered. The probability, however, is that *Bregatea* (Brigantia) means the Spanish city of Forand, in which was situated the Tower of Breogan, and that "Mor Mergech" refers to that tower. According to this idea we should read, as O'Donovan does from H. 2. 15. (?) T. C. D., *bregatea tpeab cuillmeach*—*Rocluintep uaip ba haipb-tpeab*—*Fept popp puil in mop Mepgeč*—*In pom pelcceč na p'haipgeab*. "Bregatea [was] a meritorious abode.—It is heard that it was once a high abode—[Where lies] The grave *under* which is the great Mergech—The burial place which was not violated." In this translation *popp puil* is rendered as if it were *pop puil*, as it is in H. 3. 3.

P. 158, quat. 6. *Tephi*.—In the prose introduction *one* Tephi only is mentioned, the daughter of Cino Bachter, King of Breogan, (quat. 10, below).

P. 158, quat. 7. *Ůpaipgeab*.—This is the 3rd sing. past Indicative

passive of the root *aipc*, *opc*, compounded with *do-þo*, and the augment *po*: *do-þo* becomes *co*, and the *o* of *po* is omitted before *aipc*: this would give *copaipc*, *copaipg*, and lawfully crushed *cpaipg*, which by a modern mode of spelling becomes *cpaioipg*. See Ebel's "Zeus," 882. This means that from this *mur* every assault was repelled.

P. 158, quat. 8. *Cumþat*.—The MS. reads *cumþat*, and O'Donovan translates—"Which great proud queens have formed." But it is evident we are here speaking of Tephí only. I have accordingly substituted *cumþat*, the same as *comþot*, and *cubat*, *supra*.

P. 158, quat. 10. *Cuindig*.—This is an adj. from *cond*, sense, and agrees with the infixed pronoun *-r-* in *doipug*, the object of *doipug*. The poet does not say that he heard this in Spain, but that he heard of the Spanish lady whom Canthon married.

P. 160, line 5. *Cuan O'Lochain*.—This was a famous poet and historian. He was killed in Tethbha in the year 1024. See O'Reilly's "Irish Writers," p. 73.

P. 160, quat. 1. *Cuind Cet-cathag*.—"Fighter of a hundred," not "of the hundred battles." In fact there have been many warriors in ancient Eriu, who fought more battles than Cond. Every great warrior was supposed to be able for a hundred ordinary mortals. Thus Emer, in replying to Cu Chulaind (*Tochmairc Emere*, *Leb. na hUidhre*, p. 123, col. 1) says that she had friends to protect her, and—*caé pep dib con nipt óet and*—"and every man of them with the strength of a hundred in him." So in the *Dind-senchus* of Ard Leamnachta in the Book of Leinster is said of a certain band of warriors—*Comluno céet ceó oen-þip dib*—"The conflict of a hundred in every man of them." But it is unnecessary to dwell on this simple question. The historian Josephus makes use of the same epithet—*εκατοντομαχος*.

P. 160, quat. 3. *An up dech punn*.—This is also O'Clery's reading, "Book of Invasions," p. 98. Other MSS. read *pum*, Lat. "summa," apparently with a change of declension: and so O'Donovan who translates: "What is a good summary of history." But here there are two errors: "an up dech" does not mean "what is good," but "what is best." The relative phrase *ap dech*, "qui (quæ, quod) est optimum" is of frequent occurrence. Thus in the "Bruidin Da Derga," *Leb. na hUidre*, Fer Caille says to the monarch Conaire: *Ip tú pí ap deé cánic inn domon*—"Thou art the best king that has come into the world." In the plural we have *ata*, as, *api láid ata deé gairce la Cruithen-túaic*—"three heroes, who are the best at entering upon championship among the Cruithen-tuaith." (Ib.): *ic é cuplennairg ata deé pí ip in domon*—"they are the pipers that are the best that are in the world." (Ib.) Zeuss and Ebel, "Gramm. Celt.," p. 611, have entirely misunderstood this formula. On "electorum dei" is the Irish gloss: *innaní ap deé pochpeicpet hi Cpipt*—"of those who best believed in Christ," where *ap* is an impersonal singular. They interpret *ap deé* (*e familia, e domo, principio, primum*): comparing the present expression *ap teach* (into the house), and *ap tigh* (in the house), but this *deé* has nothing to do with *teg*, or the presumed *pteg*, a house. It is an indeclinable superlative = *degem*. The word *punn* is thus glossed by O'Davoren: *punn .i. cpann no fáb: ut est—fomepcaid lam do punn .i. lam do pígi docum in fabab, no do cpand og deabaid*—"to reach a hand to a chieftain, or to a tree (spear-shaft) at a contest." The historic tree is what is meant here.

P. 160, quat. 4. Rí Epend ír a eppí.—This is an *alias* reading given in the manuscript for—ír a hainbpi. It is also the reading in other copies, and it is certainly the most defensible.

P. 162, quat. 6. O Cpuaió.—That is, from the hill of “Uisnech,” in the parish of Kildare, barony of Rathconrath, Co. Westmeath. The *traigh* is supposed to be the smallest subdivision of land among the Irish.

P. 162, quat. 8. Giall[a] gac muip. The MS. reads giall gaca muip, and so Book of Invasions, and O'Donovan ceça muip, which amounts to the same thing. But múp, from Lat. *murus*, is masculine and gaca is feminine; the true reading then is caó múp. I have given this accordingly. But the actual text would be quite correct, though not in harmony with the idea here intended, and this is, perhaps, what has led to this reading. We could render “He brought the hostage of each from sea abroad.” The poet, however, is speaking of Eriu only.

P. 164, quat. 16.—This is a good example of a 3rd plur. Imp. Ind. pass. (secondary present). See Ebel's “Zeuss,” p. 481, and note thereon, p. 1096.

P. 166, quat. 18. Copur cind.—See “Petrie's Tara,” p. 226, for the Historical references in this tract, both before and after this quatrain, where he will find them, as I said before, fully discussed.

P. 166, quat. 23. bluicne.—For the diminutive bluicne = bluicene, see Ebel's “Zeuss,” 274.

P. 168, quat. 25. beniat.—This is a corruption, a sort of Welsh form of “Benedictus.”

P. 168, quat. 28. Píabbaid Píabad popopbpi. This is the true reading. The Book of Invasions has—Pípen Píaba, and O'Donovan's text—pípen píabai, which he renders “an upright witness.” But píabbaid is a “declarer,” a derivative from píab, to declare, and píabad (more anciently píabat), “Domini,” gen. of píabu.

P. 168, quat. 9. Ap ppiu-aic aile Epenn.—For aile, O'Clery has aille, and O'Donovan reads the line, ppiuaiti aile Epeann, “[who was] the chief beauty of Erin.” But I have no doubt but aile is another form of uile, “all.”

P. 170, quat. 31. Roip Tempad.—In the Book of Lismore, p. 200, begins a poem by Aisine on “Ros Temrach.” This poem gives a splendid description of the surroundings of the great *Mur* of Temair. Want of space prevents our giving it.

P. 170, quat. 32. Pop Diapmaid.—The battle referred to here was that of Cul Dreimne, a place in the barony of Carbury to the north of the town of Sligo. The combatants were King Diarmaid on the one side, and Fergus and Domhnall, sons of Muircertach Mac Erca, on the other. Through the prayers of Columb Cille, the latter were victorious. See Keating's “Ireland”—reign of Diarmaid.

P. 170, quat. 33. Ap bponbó ann Óe.—This is the reading of the manuscript. O'Donovan reads, Ap bpón do baím Óe, and in the first line a cpi. He renders the whole quatrain thus: “The faith of Christ tormented his heart—He brought all strength to nought—In consequence of the sorrow of the people of God in his house—He extended no protection to Temur.” But the word cpi never means “heart.” In the Prophecy of Art, Leb na hUidre, p. 119, occurs this line—Ip mé Apt, a Óé, cen mo mac hí cpi—“I am Art, O God, without my son in body:” and

again, same col.—*Op caó ló iú i cpi, nab peóna col De*—"On every day I am in body, in which I may not guard God's will." Any person who knows the circumstance, under which Art spoke about his son, on the eve of his death at the battle of Mag Mocrume, will easily understand the reference to that son, the afterwards celebrated King Cormac. The "ann" in the third line means "in the case of the Faith:" the oldest and most correct form is "mb:" *Opbept Tadg co tibeó bpeit do mb*—Leb. na hUidre, p. 42, col. 2, "Tadg said, that he would give him judgment in the matter." The *violation* of God was Diarmaid's keeping druids in his house, as well as other objectionable matters. See "Tara Hill," p. 123. The last poem requires but a few remarks, which I must reserve until the next occasion.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a GENERAL MEETING, held at the apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October 2nd, 1872,

The WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY,
in the Chair;

The Honorary General Secretary said a Committee had been nominated early in the year to ascertain whether it would be possible to obtain such local aid, by subscriptions, as to place the Museum and Library of the Association in an independent position, and make them creditable to Kilkenny, it being considered that the Museum and Library were really of very little use to Members of the Association residing at a distance, whilst of great value to the local public. Besides, it was desirable to have their continuance secured to the locality, should the Association itself cease to exist. The Committee had deferred taking action in the matter to the present time, as this was the season at which the gentry of the county were usually at home. It had been suggested that perhaps, owing to the indifferent harvest of this year, it might be better to wait still longer. He wished to have the opinion of the Meeting on this subject.

The Mayor did not think the consideration of the harvest would weigh against this object with the classes to whom an appeal should be made.

Several other Members agreed with the Mayor, that it would be as well not to delay the operations of the Committee longer.

A conversation ensued as to the possibility of obtaining State aid towards the object, in the course of which Mr. Graves said that if the locality showed an interest in the matter, by subscribing fairly towards it, he had been given to understand that they might expect aid from the funds connected with the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington. It was to be hoped that such support would be locally given as would entitle them to apply for State assistance with a fair chance of success. The Committee, at all events, would now take action in the matter without further delay.

Mr. Prim reported that the works of reparation at St. Francis' Abbey, Kilkenny, had progressed as far as—and indeed a little further than—the fund raised for the purpose would permit. An account had already been rendered, a couple of years since, of the first fund subscribed for placing metal pillars to support the south side of the belfry-tower. The subscriptions to the second fund, for further works of very necessary reparation, amounted to £36 8s. 6d., including the contribution of £10 from the Corporation. The haunches of the tower had been supported and secured against the percolation of water, by a facing of hammered stone, and all the previously open joints had been carefully filled with cement; the sedilia had been repaired, and all the windows of the choir had been opened, after having been walled up for perhaps a century, to adapt the ancient building to the purposes of a raquet-court. Nothing could possibly be better than the effect thus produced. There was room for some further improvement, if means would permit, but of course the great point was to save the tower from the destruction which hitherto seemed closely impending, and he hoped that had been accomplished. The expenditure was £40 2s. 2d., leaving a sum still to be met of £3 13s. 7d., and which he hoped some liberal and enlightened members of the Association would contribute. As Treasurer of the fund, he was ready to receive any subscriptions which might be offered.

Mr. Graves said Mr. Smithwick had kindly promised to remove a portion of the coopers' shed, in his brewery premises, which had been erected against the centre mullions of the great east window, while it was built up. This

would be a great improvement indeed, as it would leave the fine window quite open. They were deeply indebted to Mr. Middleton, but for whom they could have done little indeed towards securing the object which they had in view when they entered on the undertaking of making necessary repairs at the Abbey. Mr. Middleton had acted as engineer and overseer of the work, and, in fact, had carried out everything in the most creditable manner. It was much to be desired that not only the small balance deficient might yet be subscribed, but a few pounds in addition, which would enable them to make the state of the Abbey still more satisfactory.

The following election to Fellowship took place :—

The Rev. Hugh Prichard, Dinam Gaerwen, Anglesea : proposed by R. R. Brash, M. R. I. A.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Rev. Richard Æ. Baillie, A. M., Culmore Parsonage, Londonderry ; and the Kildare-street Club : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

William James Knowles, Cullybackey, Co. Antrim : proposed by the Rev. J. Grainger, D. D.

The Rev. Thomas Heany, A. B., Francis-street, Dundalk : proposed by Rev. G. H. Reade.

Francis Shine, Seville Lodge, Kilkenny : proposed by Barry Delany, M. D.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

“Archæologia Cambrensis,” first series, Nos. 10 and 11 : presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

“Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall,” No. XIII., April, 1872 : presented by the Institution.

“The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,” Vol. I., No. 3 : presented by the Institute.

“American Journal of Numismatics, and Bulletin of American Numismatic and Archæological Societies,” Vol. VII., No. 1 : presented by the Boston Numismatic Society.

"Address of the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, President of the New England Historic, Genealogical Society, at the Annual Meeting, January 4, 1871:" presented by the Society.

"Papers read before the Down and Connor and Dro-more Church Architecture Society, during the year 1844:" presented by W. H. Patterson.

"Consumption and the Breath rebreathed: being a Sequel to the Author's Treatise on Consumption," by Henry MacCormac, M. D. : presented by the Author.

Copies of the "Dublin Gazette," the "Dublin Sentinel," the "Hibernian Journal or Daily Chronicle of Liberty" (published in Dublin), and the "Clonmel Herald," all dating in the month of December, 1809, and each containing an advertisement of a movement then on foot, attempting to revive the project of the old Kilkenny Canal : presented by J. G. Robertson, Architect.

A copy of the "Times," of Wednesday, October 3rd, 1798, giving the first intelligence of the victory of the Nile : presented by the Rev. James Graves.

Paper Moulds of six Ogham Inscriptions existing in the county of Kilkenny and the Museum of the Society: presented by Samuel Ferguson, LL.D., M. R. I. A.

A plaster cast of a portion of the sculptures on the cross of Durrow, King's County, representing in very bold relief, the intended sacrifice of Isaac ; also a considerable number of copper tokens, of various kinds, of the last century ; and some silver coins, British and foreign : presented by Thomas Stanley, Tullamore.

A specimen of the Kilkenny Token struck by Lucas Wale : presented by T. Talbot, Grennan House, Durrow.

A full-size drawing of a bronze pin, with enamelled ring : presented by W. Gray, Architect, accompanied by the following notice :—

"The accompanying drawing represents, full-size, one of the bronze ring brooches, from the collection of Mr. Knowles, of Cullybackey, county Antrim. It was found in the same place as Mr. Patterson's, viz., in the Crannoge of Loughravel, or, as it was anciently called, Loughdireare, townland of Derryhollagh, Co. Antrim.

"The pin—a drawing of which I send—is $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches long, and the flat ring, or coin head, is about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter. The face is ornamented by four raised semi-crescent-shaped spaces, each being bounded

by a raised band, and filled in with enamel; the upper two being yellow, and the two lower chiefly red.

“The design of the brooch—if it is one—described by Mr. Patterson in the ‘Journal’ for April last, is interesting, as found at the ‘Fort of the two Birds.’ See Wilde and Reeves’ description of the crannoge and neighbourhood, in ‘Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,’ vol. vii., p. 147.”

A rubbing from a standing stone in the parish of Muff, county Londonderry, exhibiting concentric circles, with the central cup and channel: presented by Rev. James Graves.

Mr. W. F. Wakeman on the part of Mr. E. Atthill, of Lack, near Kesh, county Fermanagh, exhibited a small copper gilt cruet, supposed to have been used for holding holy oil, closed by a screw stopper, and having the bottom also screwed in. The ornaments were formed by dotted lines presenting a fleur-de-lis pattern. The cruet was about three inches high, and seemed to be 15th century work. It was dug out of the soil of a field near Newtownbutler.

Mr. Wakeman also exhibited on behalf of Mr. Crawford, of Trillick, county Fermanagh, the original handle of a fine bronze rapier, apparently of whalebone; also a bronze dagger, with its haft of the same metal, still attached, the latter to be deposited in the Museum by the kindness of its owner, Mr. Armstrong, of Belleek. The following Paper was contributed by Mr. Wakeman relative to these rare examples of the hafting of our bronze weapons:—

“In the ‘Journal’ of this Association for January, 1868, the Rev. James Graves has presented to the antiquarian world a most interesting account of the few hilted weapons composed of bronze, which are recorded to have been found in Ireland. Mr. Graves in the same address also refers to bronze swords found in Britain or upon the Continent of Europe, which retain their hafts or handles, more or less preserved.

“It would appear that up to 1868 there have been discovered and noticed in Ireland but three well-conditioned weapons of this interesting class, and a portion of the hilt of a fourth. The following is a brief description of their character:—

“1. A fine rapier, measuring $21\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length. The handle, which is hollow, and formed of bronze, is fastened to a double-edged blade by four rivets of the same metal. This specimen is from the county Tipperary, and was long preserved in the Petrie collection, with which it still remains, in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy.

“2. A magnificent bronze dagger, or short sword—(it is extremely difficult to draw the line between daggers and swords of the bronze

period)—exhibiting many characteristics of marked Eastern design. The handle, which is of bronze, is attached to an exquisitely-moulded and decorated double-edged blade by three massive rivets. This weapon is also to be seen in the Academy.

“3. A highly interesting bronze hilt of a small sword or dagger, preserved in the Museum of our Association. This relic is ornamented in the style of the golden lunettes and torques so frequently found in Ireland.

“4. A beautiful leaf-shaped sword, retaining a portion of its bone handle.¹

“The above list, I believe, comprises all the examples of hafted bronze weapons, which, at the time Mr. Graves made the remarks already alluded to, were known to have been found in this country. I speak, of course, only of examples in which the handles and blades of swords or daggers were formed of separate pieces, and were attached by rivets. In not a few instances the blades and handles of small bronze knives, or *steans*, are to be seen in one piece, and sometimes these smaller cutting implements are socketed for the reception of a wooden handle. Occasionally, indeed, the socketed end extends so far that the handle may be described as being composed partly of bronze and partly of wood.

“As the discovery of a hafted bronze weapon, properly speaking, is so extremely rare, it affords me very great pleasure to describe a fifth example, which has recently come under my notice, and which, through the kindness of R. W. Armstrong, Esq., of Belleek, I was enabled to lay before the last meeting of our Association. Of the general appearance of the hilt of this curious relic, the accompanying engraving, by Oldham, will afford a perfectly accurate idea. It is given the full size. The handle, which was originally fastened to the blade by four rivets, is composed of bronze of a darker colour than the metal of the blade. Two of the rivets only remain, and these appear to be almost, if not entirely, pure copper. The handle is hollow, and not, like the example from the Petrie collection, described by Sir William Wilde, open at the pommel. The ‘tang’ is, as usual, ‘lunated,’ and the hilt was so designed as to suit its contour. The blade appears to have been of a very graceful tapering form, and to have been strengthened by a somewhat broad and flat central rib. Its original length cannot be known, a portion of its extremity having been broken off. As in all weapons of the same family, whether leaf-shaped sword or rapier, the handle is strangely small. There is a wonderful similarity in the design of the four Irish bronze hilts which have come down to our time.

“Surely, in elegance of form and perfection of workmanship, these mysterious relics of an unknown age evince that their fabricators had made no mean advance in several of the arts which accompany civilization.

“While, as we have seen, hafts of bronze were extremely rare, not only in this country, but in Europe generally, it was not yet decided amongst antiquaries in what manner the generality of bronze swords and daggers were anciently mounted. At length came the discovery, in the county Mona-

¹ An example of a bronze dagger hafted with oak was engraved in this “Journal,” Vol. I., 2nd Series, p. 286. This dagger was of small size (only $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in the blade), and the handle measured $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

It was found in a bog near Magherafelt; and the notice of it was contributed by Mr. Thomas O’Gorman. The engraving will be found reproduced in the plate which faces this page.—ED.

No. 1.

No. 2.

No. 1--Hafted with bronze; full size.

No. 2--Hafted with oak.

HAFTED BRONZE DAGGERS.

[Hafted, apparently, with whalebone; full size.]

HAFTED BRONZE RAPIER, SHOWING BOTH SIDES OF HAFT

*

han, of a fine leaf-shaped sword which retained the greater portion of its original handle of bone. This, I need not inform the members of our Association, is Mr. Day's sword, so admirably illustrated in our 'Journal' for January, 1868. 'A portion of the bone handle,' wrote Mr. Day, 'which was submitted to Professor Owen, of the British Museum, was pronounced by him to be "mammalian, and, probably, cetacean."' Here, then, is what appears to be the first recorded discovery of a bone-hafted bronze sword. 'Sir William Wilde,' remarks the Rev. James Graves, 'in his "Catalogue," was not able to adduce a single Irish example of a bone or ivory haft, and stated, in a note to p. 453, that amongst the vast number of Scandinavian swords which had been preserved, in only one instance could any trace of the bone handle be detected; and as the editors of "Horse Ferales," the posthumous work of the ever-to-be-lamented J. M. Kemble, had not been able to cite a solitary instance, it might, therefore, fairly be assumed that Mr. Day's specimen was, at present, unique.' I have been induced to give the above extract in order to show, upon what I believe to be the very highest authorities, how extremely valuable and interesting was the first recorded discovery of a bronze bone-hafted sword. I say the first *recorded* discovery. Mr. Day's sword was found in the summer of 1865. In April, 1864, had been dug out of a bog in the county Tyrone the beautiful weapon, of the hilt of which I have given faithful, full-sized representations. This handle (both sides of which are represented in the accompanying plate) is also of bone; and, like that of Mr. Day's specimen, is, probably, cetacean. Under the microscope it presents all the appearance of the substance called 'whale-bone.' During a sketching tour, made last spring, I happened to see this most valuable relic in the possession of Mr. Crawford, of Trillick, and I at once took steps to bring it before the notice of our Association. Mr. Crawford very kindly deposited it in the care of one of our Fellows, Mr. George Stewart, Manager of the Provincial Bank, Enniskillen Branch. Through the kind offices of Miss Porter, then of Kilskeery, now of Bellisle, and of Mr. Stewart, I received permission from Mr. Crawford to have his treasure forwarded for exhibition before one of our meetings. The Post Office authorities, however, declined to take charge of the parcel, as it measured seven inches too much for the requirements of their carrying regulations; and as Mr. Crawford objected to its being forwarded by rail, I was only able to send the handle for exhibition.

"The following particulars refer to the dimensions, &c., of this unique weapon, which is of the rapier class:—Extreme length, 25 inches; breadth of blade at tang $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch; weight of blade, $13\frac{1}{4}$ ounces; length of handle, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches; weight of handle, 1 ounce; thickness of handle, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch.

"There is provision for four rivets in the tang, and corresponding holes in the bone. A thick central rib extends down the blade, the material of which is fine lustrous bronze. I append a note from Mr. Crawford to Mr. Stewart, relating the facts of its first discovery.

"Trillick, June 29th, 1872.

"SIR,—I now send you the fullest particulars I can give respecting the locality and circumstances connected with the finding of the sword-blade and handle, as follows:—

"They were found in April, 1864, in the townland of Galbally, in the county of Tyrone, adjoining a small lake containing a little is-

land where many objects of ancient art have from time to time, for the last forty years, been discovered. These, however, from want of care and attention, have been nearly all lost to society. There were two forts or raths close to the lake, one of these remarkable for its great height and symmetry. The bog in which the sword was found was situated between the two forts. It was found at the depth of twelve feet in the second cutting of the turf bank, lying longitudinally on its flat, within a few inches of the till or clay bottom. When found, the handle was attached to the blade, but was separated from it by the turf-spade unintentionally. The finder removed the blade, and left the handle behind him, thinking it was of no value. I requested him to go and look for the handle, and examine the place more carefully where he found it. He picked up the handle. He described the place where the sword lay to be like the scales of a fish; but whether it was the remains of leather or a metallic substance, he could not tell me, as he said it crumbled away when touched. In all probability it has been the remains of what once formed the scabbard. The handle was a little larger when first found, and came down further on the blade, and fitted neatly on it, the rivet holes in the handle and blade both corresponding. What I always thought remarkable was the smallness of the handle, when compared with our modern ideas of ancient strength and gigantic stature. Please be kind enough to send the foregoing sketch, or a copy of it, to the Rev. James Graves, and you will oblige

“ ‘Yours respectfully,

“ ‘G. CRAWFORD.’

“In drawing up this brief report I have carefully abstained from all attempts at theorising. Though several hundreds of bronze swords have been found in Ireland, very few facts in connexion with their discovery have been recorded. It seems, however, certain that in Ireland they occur extremely seldom, if ever, in connexion with sepulchral deposits. Most of the swords which figure in our public and private collections have been dug out of turf bogs, or were dredged from the beds of rivers, usually at points where there had been anciently fords, and, consequently, battles. We have as yet, I believe, little data whereon to found a theory as to their origin, or as to the particular race or races—possibly, several—by whom they were used. Moulds of stone, capable of casting rapier blades almost precisely similar to the Galbally and Belleek examples are not very uncommonly found in Ireland, as also are the moulds of spear-heads and celts, which are certainly of the same period as the swords. This fact would argue in favour of an Irish and local manufacture of bronze, and it has been observed that our early bronze objects, though bearing a general family likeness to similar articles found in England and elsewhere, have usually certain peculiarities which may be described as national. Let us wait for facts. Within a few years two bone-hafted swords¹—a class hitherto unknown—have been brought to light; and it is only the other day that a magnificent bronze shield, the second ever known to have been discovered in Ireland, was rescued from its bed of untold ages. It would seem that as yet we know little of the richness of the archæological mine which lies covered by the soil of this ‘Island of Destiny.’”

¹ A third fine example, preserved in the collection of Mr. Young, of Monaghan,

will be brought before the January Meeting by the Rev. J. Graves.—ED.

Mr. Graves read a letter from Mr. G. J. Hewson, Hollywood, Adare, on the subject of the condition of the remains of the beautiful old Parish Church of St. Mary, New Ross; observing that he, with the writer, sincerely hoped it might lead to some steps being immediately taken for its preservation from further decay and danger of destruction :—

“ My object in writing this letter is to call the attention of the Association—and particularly of the local and Co. Wexford members—to the present state of the most interesting remains of Early English ecclesiastical architecture still existing in the ancient Church at New Ross. Most of this beautiful building (as you must well know) had been taken down to make way for the present parish Church, but much still remains which requires some care for its preservation. The part which most urgently requires attention is the north transept. The east angle of this transept is in a dangerous state, and if not at once secured the beautiful three-light window will soon be lost. A buttress was formerly placed against this corner, but it was not continued high enough, and about eight feet of the top of the angle is now in immediate danger of being thrown over the top of the buttress by the thrust of the window arches. It can still be secured by extending the buttress on a longer base, and carrying it up to the top of the wall; but if not done at once it will be too late. The next thing requiring attention is the south side of the chancel. On this side there are next the east end two windows close together, and near the south transept three others also close together. There is a long space between, which at the outside shows a closed up doorway, perhaps the most interesting and, I believe, the earliest feature now existing in the building. The door is semi-circular headed, the capitals of the columns at each side are, as usual in such doors, different, and both in a very early style; the one to the right side showing unmistakable traces of the involved ornament. Some of the stones used in stopping the doorway have lately been taken out, near this capital, and in doing so a large piece has been freshly broken off the side of the capital. There is the mark on the wall of a porch having enclosed this door, and the wall over it is considerably out of the perpendicular, leaning out very much at the top. This requires a high buttress at the west side of the door to secure it. It is dangerous to leave it much longer without it. The casing of this door, as well as most of the ornamental stone work of the Church, is formed of the soft oolitic stone, so often seen in our early churches. . . . The interior of the chancel contains perfect sedilia and piscina at the south side, and a beautiful recessed tomb at the north side. This latter is now nearly smothered with ivy, the drop from which in particular spots is wearing away the beautiful ornamentation from the soft stone of which it is composed. This ought certainly to be cleared from ivy, for no matter how picturesque ivy may look on ancient buildings, it should be confined to plain walls, and not be allowed to entirely conceal beautiful and delicate ornament, especially where of a most interesting and characteristic kind. I now will proceed to the south transept. This is a real gem, and is fortunately quite secure, but still its present state is capable of more improvement than any other part of the building. It contains a most beautiful and perfect Early English three-

light window, and it had an aisle at the west side, the south window of which still exists, but the outside wall is entirely obliterated. Three arches carry the west wall of the transept, but are now built up with brick so as to cut off the window of the aisle from the south window of the transept, with which it corresponds in style of ornament. One of these arches is partly concealed by the present church, which is built against it, but the other two should be opened. A wall could be built on the site of the original outside wall of the aisle, as has been done at the south side of Jerpoint Abbey. There are also two chapels at the east side of this transept. The arches communicating with them are now built up, except a small doorway with a timber lintel in one of them; these should also be opened; and there are two large common willow trees growing in the centre of the transept, which should be carefully taken down as they greatly spoil and obstruct the view of the interior, and are a source of danger to the building in stormy weather, and will yearly become more dangerous. I hope very much that this letter may cause some steps to be taken in time to preserve this most beautiful and interesting church, which should be much prized by the inhabitants of the town and county in which it is situated. The works which I have recommended would be a vast improvement. Some of them are absolutely necessary for its preservation, and all could not cost very much."

Mr. Watters, Town Clerk, said he had a document to produce in connexion with the navigation of the Nore, which must be of local interest. He had already shown in a paper read this year before this Association, that more than a century ago Parliament, in its wisdom, had conceived the idea of making that river navigable to Inistigue, which was, as he had then pointed out, the origin of our Canal Walk. But it might surprise many to find that nearly 300 years ago, namely, in 1581, the Corporation of Kilkenny of that period had entered into an agreement not only to make the Nore navigable to Inistigue but also in the opposite direction, to Durrow. So much appeared from the Corporation's Book of Ancient Leases:—

"The Souvrigne Burgesses and Coñons of the Towne of Kilkeny, by their Deed Indented dated the sext of Maye An^o. 1581, have covenanted bargained and graunted for them and their Successors wth Thomas Archer fitz Walter of Kilkeny mer^t his executors and assignes; That when so ever the said Thomas Archer, his Executors or Assignes, at his and their owne costs and chardges, do and shall make or cause and procure that pte of the ryver of the Noyer that runneth and extendeth betweene the saide towne of Kilkennye, to be made passable fitt and servisable for boets of the full ladinge of one toun weight or [] to rowe swyme pase and repasse from tyme to tyme and at all tymes in sōmer and in wynter to and fro betweene the saide townes of Kilkenye and Dourrowe, That then, after the saide waye fynnyshed, the said Souaigne burgesses and Coñons and their successors in recompence

of the saide Thomas his Executors and Assignes chardges and labor to be sustayned in that behalfe, And for and in consideracion of the greate pfitte and cōmditie that bye the saide worke beinge p^rfecte is like to growe unto the cōmon state of the said towne of Kilkeñy, shall well and trewly content and paye, or cause to be well and trewlye contented satisfied and paied, unto the saide Thomas Archer his executors and Assignes, the some of one hundered and eight pounds syxe shillings and eighte pence sterlinge of lawfull currant money of Englande, to be payed in manner and forme followinge :—That is to saye when so ever the psonage of S^t. Johnes and the tyethes thereof shall be next owte of Lease, That then the saide sou^raign burgesses and Cōmons and their successors shall give and graunt unto the saide Thomas, his executors and Assignes the preferment of the said psonage of S^t. Johnes (exceptinge the alteridge) paying so much rent as anye othere p^rson or p^rsons will profer to yealde for the same. And the said corporacōn shall graunt and allowe the rents of the said psonage to the said Thomas his executors and Assignes to be receeved and had by the saide Thomas his executors and Assignes yearly, at the hands of suche as shall have the saide psonage and tyethes, until such tyme as the saide Thomas his executors and Assignes shall be fullye satysfied and paied of the saide some of one hundered viii^{li} vi^s viii^d sterl^{rs}, of the furste yearlye rents yssues and p^rfits of the saide psonage and tyethe so to be receyved Immediately after the fynisshinge of the said waye and passage of boetes, Yf in case the saide Thomas his executors or assignes will not receive the saide psonage for so muche rent as any othere wyll offer to paye for the same, as theye maye be theise presents chose whether theye will or not.

“And also the saide Corporacion do graunt covenant bargain promise condesende and agree, for them and their successors, to and with the saide Thomas Archer his executors and Assignes; That when so ever the saide Thomas Archer his executors or Assigns at his or their own costs and chardges, do and shall make or cause and p^rcure that pte of the Ryver of the Noire that runneth and extendeth betweene the saide towne of Kilkeñy and the towne of Innestiogoue in the saide Couñtie of Kylkeñy to be made passable fitt and servisable for boetes of the full ladinge of one toun weight to rowe swyme passe and repasse from tyme to tyme in sōmer and in wynter to and froe betweene the said townes of Kilkeñy and Inistiogue, That then the saide Thomas Archer his Executors and Assignes shall haue and enjoie all and singular the p^rfits hires wadges freights and Cōmodities of all and singular the carriadge and transportinge of all and singular suche goodes cattells marchandises wares victuals and other thinges whate so ever as shalbe carryed or transported by water for the saide Sou^raigne Burgeuses and Cōmons or their successors or for anye other inhabitant Dweller or resiant within the saide towne of Kilkeñy or within the Suburbes ffranchises & libties of the same to and fro betweene the townes of Kilkeñy and Innestyogue.”

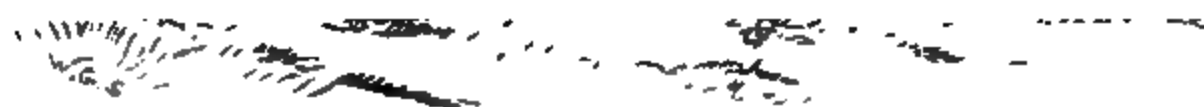
Mr. George H. Kinahan, M. R. I. A., communicated the following notes on some megalithic structures and other ancient remains in the Manor of Loughrey, county Tyrone:—

“In the Co. Tyrone and neighbourhood of Tullahog are situated the

manor lands of Loughrey, the property of Major F. J. S. Lindsey, who is commonly known by the latter territorial title.¹

"On this manor the remains of some megalithic structures exist, while in other places antiquities have been discovered. In this Paper it is proposed to give a short description of those examined.

"No. 1. *Giant's Grave*. The structure so called on the Ordnance Map is situated in Loughrey demesne, a little northward of the mansion house, on a low ridge of sand. It is 25 feet long by about 7 feet wide, and consists of thirteen stones, eleven placed on edge and standing upright, while two lie horizontally as cover stones; one of the uprights is placed a little apart from the rest.



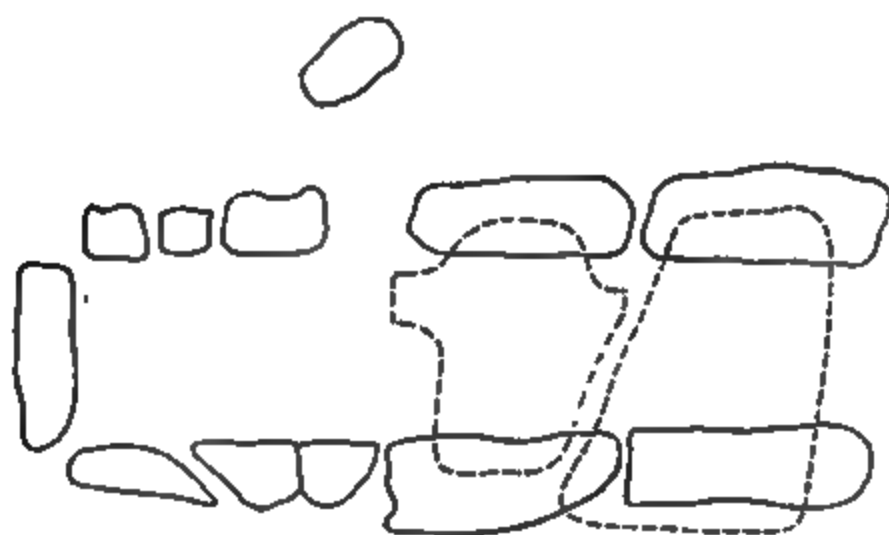
Giant's Grave, Loughrey Demesne.

"The structure, as appears by the accompanying illustrations, is of a rectangular form and lies nearly east and west. The cover-stones

¹ Such territorial titles as "Loughrey," &c., seem to have been adopted after the custom in Scotland by the settlers in the province of Ulster. At one time they were very general; now, however, on

account of many of the old properties, especially of late years, having passed out of the hands of the original families, or having become divided, many of these titles are obsolete.

are at the west end, which is open. The largest of the cover-stones seems to be of the original size, while the smaller or eastern stone has evidently been broken. The four upright stones in the west part of



Plan of Giant's Grave, Loughrey Demesne.

the structure are of large dimensions and more or less regular, while those to the east are irregular and much smaller. To me it would appear that the original structure consisted of the four western uprights and two cover-stones, and that the eastern part has been added on at a much subsequent period. All the stones used are the limestone of the neigh-

Urn found in Giant's Grave, Loughrey Demesne.

bourhood. For the sketches from which the engravings have been made, I am indebted to my friend and colleague, E. T. Hardman, F. R. G. S. I.

"No. II. *Sepulchral Urns*. The structure just described would appear to have been connected with sepulchral rites, as in its vicinity funeral relics have from time to time been found; while during an excavation made inside the upright stones two urns were exhumed. The cut at p. 303 *supra*, is a portrait drawn by Mr. Hardman of the larger of the two which is now in the possession of 'Loughrey.' This urn is 4.75 inches high, 5.75 inches in its widest diameter, narrowing to 4.75 inches at the top, and 2.50 inches at the bottom. The second urn is said to have been about half this size. There is a tradition in the country that on the larger horizontal stone of the 'Giant's grave' human bodies were burned prior to the ashes being placed in urns to be buried, and in favour of such a supposition it must be allowed that in its upper surface is a hollow, like what would be due to the calcination of the limestone rock from successive fires lit on it. Against such a supposition is the fact, that all structures built by the De Dannans and other burners of the dead are usually composed of stones selected for being hard and fire-proof.

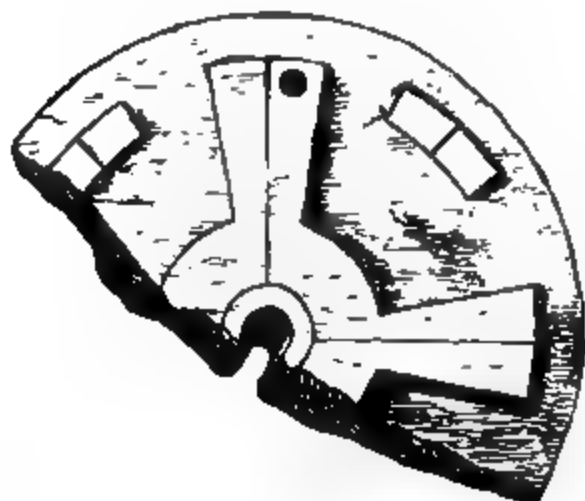
"No. III. *Kistvean and Urn*.—A little west of the 'Giant's Grave,' on the same ridge, Michael M'Court, of Gallanagh, while raising sand in the pits at the margin of the ancient country road, in A.D. 1853 or '54, discovered a Kistvean, and thus describes it: 'The length of the stone chamber was about 2.5 foot, extending nearly east and west; it was 1.75 foot high, and about 1.75 foot wide, while the stones at the bottom, top, and sides were about five inches thick. Inside, at the bottom, was a layer of dust and fragments of bones about 7 inches thick, the latter being about the size of fowl bones, none being larger than my little finger; near the east end on the layer was standing a clay vessel, about 6 inches high, 4 inches in diameter at top and bottom, with a rib round the belly of it, while below and above the rib was cross-work, such as might be made with the top of one's finger. This vessel was so soft that it broke in pieces on being handled.'

"No. IV. *Urn and Flints*.—North-east of the 'Giant's Grave,' and a little outside of the mearing of Loughrey demesne, an Urn was found some years ago by boys playing in a sand-pit there situated. They made a 'cock-shot' of it and thereby broke it in fragments, a few of which are now in the possession of Doctor Porter, Rector of Tullahog. In the sand-pit from which this Urn was disinterred I picked up a few worked flints, two being arrow-heads. They were given to 'Loughrey,' and are placed by him with the Urn first described.

"V. *Querns*.—In the Abbey lands that lie a little N.W. of the village of Tullahog, a pair of Quern-stones were dug up that are remarkable for having the handle in the side and not in the top of the upper stone. The handle would seem to have been of iron, or some other metal. This Quern is represented in the wood-cut on the opposite page. In the same place was also found part of the upper stone of a Quern, of a much more ancient type, and on it part of a raised cross.—See cuts on opposite page.

"VI. *Giant's Grave*.—South-east of the village of Tullyhog, in the townland of Gortagammon, are the remains of a structure that evidently was very similar to the 'Giant's Grave' in Loughrey demesne. It has, however, been much dilapidated, the cover-stone having been tilted off the uprights, and it now stands perched on one of its ends, while the uprights

are knocked down and displaced. If we might judge from present appearances, it may be suggested that the original structure extended nearly



Querns found on the Abbeylands, Tullahog.

east and west, while at the east end there was one large massive cover, or altar-stone. This structure differed from that in Loughrey demesne, in that while there the stones are limestone, here they are of schist and whinstone, apparently erratics from the neighbouring mountains of Slievegallion."

The following papers were contributed :—

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FORTIFICATIONS AND DEFENCES OF KILKENNY FROM 1527 TO 1691;

WITH SOME PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO THE BLACK ABBEY AND THE ENCAMPMENT OF WILLIAM III. WITH HIS ARMY AT BENNETT'S BRIDGE, FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AND OTHER AUTHENTIC MANUSCRIPTS.

BY P. WATERS, A. M., TOWN CLERK.

HAVING on a recent occasion given some description of the state of the approaches to Kilkenny, in the commencement of the 18th century, when the world was becoming more civilized, and the growing tendency of the age was to open communication with the neighbouring towns, I will now give a description of the state of Kilkenny two or three centuries previous, when intrenchments and fortifications were the order of the day, and gates, walls, and battlements were

thought of more importance for the welfare of towns than roads or entrances thereto; when the prevailing maxim was that "they should take who have the power, and they should keep who can," and when our town, like every other of importance, was in constant apprehension of invasion, and was therefore continually on the watch to prevent surprise.

The Intrenchments of John street.—As on the former occasion I illustrated what I stated as to the Roads, by quotations from Grand Jury Presentments, so now I will rely for authenticity on ancient leases and other manuscripts, and will commence with a lease made the 14th of July, A. D. 1527, in the 19th year of the reign of Henry the 8th, between the Sovereign, Burgesses and Commons of the Town of Kilkenny of the one part, and Thomas Breyn, merchant, of the other part. We are told that in the year 1400, Robert Talbot, a kinsman of the Earl of Ormonde, encompassed the greater portion of Kilkenny with walls, and that during the contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, the town was taken and plundered by the Earl of Desmond, who was an adherent of the latter, and that in 1499 the Burgesses, headed by their sovereign (which was the title of the Chief Magistrate at that time), marched out in aid of the Butlers against Tirlagh O'Brien, but were defeated. No wonder then that in 1527 (28 years after) we find a fosse or ditch in existence crossing John street, from the gate of the monastery of St. John on the West, to the way leading to the Magdalens on the East. I shall give (as best I can) a translation from the original lease which, as I have already said, is in contracted Latin, the size alone being a curiosity (as compared with our modern parchments) measuring only $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 5; it is in good preservation, and has the seal of the Lessee attached. The description is as follows:—

"The Fosse outside the Gate of St. John within the Burgagery of said Town, which Fosse, with the appurtenances, lies in length from the wall near the way which leads to the Green Hays on the North, to the Common Fosse or Wall on the South, in breadth it lies from the Gate and Convent of the Monastery of St. John's aforesaid on the West, to the Wall near the way leading to the Magdalens of said Town on the East, To Have and to Hold said Fosse with all its appurtenances, to the said Thomas and his heirs for ever,

rendering yearly to the said Sovereign &c. and his successors *Unam Rubeam Rosam* (one red rose) on the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, and moreover the said Thomas, his heirs &c. shall not build or sustain any '*Edificia straminata*' (thatched houses) in the said Fosse near the Wall, under pain of forfeiture and destruction of the buildings, so often as they shall be built, for ever, and shall allow free ingress and regress to the said Wall in time of War or danger to defend the Town so often as need shall be for ever."

How long this fosse may have existed before 1527 I cannot now say. We find it fully established at that day, and may reasonably suppose it existed in 1499, when the Burgesses, headed by their Sovereign, marched out against the enemy.

From the Castle Gate to St. Patrick's Church.—Altho' the following does not in strictness concern the defences of the Town, and only incidentally refers to the Castle Gate, and to a "ditch" and "fastnesse," I introduce it in the order of date, as showing the antiquity of the narrow lane leading from the Upper Parade Walk to St. Patrick's Church Yard, where a church then existed, and as it also speaks of another of the great orchards with which Kilkenny then abounded, and to which I shall again refer in the course of my Paper. It bears date in March, 1565, and has affixed to it the signature of Thomas, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory :—

"Be it knowen to all men to whome these Presents shall come, That where the Suffraine Burgesses and Commons of the Towne of Kilkenny had of old tyme a certayne way for man and beste to passe and repasse in and through the little Lane and comon way in the west side of the Erle of Ormonde's great Orchard, without the Castle gate of the said Towne, leading from the highe way that goeth from the said Castlegate unto Saint Patrick's Church of the saide Towne, unto the narrow way called the blinde lane or boher leading from Archer's Towne unto same Patrick's Church in the South, to mende and occupy their gardines and Closes next adjoining to the said litle Lane or comon way and otherwise, I the said Erle mynding to make fastnesse, and to enclose the said great Orchard with strong Ditches and quickset, have obtained the license and good will of the said Suffraine burgesses and Comons to cast and make up the said Ditch, and to use suche parte of the said Lane or comon way as shall be needful and requisite for that purpose, and when the said Fastnesse and Ditch is finished to effect, by this present I the said Erle do promise and undertake forthwith to stope the Ditch and trench there, making the same plaine ground, that every man and beast may passe and repasse there freely at all tymes convenient and requised

at their will and pleasure, without lett or impediment of me the said Erle or of any other on my behalf. In Witness whereof I the said Erle to this pre'te writing have put my Seale and hand the last of Marche in the yeare of o' Lord God a thousand five hundred three score and five."

"THOMAS ORMONDE & OSSORY."

A Tower, or Turret in John-street.—In the year 1570, I find a lease made by Mr. Richard Sheeth, "Sufferayne, &c. of the Towne of Kilkenny," to Nicholas Cantwell of Kilkenny, Merchant, of a House and a Turret with a Close there unto adjoining in John Street, "which lieth from John Bryn is Garden in the East, to St. John's Church Yard in the West, and in breadth from the highway in the South, to the Vicar's Close in the North—also a Garden which lieth in length from the way leading from Saint John's Gate to St. John's Green in the South unto the Common Land called the Colver House Garden in the North." To Hold, &c. for one hundred and one years at the yearly Rent of 13s. and 4d. It was covenanted that the said Nicholas & his Assigns during said Term should "pergett, and keep the Town Wall there with lyme and stone, and also build the little Tower there for the defence of the Towne, with oken Tymber, Lyme and stone, slate, lath, and pyn at his own Cost, and the said Nicholas bindeth himself & his assigns yearly at Midsummer, during said Term to pay unto the suffraiyn for the tyme being a *Disshe of Newe Beanes*, which shall be a *myll* Quarte, and the said Turret to be at the Towne's will at tymes requisite for the defence of the Towne, also to maintayne and repaire the said House, Turret and Wall with the appurtenances." The "Colver House" mentioned in the above gave its name to the land on which Kilkenny Cottage was afterwards built; it means a Pigeon House.

The Defences of John's Bridge.—I find that in those days John's Bridge was well defended, there being a "Castell" or Gate House over it at the west side, or as we would now describe it, the Rose Inn Street side. On the 21st of October, 1580, the "Sourraiyn Burgesses and Comons of the town of Kilkenny granted to Edmunde Shortall and Anstace Shee his wyfe, the gate house over the Weste ende of St. John's Bridge of Kilkenny, and the upp roome over the voide ground on the Southe syde

of the said Bridge Castell of St. John's which voyde roome lieth in length from the saide Castell in the North, to Edmund Shee is fearme in the south, and in breadth from the slipp gate in the Weste as farr as the saide Castell streatcheth in buildinge to the easte, Reservinge alwaies free egressee and regresse for man horse carriadge carr and carte waye under the saide gate house and upp̃ rome for the Soũraiyn Burgesses and Cõmons and their successors & assigns for ever. To Hold for a hundred and one years payinge yearly viii^s. currant money of Ireland." It was provided also that the said "Edmonde & Anstace, his wyfe should builde up in height sufficientlye wth Lyme & Stone all the saide castell Walles pporcionallye & agreeing wth the height of the olde worke & battlements of the saide Castell before Michaelmas daye then next."

The Black Abbey.—In the Progress of my search, I met with mention of that interesting locality, the Precinct of the Black Friars, and cannot pass it by unnoticed. It must have been of importance in the times of which I am treating—300 years ago—nor is it out of character to introduce it here, as I find that in addition to its Gate being a place of defence, it was then (if required) the abode of the Lord Deputy when he visited Kilkenny, and that accommodation for him, and other Captains, and their horses was also provided there, which doubtless was often the case in troublous times. It appears that by their—

"Deed indented, dated the 14th of Aprill, 1581, The Sovereign Burgeñs and Cõmons dimysed to Thomas Archer Fitz Walter The Blackefreren hall, the Chapter howse and kitchine with the sellers and Chambers under them, which lye in length from the King's Chamber in the North, to the little upper rome over the Vestrie which William Jackman holdeth in the Northe, and in breadth they lye from the Cloyster rome in the Weste, to Thomas Raghton's gardine and the waye leading to the freren streate in the easte, to Hold for the tearme of a hundred yeares and one, paying vi^s. per ann. excepting and reserving for the Lorde Deputie or Lorde Justice for the tyme beinge, the use and occupacion of the saide Romes from tyme to tyme during his abode at Kilkenny if his Lordshipp require the same. And the hole seller cõmonlye called the Chapter howse rome shal be always redye provided to receive the Lord Deputie's and other Captaines' horses."

This reservation in the Lease was made in consequence

of Henry VIII. having granted to the Corporation the Site and Precincts of the Blackfriar's Monastery, on condition of their furnishing certain accommodation free of expense to the Chief Governor of Ireland when in Kilkenny, and this place is stated to have continued to be the occasional residence of the Lords Lieutenant from 1536.

Referring to the reservation in the foregoing Lease of apartments for the Lord Deputy, I may mention that there are various interesting particulars, never yet published, of Visits to Kilkenny by the Lord Deputy of the day—some of whom were men celebrated in history—they appear to have made this their way to the South during warlike and troublous times; on one occasion, in 1569, when there were commotions in Ireland, in which the King of Spain was concerned, they extended to Kilkenny. The Town was then besieged, and the enemy were at the gates. On another occasion, in 1600, the pursuit of the Earl of Tyrone was probably the cause of the Visit of a Lord Deputy; but the most interesting in former days was that in 1637, by Lord Viscount Wentworth (afterwards the unfortunate Earl of Strafford), the details of whose visit are likely before long to form a page in local history, by an able and well-known pen. Coming down to a later period, I find that on the 1st of January, 1704, James, 2nd Duke of Ormonde, was entertained at the Tholsel as Lord Lieutenant, and in 1732 the Duke of Dorset, then Lord Lieutenant, was also entertained by the Corporation at a cost of £30 12s. We all remember the peaceful visit here of Lord Carlisle, who was entertained at the Tholsel on the occasion of the Agricultural Exhibition in 1862, and it was not from want of hospitable intentions on the part of the late Mayor (Mr. Hayden) and the Corporation, that our present Viceroy has not been also entertained.

One of the ceremonies used at the reception of great men here in ancient times was what was then called "*discharging the Chambers*," an expression which requires explanation, and proves that what a few years ago was thought a new invention—that is, breech-loading guns—was known to our ancestors centuries before; indeed a specimen of them is to be seen in the Museum of our Society,

one which before now may have welcomed a Lord Deputy, or helped to defend the City from the enemy.

I find that on the 14th April, 1581—

“The Soʋrraigne Burgeñs and Comoñs dymised to George Savage Mer^r their Gate howse comoñly called the Blackfreryn gate next Nicholas Leye is howse withe free egresse and regresse to the same gatehouse, reservinge the use of the same gatehowse at all tymes of Dannger for the said Corporaċion their constables and watchmen, and the gate under the same gatehowse always excepted and reserved to the saide Soʋrraigne Burgeñs and Comons and their successors for ever. . . . none shall have the use of the saide gate howse at any tyme or tymes hereafter but one of the free men of the saide towne.”

While on the subject of the Black Abbey, I may mention that by the Charter of King James the first, in the 7th year of his Reign (1608), it would appear that previous to that day, not only the Sessions of the Peace but also the Assizes and Gaol delivery, were held at the “Black Fryars,” and the premises were for that purpose specially excepted from the jurisdiction of the City of Kilkenny and made part of the County of Kilkenny, and there is evidence that the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace continued to be held there down to the year 1695, at which period an attempt was made by some of the County Magistrates to have them held at Callan, but which then failed, as appears by a Petition on the subject to His Excellency Henry Lord Capell, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the R^t Hon^{ble} Sir Charles Porter the then Lord Chancellor, with their respective answers thereto, in July, 1695, the originals of which are forthcoming:—

“TO THE R^t HON^{ble} S^r. CHARLES PORTER KN^t. LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND.

“*The humble Peticōn of the Mayor and Cittizens of the Citty of Kilkenny*

“Sheweth that the Black Abbey in the City of Kilkenny is appointed by the Letters Pattents of King James the first for the Shire house of the County of Kilkenny, that accordingly ever since the Generall Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the say^d county hath been held att the sayd Black Abbey untill about the yeare 1674 upon some peeke taken ag^t the then Mayor some of the Justices signed a precept to remove the Sessions from Kilkenny, and other Justices signed a precept for keepeing it att Kilkenny, the usuall place, that thereupon y^{or} petitioners addressed themselves to the then Lord Chancellor, who thereupon superseaded the pecept Issued for the removeing the sayd Sessions from the sayd Citty where it hath been ever since held, untill about a Month past that severall

of the Justices of the sayd County signed a precept to hold this July sessions on the 9th day of July instant att the Towne of Callan w^{ch} lyes on the very borders of the County, and noe way fitt for Entertayning the psons who are oblidge to appeare att the Sessions, and withall the Goale of the sayd County is, and hath been alwayes kept, in the sayd Citty of Kilkenny, w^{ch} his Grace the Duke of Ormond for the Encouragement of the said County to resort to his citty of Kilkenny hath lett the sayd County have att a Small rent, and it would be a very great Inconveniency to have the pisoners carryed from Kilkenny to the sayd Towne of Callan, and this the said Justices have done for no other reason but because Y^r Petⁿ would not suffer the High Sherriffe of the County to Invade theire Franchises and Libertyes, yet severall other Justices of the Peace for the sayd County have signed a pcept for holding the sayd Sessions att the Black Abby in Kilkenny on the sayd 9th day of July Instant being the usuall place, the center of the sayd County, and wthall fitt for the Entertaynement and reception of all persons that are to appeare att the sayd court,

“ May it therefore please Yo^r Lordshipp to be graciously pleased to supersede the sayd pecept Issued for keeping the sayd Generall Quarter Sessions of the Peace att Callan, that soe the sayd Quarter Sessions of the Peace may be held att the Citty of Kilkenny as accustomed and Y^r petⁿ shall ever pray &c.”

“ Wee the undernamed Justices of the Peace of the sayd County of Kilkenny doe certify the contents of the above Petition to be true

“ EBEN WARREN

“ JOHN WARING

“ RICH^d BARNETT

“ CHA^s GOSLING”

“ MARTIN BAXTER

[This is endorsed] “ The humble peti^{ti}on of the Mayor and Cittizens of the Citty of Kilkenny, ab^t the County Justices removeing their Sessions from y^e black abby, 1695.”

“ To HIS EX^{ty} HENRY LORD CAPELL LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND

“ *The Humble peti^{ti}on of the Mayor and Cittizens of the Citty of Kilkenny*

“ Humbly Sheweth That yo^r petⁿ peti^{ti}oned the Lord Chancellor of Ireland for a Supercedeas to a precept issued by some of the Justices of the Peace of the County of Kilkenny for keeping the Generall Quarter Sessions of the Peace at Callan the Ninth instant, to be kept at the Citty of Kilkenny as hath beene allwayes accustomed, as by the said peti^{ti}on & certificate hereunto annexed will more at large appeare, but his Lo^dpp declared that he could not medle therein, but that it was most proper for Yo^r Ex^{ty}es determination.

“ May it therefore please Yo^r Ex^{ty} to grant an Order that the said Quarter Sessions may be kept at Kilkenny the Ninth [] as heretofore used

“ And yo^r petⁿ shall ever pray &c.

“ Dublin Castle the 5th of July, 1695.

“ Wee refer this Petition to our very good Lord the Lord Chancellor of this Kingdom, who is desired to consider the matter above mentioned, and Report to us his Lordships opinion what is fitt to be done therein.

“ CAPELL.”

“ May it please Yo^r Excellency

“ I was acquainted wth the substance of this peti^{ti}ōn about two days since and I did thereupon direct the Clerk of the Hanaper to search whether any supersedeas had formerly issued upon the like occasion in this County of Kilkenny, w^{ch} he accordingly did and acquainted me that it had been so done. But he being now out of Town I cannot obteyn a Certiff^r in forme. However I think upon the nature and reason of the case it may be convenient if Y^r Excellency please to signifie Y^r pleasure that since the constant usage has been to hold the Generall Quarter Sessions at Kilkenny and that the Justices have some of them signed the precept for holding the said Sessions there, and others appointed it at Callan, that Y^r Excellency if you please may signifie your pleasure to the Sheriff of the said County that the same be holden as usually at Kilkenny at least for this tyme, till further consideration be had of the matter, the rather because the Gaole for the county is kept in Kilkenny and the removeing the Prisoners to a place soe distant as Callan is very inconvenient, besides what is pticularly further alledged in the peti^{ti}ōn, which nevertheless is most humbly submitted to Y^r Excellencye's better Judgment by

“ Your Excellencies

“ Most obedient Sert

“ 5 July 1695.”

. C. PORTER CAN.

The Magdalen Castle.—While our ancestors were careful and watchful for the defence of the City from foes Outside, they had an enemy within the gates against which they were also obliged to provide. I allude to the disease of Leprosy, which is supposed then to have frequently prevailed, and accordingly we find a portion of Magdalen Castle appropriated to the purpose of a Leper House, as appears from a Lease made the 20th of October, 1588, by the Souvraigne Burgesses and Commons of Kilkenny to Thomas Kranisburge of the same Merchant, of—

“ The Magdalen Castle with the appurtinances, saving excepting and reserving the use of the best chamber thereof alwaies for such as shall be infected of the Dyseas commonly callyd the Leprosie, of the Burgesses of the said Towne when and as often as shall please God to visitt any of them with the same diseas, with free egresse and regresse into the whole Castell for suche ward and watche as shall be appointed by the sayd Souvaigne Burgesses and Co^mons to go and remayne therein in all times of cōmo^{ti}ōn,

to hold said Castell with the appurtenances (excepting the before excepted) for three score and one years at the yearly rent of fourteen shillings. The original Bill of

the Carpenter for making a Gate¹ here in 1598 is pinned to the Lease, and is as follows :—

“ A Note of the Chardges bestowed uppon y^e Maudlin Gate as hereafter followethe ” :—

| | | |
|---|-------------------|---------------------|
| “ It. first for Plankes and Timber for the Gate | iiij ^s | vi ^d |
| “ More for Iron making and all | iiij ^s | |
| “ More to the Carpinder ij dayes | ij ^s | |
| “ More to Gefferry Roche Oversier for ij Dayes | | xii ^d |
| | | <hr/> |
| “ Summa | x ^s | vi ^d stg |

At foot there is an Order dated the 20th July, 1598, for the payment of the above, signed by Thomas Archer, Sovereign and Arthur Shee.

Drakeland Castle.—Although not one of the Defences of the City, I may here mention (as it occurs in order of date) that I find by an entry of a Lease in 1581 that in connexion with Drakeland Castle there is stated to have been a “ Town or Village ” there at that time.

The Town Ditch.—In 1594 I find a New Town Ditch mentioned, but it is not exactly stated in what part of the town. I extract from a Lease dated the 20th April, 1594, from—

“ The suffrain Burgesses & Comons to Robert Coursy of a Parcell of theire common Land, lately broken and made playne of theire Towne Ditch, situated betwixt the new Towne Ditch and the said Robert’s Lande in the backside of his Dwelling house, containing in length xii and in breadth xxi yardes, for the Term of a hundred and one yeares at the Rent of two shillings¹ currant money of Ireland, and it was covenanted that said Robert should keep upp and mayntaine the Newe Towne Ditch from time to tyme so far as the said parcell of Lande doe extende in breadth during the said toime.”

Although we cannot say exactly where this was, it gives an idea of the extcnt and measurement of the town ditch.

The Town Wall at the Black Friars.—I found a lease made on the 20th day of May, 1597, by—

¹ In a very interesting picture at Kilkenny Castle, showing Kilkenny as it existed sixty or seventy years ago, this gate is represented crossing Maudlin Street, and connected with “ Magdalen Castle.” See Plate at p. 229 of our “ Journal ” for 1850.
¹ Two shillings at that time was equal to £1 now.

"The Souvaine Burgesses & Coens to Adam Seix Marchant of an Orchard with the appurtenances scituated within the Precinct of the late blacke Friars in length from the Lane that leadeth from the high streete to the said late Fryers in the South unto the Water of the Bregagh in the North. In breadth from the Towne Wall in the East unto the coen [common] Land of the said Towne called the Lecton and the Orchard sometye called Thom. Duffe Friers Orchard now in the holding of Sir Richard Shee Knight in the Weste, To hold for a hundred and one years at the yearly Rent of six shillings and Eight Pence, and the said Adam did covenant to repayre buyld & uphold stiff strong & defensible when neede so requireth as much and such parte of the Towne Walls on every syde as meareth and is adjoining to any parte of the saide Orcharde as well next the Water of tbe Bregagh aforesaid as otherwise."

The above rent appears now small for an orchard of that size, but it was equal to about four pounds of our money, and besides the tenant had to keep the town wall in repair. In looking over many of the ancient leases and documents, one of the most striking things is the number of orchards with which Kilkenny then abounded. The above-mentioned orchard is in all probability the same which is referred to in the paper I read lately, and which was described as adjoining the bridge ordered to be built over the River Bregagh at Black Mill, in the year 1718, and then described as Mr. Cramer's late orchard. Rocques' map of Kilkenny, which is supposed to have been made about the year 1757, shows that there were then trees (we may now naturally suppose orchards) growing on each side of the Bregagh at that locality.

St. James's Castle.—We now come to the Castle over St. James's Gate, and I find that, by a lease dated the last day of July, 1599 :—

"The Souvraigne Burgesses & Commons demised to Walter Archer fitz Walter Esquire A Castle coṃonly called & knowen by the name of St. James' Castle in the West end of St. James' street, To Hold for one hundred and one yeares at the yearly Rent of Sixteene pence lawful money of Ireland, and it was provided that the said Souvraigne Burgesses & Comons should have the use of the said Castle in tyme of Warr or danger for the defence of the Towne, as they have of other like Castles built upon the Gates or Walls of the said Towne. And the said Walter covenanted to build and make upp the Roofe of the said Castle with oken tymber and cover the same with oken tymber and sclate and Kepe & mayntayne the same stiffe strong staunch & tenantable during the said terme, and in case the mayne walls or vault doe fall at any tyme during the said terme the Lease to be voide, and the said souvraigne &c to be

then at liberty to buyld the said Castle and also to grant and dispose the same at their pleasure, except the said Walter do buyld the same at his proper coste and charge in convenient tyme."

The High Town Gate.—I find my next date brings me to the High Town Gate and that by lease, dated 13th January, 1609, and in the 7th year of King James 1st (being the year in which he granted the Charter creating Kilkenny a City)—

"The Maior and Cittizens of the City of Kilkenny demised to Walter Lawless of same Gentleman The Castell over the gate of the Citty commonly called the High Town Gate with the appurtenances To Hold same for 200 years at the Yearly Rent of Three Shillings, and it was provided that the said Maior and Cittizens should upon occasions of need have free access to the said Castell for the defence and guard of the said Castell, and of the Walls of the said Citty thereabouts, when and as often as occasion should require, and the said Walter Lawless covenanted at his own cost and charges to build a Corbell Towre uppon the said Castell, in such convenient place as the Maior of the said Citty for the time being should appoint, within foure Yeares, for the better guard and defence of the said Castell, and to maintain the said Castell and Turrett stiff strong and tenantable during the said Term."

A Castle adjoining the Castle Gate.—By an entry in the Book or Schedule of Ancient Leases, I find that a lease was made on 12th January, 1620—

"To Mr William Shee of the Castle or Warde next adjoining to the Castle Gate, for three score and one years next after the determination of the Lease past to Peter Raggett at the Yearly Rent of thirteen shillings and fourpence with a Proviso that the said William and his Executors &c should fynde in tyme of Warr or comotion a sufficient yeomen with a Gunn, Shott and powder, sufficient for to watch in the said Castle for the defence of the said Citty, and also should give to the Watch of the Corporation free ingress egress and regress to in and from the said Castle in tyme of Warr, to watch there for the defence of the said Citty."

St. Patrick's Gate.—We are now arrived at the Gate which adjoins the Rooms of our Society, namely, St. Patrick's Gate, now the only remaining Gate of our City; and it appears that by Indenture of Lease, made the first day of March, 1626, the "Maior and Cittizens in consideration of the buyldinge of the Castle over St. Patrick's Gate of the said Citty and erectinge of Two Corbell Towers' uppon the Walle of the said Castle

¹ The remains of these two *Corbell Towers* may yet be seen on the exterior face of the structure, under its modern roof; nothing but the corbells remain.

for deffence of that part of the said Citty Walles," granted unto Richard Rothe fitz Edward the said Castle over St. Patrick's Gate with all the appurtenances "To Hold to him and his heyres and assigns for ever of the Cheefe Lords of the Fee by the service due and of righte accustomed, at the yearly Rent of Tenne Shillings, and it was covenanted that the said Citty Watch and Warde should upon all occasions of danger of watchinge or wardinge the sayde Citty, have free ingresse egresse and regresse to and from the said Castle for to watch and ward that part of the said Citty, as often as there shall be occasion, without the lette or disturbance of the said Richard, his heyres or assigns, it was also provided that the said Richard should not alien or dispose of the said Castle to any *Forner* or stranger without the special license of the said Maior and Cittizens first had in writing, and the said Richard also covenanted to repayre and mayntayne the said Castle stiffe stronge staunche and tenantable for ever."

The Inner Frieren Gate.—In illustrating further what I have to state, brings me to the "Inner Frieren Gate," where we meet with a locality now known as Lee's Lane, by the name of "Trinitie Lane." I find a Lease made 25th October, 1633, the 9th year of King Charles 2nd, by the Maior and Cittizens of this City to Stephen Daniell of the "Upper Rooms" over the Castle of the Inner Frieren Gate of the said Citty in the Lane called "Trinitie Lane," "To Hold same for fourscore and nynetyne years, at the yearly Rent of two shillings. The said Stephen covenanted with the said Maior and Citizens to build the said Castell and cover the same with oaken tymber and slate within three years, and same to uphold stiffe strong staunch and tenantable, and it was provided that the said Maior and Cittizens should at all necessary tymes of danger have the use and cōmand of the said Castle, to watch and ward for the Cittizens, and their watchmen there for the deffence of the said Citty, and that the said Stephen should not alien or dispose of his interest in any part of the said Castell to any stranger or fforiner, but only to a free native and inhabitant of the said Citty."

The Aldermen of the City on Guard at Night.—It

appears from a document found among the miscellaneous Corporation Papers (a copy of which is here set forth) that in the year 1641, the Aldermen of that day had very arduous and important duties to discharge with regard to the defence of the city. The date indicates that it belongs to the troublesome times of the outbreak which took place in the previous month, known as the Rebellion of 1641. The precautions taken by the Corporation did not long preserve Kilkenny from being occupied by the rebels, it having been seized in that year by Lord Mountgarrett:—

“27th November, 1641.

“*Order for the Watche.*—That the Constables in every ward shall bring all such persons as are to watch every night at ix of the Clock or sounde of the Drome to the Alderman, shall sette the watch, and appoint such as shall Watche at the Citty Portes and elsewhere.

“Item that the Alderman that is to looke to the watch that night, shall appoint a Capten oute of the whole boddy of the watch, such one as the said Alderman shall think fittest.

“Item the said Capten is to appointe two to watch at St. Patrick’s Gatte, 4 at the Castell Gate, 4 at St. John’s Gatte, 2 at Walken’s Gate, 2 at St. James’ Gatte, 2 at Abey Gate, and 4 at the hightowne gate.

“The Coorte of Gard to remayne at the old Tholsel whereby they may relieve the Watch by turnes.

“The said Alderman that is to attend that night of his attendance is to gett out at nyne of the Clocke, and to contynue untill 12 and one Constable out of every ward is to attend the said Alderman during that tyme.

“Item the said Alderman is to deliver the Watch word at nyne of the Clocke, and none to be suffered to walke the streets after that tyme without he can give the watch word, otherwise to be committed to prison or in the stocks as the Capten shall thinke fitte.

“Item that the Constables shall appointe every nighte 13 out of every quarter, and that the aforesaid Persons to attend shall appointe out of the said number of 13, oute of every quarter as aforesaid, the Watch to be relieved by turnes as the Capten shall thinke fitt.”

The Aldermen of the present day should feel thankful they can retire to rest at night without having such arduous duties to discharge as it appears were imposed on their predecessors two hundred and thirty years ago.

The Gates, Walls, and Citty Guns in 1690 and 1691.—We have conclusive evidence that at least so late as the year 1691, the gates, walls, ramparts, and also the city guns, were carefully attended to. This is not to be wondered at, considering the war then waging between James and William, the latter of whom afterwards arrived

here, and encamped with his Army at Bennett's bridge, from whence he sent a letter to the City (which letter is still in existence), and which was then of great local interest and importance as causing a total change in the state of affairs here, and of the members then composing the Corporation of Kilkenny.

The original of the following peremptory Order to the Mayor from General de Ginkell, one of William's Generals, is also still in existence. The wounded soldiers referred to were from the battle of the Boyne in all probability :—

"The necessities requisite for the Hospitall here, not being yet arrived at this Citty, I doe hereby require you in the mean time to cause the Inhabitants hereof to furnish the sayd Hospitall wth twenty beds for the use of the Sick and wounded Soldiers. Of which you are not to faile, as you will answer the Contrary, and this shall be your warrant. Given at Kilkenny, this 11th of November, 1690.

"G. BAR. DE GINKELL.

"To John Baxter, Esq., Mayor of the Citty of Kilkenny."

"Necessaries for dressing their food, as two or three Kettles, wooden Vessells or earthen chamber Potts, wooden platters and wooden Cupps for their drinke or breath."

I find in October, 1690, Mary's Church used as a Magazine, a guard mounted at John's Gate, soldiers employed laying sods at the fortifications, locks made for the Barrier Gates, &c., all which are brought before us and verified by the following original documents :—

"THE GUARD AT ST. JOHN'S GATE.—Received of Captain Baxter Mayor of the City of Kilkenny the sum of One Pound tenn Shillings on account, for Fireing for the Gaurd at St. John's Gate. I say rec^d by me, the 7th day of October, 1690, by me.

"RICHARD BROWN."

"MAGAZINE AT MARY'S CHURCH.—Received from John Baxter Esq. Mayor of Kilkenny the Sum of Forty Shillings Sterling in full-payment for worke don by me Henry Wattson about the *Magassen* in St. Mary's Church, Kilkenny, as witness my hand, the 29th day of October, 1690. £2 0s. 0d.

"HENRY WATTSON."

"SOLDIERS LAYING SODS.—Received from Captⁿ John Baxter Mayor of the Citty of Kilkenny the sum of One pound fower Shillings ster. for five Soldiers work, six days each man, laying of Sodds at y^e Fortification of y^e Citty of Kilkenny by mee.

"ALEX. ROCKET."

"More p^d for laying Sodds to labourers 14s."

"LOCKS FOR THE GATES.—Locks for the Gate were provided as under :—

"August the 15th 1691.

"Received for 3 Locks for y^e Barrier Gates of y^e Citty of Kilkenny, y^e Sum of nine Shillings Sterling by me.

"HENRY HARPER."

There is also the original bill for the timber supplied for the gates, with the name of the person who sold it (Gregory Marshall's widow)—the quantity, the price, and the scantling, and even the name of the carpenter who wrought the timber, "Pickering Airy." We have also the name of the gunner, "Laurence Sargeant," who looked after the guns, and who does not appear to have been overpaid for his duties.

I now give, in full, copies of the Original Documents :—

"To the Right Worpsfull the Mayor Recorder and Justices of the Peace for the Citty and County of the Citty of Kilkenny."

"The humble Petition of Margarett Marshall Widdowe and Relict of Gregory Marshall late deceased.

"In humble manner shewing

"That in the yeare 1691 Cap^{tn} John Baxter being then Mayor of the Citty it was thoughte convenient by the Magistrates to fortifie the Citty Walls, Gates and Rampiers of the Citty, and to that purpose the said Cap^{tn} Baxter tooke up store of Timber, and especially from yo^r Pet^r Two Tunn and halfe of Scantling Timber for which he agreed to pay 24s. p Tunn, as in the annexed Bill, the truth whereof Pickering Airy the Carpenter that wrought up the timber can aver, That the said Cap^{tn} Baxter soone after dyeing and yo^r Pet^r being very sickly and helplesse for above three yeares past, noe care was taken for her paym^t having noe assistant to move or sollicite for the same, soe that yo^r Pet^r is still out of the said money to the greate damage and especially in this tyme of her long sicknesse and want, of her charge of Orphans.

"May it therefore please yo^r Worpp^s in consideration and compassion of the pmisses to order yo^r Pet^r her payment for the said Timber to be a releefe to herself & Orphans in her long sickness, which granted, as in duty bound they shall ever pray."

[Note at foot of the above.]

"16th Jany. 1695, referred to the Grand Jury.

"J. WARRINGE."

The following is the Bill referred to in the foregoing Petition :—

"A Bill ffor Timber sould unto Cap^{tn} John Baxter Mayor of the Citty of Kilkenny for to repaire mend & fortifie the Citty Gates & anno 1691.

"Item delivered by order of the said John Baxter Esq to the uses afforesaide Two Tun & halfe of scantling timber of threese & foures, att 24s. per tun, as then agreed for by the said Mayor with Margarett Marshall Widdow. £3 00 00"

Endorsement on this Bill :—

"Upon viewing of Cap^{tn} Baxter's Accounts I find that the within sum

of three Pounds ster^lg was not allowed the within named M^r Marshall, or any satisfaction made her: as Witness my hand this 13th day of July 1695—for that there is not any mention made thereof in sayd accounts.

“JOHN WARRING.”

We find this reference to the artillery for defending the walls :—

“To the R^t Worshipfull the Mayor Aldⁿ & Common Councill of the City of Kilkenny.

“The Humble Peticon of Laurence Sargeant Gunner of the sayd Citty.

“Humbly sheweth unto yo^r Worpp^s; that yo^r Pet^r was impowored by Cap^{tn} John Baxter when Mayor of this Citty in the behalfe of the Cittizens thereof to take care, look after & manage the Gunns of this Citty untill further Order.

“Now soe it is may it please Yo^r Worshipp, that yo^r Petitioner hath accordingly took care of and looked after the sayd Gunns for about these three yeares last past, dureing all which tyme Yo^r Pet^r hath been ready to obey all orders & directions from the Mayors of this Citty, and hath not rec^d any man^r of satisfaction for the same. That Yo^r Worshipp were pleased when yo^r Petitioner last petiōned Yo^r Worshipp, to reffer the contents of his petiōn to the said Cap^{tn} Baxter, who att that tyme being on his sick bedd, had not opportunity or Leasure to report to this Worshipful Board what he knew of the sayd Petiōn soe referred.

“May it therefore please Yo^r Worshipp to order Yo^r Pet^r satisfaction for the trouble & charge he hath beene att, or to doe otherwise therein as to Yo^r Worshipp shall seeme meete.

“And he shall pray.”

[Orders made thereon] “2nd. of June, 1694—referred to the Co^mon Councill.”

“Afterward ordered by consent of the whole board that the Pet^r be p^d four pounds in consideration of his Services as Gunner to the 1st of May last past.

“J. WARRINGE.”

The following little account seems to have lain over unsettled for some time, however, as it refers so circumstantially to the then “late Camp at Bennettsbridge,” I do not like to omit it :—

“Co^m Civit: Kilkenny—By Patrick Connell Esq. Mayor of the said Citty.

“Out of such sume or sumes of this Corporation Revenue as is or shall first come to your hands you are to Issue & pay unto M^r. Edmond Connell the Sume of ten Shillings sterg. due to him for blanketting supplied for the use of the Sick men in y^e Hospitall dureing the tyme of the late Camp at Bennettsbridge, and this with his receipt shall be sufficient for soe much uppon y^r account. Dated 7 ber 27th, 1704.

“PATT CONNELL, Mayor.

“To Aldⁿ Stephen Haydocke, Treasurer.”

“ By Ebenezar Warren Esq. Deputy Mayor of the sayd Citty.

“ You are likewise to pay unto the s^d Edm^d Connell two Shillings & nixpence due to him for Scouring the said blanketting being much damaged by the Sick men in the s^d hospitall. Dated Nöber 28th 1704.

“ EBEN. WARREN, Dep. Mayor.”

The foregoing includes a period of about 170 years, during which peace and quiet were unknown, and Kilkenny was kept in a constant state of defence and alarm from fear of an invading foe; the inhabitants were closely shut in with walls and gates, and, as it was formerly shown, the few approaches to the town which existed, were almost impassable until the commencement of the 18th century. In this state, generation after generation passed away, and it is hard for us now to realise how they existed in that state, and spent their days. It should have the effect of making us feel thankful that we live in times of peace, safety, freedom, and enlightenment.

THE OGHAM MONUMENTS OF KILKENNY, BEING A LETTER
FROM SAMUEL FERGUSON, ESQ., Q. C., LL. D., &c.

WITH SOME INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS BY JOHN G. A. PRIM.

IN connexion with the presentation of several paper casts of Ogham Inscriptions, chiefly from the County of Kilkenny, which I am commissioned by Samuel Ferguson, Esq., Q. C., LL. D., to make on this occasion to our Museum, I beg leave also to bring before the Association the accompanying letter from that gentleman, which cannot fail to excite very deep interest amongst the Members. In doing so, perhaps I may be permitted to express my gratification at the fact of the establishing of an Archæological Society in Kilkenny having been the means of bringing to light some important monuments of the kind referred to, which otherwise might have remained unknown. When the Kilkenny Archæological Society—which formed the original nucleus of the present Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland—was established in the year 1849, the Honorary Secretaries received a communication from the late Mr.

Richard Hitchcock, of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, an enthusiastic Ogham investigator, congratulating them on the organization which they had been instrumental in forming, and suggesting Ogham exploration as an object which might suitably occupy their attention. He pointed out that Kilkenny must be deemed an "Ogham district," as two stones inscribed in that character were already known to exist within it; and it might therefore be fairly expected that other similar monuments would be discovered there if diligently and intelligently sought for. Mr. Hitchcock's anticipations in this respect have not remained unfulfilled, as four additional Ogham inscribed stones have been since added to the small list of those which Kilkenny was then registered as being known to possess—viz.: one at Tullowherin, two found at Dunbel, and one at Claragh.

Of the two Kilkenny Oghams which had been known to Mr. Hitchcock, and copied by him for the present Bishop of Limerick—those at Gowran and Ballyboodan—the first is one of very great interest, from its being apparently a Christian tomb-slab, bearing upon it a cross, crutch-headed at each of its four extremities, and which seems to be co-eval with, if not older than, the Ogham which runs round it. Whilst thus referring to it, I may as well put on record the fact that its present position, in the cemetery connected with Gowran Parish Church, is not its original site. Indeed it would be impossible now to determine what its original position had been; but it was discovered in the earlier portion of the present century, applied to the use of an ordinary building-stone in the foundation of the ancient choir, which was at that time removed for the purpose of building the modern Parish Church in its place. The architecture of the ancient building showed it to have belonged to the early portion of the thirteenth century. The previous history of this inscribed stone, at that time put by the masons to the ignoble use of a common building-stone, of course is not now known. The Ogham at Ballyboodan is inscribed on a large *leacht* or rough flag-stone, situated not far from the old castle of Kilcurl and about a mile from Knocktopher. I have never seen the inscription, nor have I ever met any

intelligent person who saw it except Mr. Hitchcock ; the fact being that that gentleman, when he went to visit the spot some thirty years since, discovered that the farmer on whose land it is, having found it in the way when ploughing his field, had recently upset the stone in such a way that it lay on its side with the inscribed portion buried in the ground. Mr. Hitchcock got it raised, and he noted down the characters, but then, with a view, apparently, to its preservation, caused it to be so placed again as that the Ogham is underground, whilst the great mass of the uninscribed portion of the stone is apparent enough to the visitor. It is, however, much to be desired that the arrangement injudiciously made by Mr. Hitchcock, although no doubt actuated by the best motive, should be changed without delay, so that the inscription may be freely examined by all investigators.

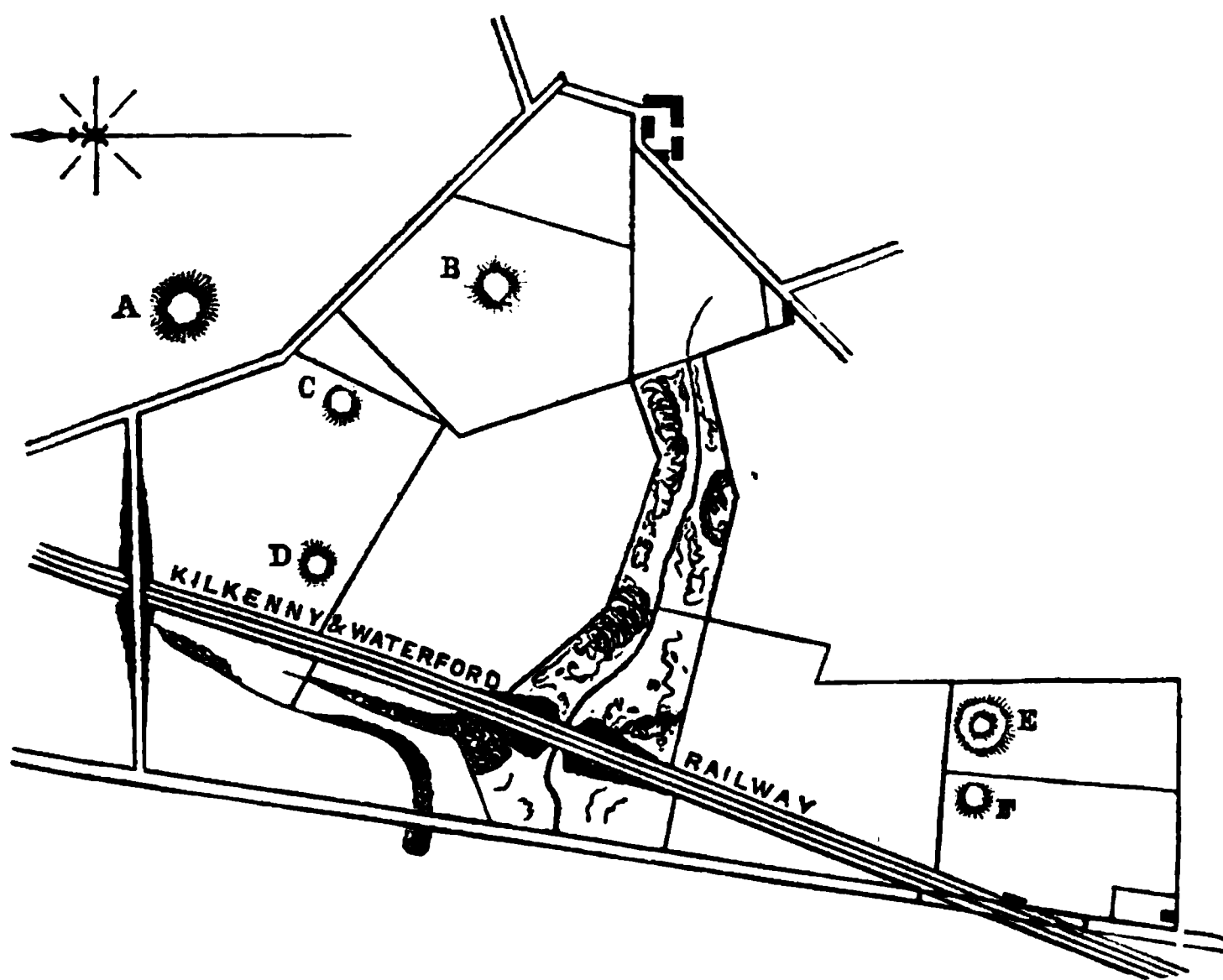
Respecting the four Oghams discovered in the County of Kilkenny since the formation of the archæological organization which has led to the establishment of this Association, I had the pleasure of bringing under notice that existing in the burial-ground attached to the old Parish Church of Tullowherin, in 1852.¹ It is but a fragment, standing like a rude head-stone to a grave, quite close to the south wall of the church, and less than 30 feet from the Round Tower. The present height of what remains of the stone is about 2 feet 4 inches, by 1 foot 6 inches in width, and the mutilated inscription, running along the south-eastern edge, consists of eleven scores. The most remarkable thing in connexion with the stone is that it is of a kind of grit which is not the stone of the district, nor that of which the old church was built, whilst there is a good deal of it to be observed used in the construction of the Round Tower.

It again fell to me to make known, in 1855, the next Ogham discovery in the County of Kilkenny—that at Dunbel, where two inscribed stones were brought to light under rather unusual circumstances, which I fully placed on record at the time.² They were the most important

¹ See "Transactions of Kilkenny Archæological Society," Vol. ii., p. 190, and Vol. iii., p. 86.

² See "Journal" of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society, second series, Vol. iii., p. 397.

items in a very extensive "find" of objects of archæological interest in a group of raths at Dunbel, situated three miles to the south of the City of Kilkenny. These raths seem to have formed a primeval town or settlement in that locality. Five of them were on the farm of Mr. Michael White, including one of greater extent and importance than the others, which may be considered to have been the chieftain's *castellum*. A sixth was situated on an adjoining farm, within a field of that in which the Oghams were found, and was levelled and all but obliterated by the then owner of the land, the late Mr. John Anderson of Prospect, in the beginning of the present century. Two other raths still exist on the townland of Dunbel, a little further in the Gowran direction, whilst there are three remaining in the adjoining townland of Maddox-town, one of which lies very close to the chief group at



MAP SHOWING POSITION OF RATHS AT DUNBEL, CO. KILKENNY.

A. Rath on Prospect farm, nearly obliterated. B. and C. raths on Mr. White's farm, nearly obliterated. D. The rath in which the Oghams were found; nearly obliterated. E. Large rath, in good preservation, supposed to have been the chieftain's residence. F. Small rath, nearly obliterated.

Dunbel. Altogether there seems sufficient evidence to warrant the conclusion of its having been a thickly populated district in pre-historic times. The accompanying map shows only the six raths first referred to as being in close proximity to each other at Dunbel, including the chieftain's rath and that in which the Oghams were found.

I wish here to avert a mistaken impression which visitors to the locality are apt to form, from the accounts given by the peasantry on the spot to those making inquiries as to the circumstances under which the Ogham stones were found at Dunbel. Dr. Ferguson, and others who have told me of the statements made to them by the country people, had been led to presume that the inscribed stones were found in connexion with a crypt of some kind. The Rev. James Graves and I made a thorough investigation of the matter on occasion of the discovery, and we can bear testimony that no crypt was found—a small sewer-like passage constructed of dry stones, near one end of which the Ogham stones were placed, being the only thing in the nature of stone-work existing at the spot. For the full particulars, I beg leave to refer to the report which I made to the Society, on the subject,¹ at the time.

The last County of Kilkenny Ogham, the existence of which has been registered, is not the least interesting of these monuments—that at Claragh. Dr. Ferguson in the accompanying letter speaks of this Ogham, as if I was its discoverer. I feel called on to state that I cannot claim that credit. My attention was drawn to its existence by a letter which I received from Mr. John Moore of Columbkille, Thomastown, who observed it in the year 1867. My part was that of reporting the discovery to the Association, upon making an investigation of the locality, in consequence of Mr. Moore's casual communication to me of what he had seen there. Like the Gowran Ogham, this at Claragh was made use of as an ordinary building-stone in the construction of the old Parish Church, and in applying it to that purpose, a portion appears to have been broken away and lost. But the chancel of Claragh

¹ For this report see "Journal" of Archaeological Society, second series, the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Vol. iii., p. 403.

Church—in the gable of which, under the east window, the inscribed stone is placed—is greatly more ancient than that of Gowran. The nave is comparatively modern—probably of the fourteenth, if not the fifteenth century ; but the Cyclopean character of masonry of the chancel, and the extension of the side walls beyond the gable into *antæ*, mark that portion of the structure as of very great antiquity. The little round-headed eastern window, although very ancient too, I apprehend was a somewhat later introduction. Some other Ogham explorers who have examined it, beside Dr. Ferguson, have expressed a strong desire that the Ogham stone might be taken out of the wall and brought to the Association's Museum, as it may have an inscription on the portion now concealed in the wall, and it would, at all events, be more easily examined, and a facility be afforded for having casts taken from it. I can appreciate fully the force of both these arguments—the latter in particular, as I was witness of the failure of Dr. Ferguson's attempt to make a cast, after the loss of much patient labour. Sufficient space could not be got for inserting the material for the cast in the space beneath the edge of the stone as at present placed. In fact the portions of the scores which turn under the stone were altogether concealed when I first saw the stone, and so remained till I went again to Claragh, provided with a mallet and chisel, with which I cut away a small portion of the surrounding mason-work, to make those “turn-over” scores sufficiently apparent to be read. But the portion of the east gable of the Church surrounding the window is already in a very shaken state, and I am fearful that any attempt to extract the Ogham from its present position, and insert another stone in its place, would completely ruin and destroy, if not the entire gable, at least the little east window ; and this I could in no way consent to be a party to. Much as I am interested by the Ogham, I am not less interested by this very ancient specimen of the ecclesiastical architecture of the County of Kilkenny, and I do not think any one would be justified in sacrificing the latter for the chance of finding a continuation of the Ogham inscription on the other side of the stone, or for the facility which would be afforded, by its removal to the Museum, of making

a cast, or exhibiting the monument. But if some of the professional architects amongst the Members of our Association will guarantee the certainty of removing the Ogham without any injury to the architectural features of the old Church, I shall be ready at once to withdraw my objection to the suggested arrangement. In case of any such work being undertaken, the opportunity should be made use of for effecting some very necessary repairs, in order to put a stop to the progress of decay in the old Church—indeed this demands immediate attention under any circumstances. An ash tree has taken root in the south side-wall of the Chancel, and has rent it fearfully, threatening with speedy destruction a little flat-headed window, the only one beside that in the gable with the round head, which the building shows. This tree ought to be carefully removed at once.

A remarkable circumstance in connexion with our Oghams is, that so many of these inscribed monuments are not of the stone of the districts in which they are respectively found. This has been observed in other counties. In Kilkenny, I may mention that those of Gowran, Claragh, Tullowherin and Dunbel—all situated in a circle the diameter of which is scarcely three miles—are each composed of sandstone, whilst the district is a limestone one. I am not sure of the material of the Ballyboodan stone, not having noticed it at the only time I ever visited the spot, some twenty years since. But the facts to which I have referred, occurring so frequently in so many localities, would tend to show either that a block of sandstone was sought elsewhere and brought to the required place to be engraved, as being deemed more convenient for working upon ; or that the manufacture of Ogham monuments took place in certain localities where skilled artificers were resident, from whence they were fetched many miles away by those requiring them, after having been wrought “to order.” A careful observation of the masonry of the old churches throughout Ireland has led to the discovery of many interesting Ogham monuments, which had been used by the original constructors as common building-stones, just as in the cases of Gowran and Claragh, to which I have above alluded. I think that, from the

instance of the Dunbel exploration also here referred to, the inference is warrantable that careful researches amongst the raths everywhere in Ireland would be likely to lead to very many similar discoveries. I would hope that the attention of the Members of the Association will be turned to this suggestion, whenever the opportunity of acting upon it may occur.

I fear, however, that I have spun out my introduction to Dr. Ferguson's communication vastly too much, and shall therefore, lay the letter before the Association without further delay.

*" 20 North Great George's-street,
" Dublin, 2nd September, 1872.*

" DEAR SIR,

" Having been permitted, through your kindness, to obtain paper-casts of the Ogham-inscribed stones in the Kilkenny Museum, I have taken the opportunity to have them made in duplicate, and now beg leave, through you, to present one set to your Society. I present, in addition, a similar reproduction of the Gowran inscription, but regret that the position of that at Claragh prevents my obtaining a paper cast of it, also, for your Museum.

" These casts possess the advantage of being easily handled, and turned to the light; and the uniform colour of the surface aids the eye in detecting shallow indentations. Well executed, they possess all the qualities of casts in plaster, with lightness superadded.

" I have deposited upwards of thirty such casts in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and am the possessor of about as many more; but the array of material is still so far from sufficient for grounding generalizations, that in what I shall have to say, regarding those more immediately under our notice, I must confine myself rather to indicating paths of inquiry, than to announcing results.

" I do not, however, apply this caution to the general process of transliteration. It is impossible to contemplate the agreement between the Latin and Ogham legends found side by side, on not less than seven bilateral examples in South Wales and in Ireland, without recognizing the substantial accuracy of the ordinary Ogham key, and feeling assured that, wherever we possess a complete text, uncomplicated by intentional obscurations, we will be safe in assigning the key-values to most, if not all, of the characters.

" Unhappily, the two great legends preserved by you and Mr. Graves from entire destruction at Dunbel, and which form, indeed, the pride of your Museum, have been so far injured by the ignorant violence done them before your intervention, that some of the vowel-points are undistinguishable, and others uncertain. Still, the legends are complete, in possessing all their consonants, and in having, each, a definite beginning and end; and one at least allies itself, in both the names or tituli recorded in it, with other examples in Ogham and in Latin nomenclature.

" This legend, which I shall call No. 1, extends the full length of the

stone, and is destitute of the well-known formula 'Maqi,' which in most cases serves as a catch-word to show the direction of the reading. We are consequently left to determine from which end the transliteration ought to commence, by tentative means. Reading in one direction we obtain—

Saffalloffigenittac,

which, offering no analogy to known combinations, we may put aside, and try the same process from the other end. Here the result is more satisfactory. It reads, the minuscules marking what is questionable and alternative—

S A F F i Q E G I T T $\frac{\circ}{\text{---}}$ $\frac{dd}{\circ}$ A T T A C.

At i, there may be either six or five notches. If six, the reading might be UU, or, which would be more likely, EO; recalling the SAFEI of the Killeen Cormaic bilingual. At $\frac{\circ}{\text{---}}$ room exists for the lower combination; but the upper is all that is now apparent. At $\frac{dd}{\circ}$ the spacing indicates the upper combination; the context very strongly suggests the lower. Having regard to other Ogham legends conceived in the same form—

Gosoctismosacma,
Carrttaccgaqimucagma,
Curcitifindilorac,(?)

it would seem that the legend should divide itself into the two names or tituli—

S A F F I Q E G I T T O $\frac{DD}{\circ}$ A T T A C

SAFFIQEGI at once recalls the SFAQQUCI of the Fardel monument. TTODDATTAC has so strong a general resemblance to the various forms in which the Irish historical name Toictheg presents itself, in annals and in lapidary engraving, and in Latin as well as in Ogham characters, that one does not hesitate to recognize it as substantially the same: and, indeed, it may be that what exists is the remains neither of dd nor of c but of an original gg, the lower halves of which have been obliterated, giving the name in its normal form, Ttoggattac. This duplication of letters is not peculiar to Ogham writing. In his latest contribution to Celtic learning, Dr. Whitley Stokes gives us examples of Welsh MS. glosses of the eighth or ninth century as thickly beset with this affectation as the text before us. The other forms in which the name appears are Toictheach and Toicthuic in manuscript, and Togittacc in Ogham sculpture. Compare *Toc-toc*, on a Gaulish coin of the Sequani (Anatole de Barthélemy in 'Revue Celtique,' Vol. I., p. 298.)

"Gosoct's Smosacma, Cartagac's Mucagma, Curcit's Findilorac, Sfacuc's Toicthec—if these really be the true readings—add a curious category to inscriptional formulas. It is as if, instead of saying John son of Thomas, we should say Thomas's John, a form of expression still, I believe, in use in the Northern English counties, and on the Border. Of SAFFIQEGI I shall only add that, whatever its signification, it casts the first ray of a reflected light on the 'Sfaquci' of the Fardel monument, hitherto involved in the same total darkness that still invests the

'Maqiqici' of the same legend. I have some reason to believe that the latter will be also found to be reflected from Irish lapidary texts.

"No. 2. The second of the Dunbel monuments. This has suffered irreparable injury in some of the vowel-groups. Yet it is wonderful with what success the fragments have been collected and placed together. It is conceived in the ordinary John-son-of-Thomas form, and reads—

B R N T T A S M A Q I D O C R D D A.

"Branittas Maqi Docredda seems the likeliest restoration. It is hard to believe that the patronymic is not the well-known 'Deccedda;' but the continuation of the digits, making R, is traceable, notwithstanding much fracture of the surface. Compare the subject-name (Branittas, Barnittas, Baranittas, or whatever the right vocalization may be), with 'Cassittas.' Compare also with 'Cunitti,' and consider whether differences of gender may not be indicated by the different forms of inflexion.

"No. 3. This is also a fragment, brought from the sea shore in the neighbourhood of Fethard, in Wexford. It has originally been a very fine example of those long, rounded, and smooth pillar-stones which might with propriety be called pulvinarian, that have been found in no other place, so far as I know, save here and in the neighbourhood of Dingle. Nothing can be imagined more lasting in lapidary art than the indentations cut on these hard and smooth surfaces. Unfortunately, this pillar has been broken across, and we possess only one end of the double line of Oghams originally engraved along it. These, at one side, indicate some such name as CONMACOS, or CORBMACOS, the 'macos' being the only certain portion. At the other side, the digits remaining might read CELAQ, but are also capable of various other combinations, as we read from one side or the other, or as from a beginning, or as to an end. All, in the absence of the context, must rest in conjecture, that friend, yet enemy, of discovery; which, like fire, is the worst of masters, although in its inductive function, as necessary to knowledge as fire to the service of life.

"No. 4. An Ogham-inscribed stone found in a crannoge in the county of Fermanagh, and presented by Mr. Wakeman, who has described and figured it in your Society's 'Journal' for January, 1871. It is, I believe, the most northern of those cryptic lapidary remains hitherto discovered in Ireland. There can be no doubt that it originally bore a legend in Ogham characters. The seemingly initial letter B and what may be an L, or the remains of a combination of more numerous digits, are conspicuous; and it may with some confidence be suggested that the terminal letters were UU. The traces of lost characters may be distinguished in the intervals between the more deeply cut digits which still strike the eye. The indentation taken for H in the penultimate seems to be an erosion of the surface. Such also I would take to be those traces above the line which, if this were a name compounded in 'Cu,' as Bealcu, for example, would stand for the C. The whole legend is, indeed, tantalizing from its near approach to the known, while it nowhere passes out of the obscure.

"No. 5. The Gowran inscription. This large block, which, owing to fractures destructive of its original outline, has a rude resemblance to a

¹ Fourth series, Vol. I., p 368.

coffin, lies flat on the ground. That such was intended to be its normal position, I infer from the Ogham characters being confined to its upper arrises, and carried round its lower end. A boldly cut cross occupies the upper and broader portion of the surface: the back is left rough as it came from the quarry. The extremities of the cross are crutch-headed. The arris of both sides, at the upper or broader end, has been chipped away, so as to cut across the outline of the arms. The Ogham digits which mark the line of the original arris, come up at both sides to the commencement of the chipping. If the arris, so marked, were prolonged, especially on the more deeply fractured side of the stone, it would fall within the outline of the cross. Hence, it might be inferred that, as the Ogham follows a line, the prolongation of which would trench on the outline of the cross, as originally sculptured, the cross existed on the stone before the Ogham. It seems, however, possible, though less likely, that the chipping may have obliterated both the ends of the cross and the conterminous digits at the same time. I do not know of any authority for the statement generally received with respect to crosses sculptured on Ogham-inscribed stones,—that the early Christians were in the habit of marking inscribed Pagan monuments with the sign of the cross. The cross-signed Ogham monuments are very numerous. Mr. Hitchcock, in his list in the Library of the Academy, enumerates twenty-two instances. I have, myself, seen most of them, besides many others in which the cross appears to be part of the sculptured design; and I have never observed anything in these to indicate a difference of age (except, perhaps, in the particular instance before us, in favour of the antiquity of the cross), between the inscribed symbol and the accompanying characters. It is true, on the 'Trengus' stone, at Cilgerran, a later-cut cross appears on the side of the column, but it forms no part of the general design, as it appears to do in the large class of instances to which I have referred. I may observe, that two Ogham-inscribed stones, which seem to commemorate 'Ailiters,' or pilgrims, bear the Maltese cross, and that one of the most interesting drawings left by Mr. DuNoyer is of an inscribed monument at St. Gobbinet's, in Cork, which represents a pilgrim, staff in hand, pacing over the convexity of the world represented by a circle filled with a cross of this design.

"Its shape, its inscribed cross, and its site, make it difficult for any one looking at this Gowran monument to imagine it otherwise than sepulchral and Christian. Its Ogham legend has been greatly mutilated, but contains one recognizable formula which serves as a guide to the reading of the south or right hand side, from the top towards the bottom. Whether it terminates there or proceeds in one course up the opposite side is hardly possible to determine. If it proceed in a uniform sequence the remains of the text would be represented thus:—

$\frac{d}{e}$ M A Q O M U C O i N d d a C i S A R E I g q i.

again, using minuscules for obscure and alternative characters, and *Italicised* minuscules for the more doubtful.

"The form assumed by the terminal group renders it improbable that this reading, as regards the right-hand arris, can be the true one. Varying the direction for this side, and reading, as on the south side, in a downward sequence, we obtain what still seems an unlikely combination—

i n g I E R A C i S a l l.

Neither will the case be helped by reading up; unless we do so, as in the case of the Camp inscription, in an inverse order; and here it may be possible that we have the elements of some such name as Lazareni in the amplified form characteristic of the paper as well as lapidary writings of the early centuries of our era—

ll a S ^{ai} C A R E i g n i.

When the Bishop of Limerick pointed out that the Olacon of the Ballinasteenig monument is only the amplified genitive of Olcu, and that Ogham names were formed *from* the ordinary name according to certain rules and methods, he furnished a key to much of the seeming mystery of these legends. Dr. Whitley Stokes went a step further in his publication of the tract called the *Duil Laithne*, showing how the enlargement was effected by the interpolation of extraneous syllables in several classes of words preserved in ancient manuscripts. With these lights one sees at a glance that such names, for example, as Maglocunus and Cunemagulus are the familiar Milcon and Cumael in their syllabic state attire. Cassibelanus and Divitiacus are but Caswallon and plain Duftac puffed out by a like process. Even down to the time of Beda, we find something of the same character:—as Ceollach, for Cellagh, (3-21,) and Meilochon, for Mailcuin, (3-4.) Similarly, we find the known name Lamidan, in the genitive, Lamidagni, lying hid under the magnified disguise of Lamitaidagni, in the Kilbonane legend; and may be pretty confident that some such name as Nireman is concealed under the associated Niremnaqagni of the same inscription; but why the process should have been effected in the one case by inserting *tai*, and in the other by inserting *naq*, has not yet appeared, any more than why, in the *Duil Laithne*, the same sort of disguises should be produced by inserting *ose*, *anc*, *nro*, or *ros*. From what Bishop Graves has intimated, it is possible that he has divined, and may yet inform us of, some rule or principle governing the introduction of these syllabic superfections, and guiding us to their rejection. Judging from the examples of the practice—it was called *Formolad*—published by Stokes, it would appear to have been hardly worthy of being deemed an artifice of grammar, but rather a trick of verbal disguises depending on the caprice of the writer. But there is nothing to limit the period to which it may have reached back; and, certainly, considering the extraordinary forms in which some of the Gaulish names have been handed down to us, there is room for reasonable question whether, in seeking to account for them on grammatical principles, a large amount of learning has not been expended *in vacuo*. But it would be presumptuous to speculate on what hereafter may be the judgment of competent philologists on the Vercingetorixes and Conconnetodumnuses of the Commentaries. Suffice it that here, at home, we have syllabic groups as formidable to all appearance, in these Ogham legends, which, disburthened of the stuffing of their *formolads*, become recognisable as known old Irish names, and that, if the known name Lazarenius, in its genitive case, have, in this particular instance, been swelled into these seeming traces of Llasaicareigni, there would be nothing out of analogy with other examples, in that reading.

But the traces of the obscure letters are extremely faint, and any reading of this side of the Gowran legend must belong rather to conjecture than assurance.

As regards the left side, the long hiatus after Muco has been occasioned by a chipping of the edge, done apparently with the object of obliterating the characters. The arris is not chipped away continuously, as would have been done to fit the block for bedding in a course of masonry, but is broken off in separate indentations, as if with the design of striking away particular characters. Still, enough of the ordinary formula 'Maqo Mucoi' remains to assure us that the whole of it was formerly there, and that the reading, from above downward, which yields that sequence of characters is in the right direction. But you will ask, what is this common formula 'Maqo' or 'Maqi Mucoi,' and what does it mean? Here, I avow myself unable to do more than set before you what I know bearing, or seeming to bear, on the subject, leaving conclusions open as I find them. This formula 'Maqi Mucoi,' then, is almost as ubiquitous as 'Maqi' itself; and, first, in reference to 'Maqi' it may be observed that it occupies a place of such extraordinary prominence in these legends, is so often duplicated, and occurs in contexts of such a nature as to make it extremely difficult to regard it as a mere predicate of a subject-name in an ordinary pedigree. I, just now, in illustration of the name Tuictheg, referred to the name Togittac in the Cahernagat inscription—

Togittacc Maqi Sagarettos.

If we consider this in what seems its equivalent Latin form—

Togitacus Filii Sacerdos,

the possible meaning of 'Maqi,' in some at least of these contexts, may be better understood. 'Mucoi,' however, is generally found in what seems a genitive form, so that whether it is predicated of 'Maqi,' or 'Maqi' of it, cannot be determined by any test of grammar. Hitherto, it has always been received as the predicate, whatever its meaning may be. At first it was thought to be a tribe-name; but the formula was found to be too widely extended for any name of a family. Afterwards it was taken to be a designation of the *status* of the person named in the paronymic, as A son of the Swineherd B. But the difficulty of supposing all the persons whose callings were worth notice, to have been swineherds, and the constantly widening area over which the formula is found to extend, have led to the rejection of that construction, and the substitution for it of another, A son of the Rich-in-swine B, which, however, seems open to the same objection. A witer in the 'Cork Examiner,' at an early stage of the inquiry, suggested that 'Mucoi' was equivalent to the Irish for 'holy'; which, if well grounded, would be an acceptable solution of the difficulty; but his Irish does not meet the acceptance of Celtic scholars; and, indeed, in one instance at the old church of Seskinan, in Waterford, the formula, whatever it may signify, appears—I speak on the authority of Mr. Brash, who has examined it attentively—in the uninflected form 'Maqi Muc,' which can hardly be rendered otherwise than 'Filii Porcus,' and cannot be reconciled with any form of the suggested Irish, which only resembles the word in its inflected aspects. Obviously, the true meaning remains to be discovered; and, in aid of further investigation, I shall set down three matters deserving attention. First, when the boundary of the lands of Kirkness and Lochore, in Fife, was in dispute between Robert Burgoyne and the Celedai of Lochleven, one of the arbiters was Dufgal 'filius

Mocche, a description which seems to savour rather of an order than of a family affiliation;¹ and here I would observe that, if 'Maqi Moccoi' and 'Maqi Decedda' be anything in the nature of tribe-names, the tribes must be considered rather as families in religion than as lay relations; for no other kind of family could send its members so widely over both islands. Leaving Dufgal 'Maqi Mocche' for such consideration as he may be deemed worthy of, I shall next notice, more in detail, a matter which I ventured to glance at in a communication on this subject, read some time ago, at the Royal Irish Academy. The accomplished French inscriptionist, Edmond Le Blant, in the '*Revue Archæologique*' (N. S. x., p. 5), in a valuable paper, entitled *Sur quelques noms bizarres adoptés par les premiers Chrétiens*, has shown that, prior to the eighth century, pious—perhaps it would be better to say, fanatic—Christians were in the habit of assuming names of self-reproach and humiliation, such as, from amongst his examples:—

Contumeliosus,
Injuriusus,
Importunus,
Malus,
Exitiosus,
Calumniosus,
Insapientia,

Fœdulus,
Maliciosus,
Molesta,
Pecus,
Fimus,
Stercus,
Stercoreus.

"In respect of the two last names, Le Blandt's statement that they were names of reproach has, strangely enough, been called in question; but a reference to Du Cange, under 'Concagatum,' will, I think, dispel any doubt on that subject. We find, in some of the Ogham texts, already decyphered, what seem to be indications of a practice of the same nature among those, whoever they were, for whom those memorials were written. 'Malus' has its counterpart in 'Corb' (Seskinan) and 'Olcan' (Glanavullin); Fœdulus is repeated in 'Turpill' (Crickhowell); 'Insapientia' seems to be reflected in 'Amadu' (Ardmore); and the latter designations appear to have their counterpart in 'Caqosus' (Ballintaggart). To these I might add the recently observed legend at Donard, in Wicklow, which, if read retroversely, yields 'Iniqui.' If these be real, and not merely seeming agreements, it might not unnaturally be expected that 'Pecus' also should have its representatives: and that names of vilification were in fact known to Irish Antiquaries to be concealed under Ogham texts—a fact strongly attesting the reality of the resemblances which I have noticed—appears from the following, which I submit as an important statement of Mac Curtin. In his treatise on Ogham writing, he says: 'It was penal for any but those that were sworn Antiquaries to study or read the same. For in these characters those sworn Antiquaries wrote all the evil actions and other vicious practices of their Monarchs and other great Personages, both male and female, that it might not be known to any but themselves, and their successors, being sworn Antiquaries as aforesaid.' I do not know Mac Curtin's authority for this statement; but the statement itself is not

¹ Reeves' Culdees, App. 130. "Transactions" Royal Irish Academy.

² Irish Gram., c. 14, appended to "Dictionary," p. 714.

one which any person would be likely to invent, neither was Mac Curtin a man to whom dishonesty of this kind could justly be imputed. One cannot look at the careful obliteration of many such legends without a suspicion that some of the names removed have been of this class, and belonged to the period when these excesses of ascetic zeal were present in the neighbouring churches of Western Europe. The terms which, in such a point of view, would answer to 'pecus' are Muc (porcus), Rette (Caper), and, I imagine, Birrotais, (Sus parturiens, San. Corm.); but it is difficult to conceive that one aiming at self-abasement would impute the reproach to the parent, or that 'Maqi' in such cases could be regarded as governing the associated genitive. And this seems the proper point for introducing, *valeat quantum*, the opinion of Algernon Herbert as to the meaning of the *Hoianau*, or verses beginning 'Listen, little Pig,' and other porcellan allusions in old Welsh mystical poetry. I know the great danger one risks in trusting to any conclusions of this most learned but visionary writer. He conceived, as you are aware, that after the departure of the Romans from Britain, a form of what he call Neo-Druidism developed itself in the early Christian Church of these islands. With what arguments he has sustained his views may be seen by consulting his 'Britannia after the Romans,' his 'Neo-Druidic Heresy' and 'Cyclops Christianus,' all very vague, mystical, and unsatisfying efforts of what one must admit, all the while, to be a very acute mind stored with remarkable rarities of learning. What he says,¹ then, respecting the members of his supposed corrupt British Church of the fourth century, is this:—'In the language of the Neo-Druidic heresy, its members were swine, and the inferior members little pigs. It is a symbol or metaphor entirely peculiar to the defection from the true faith wrought in this island, and spread in Ireland.' His fuller exposition will be found in his 'Neo-Druidic Heresy,' at pages 118–124. He there insists that traces of this peculiarity existed in the Bardic schools of Wales down to the eleventh century, instancing the title '*Prydydd y Moch*,' or *Poet of the Pigs*, given to Lywarch ap Llwllyn, a bard of that period. This may, or may not be, illusory. But if the whole fabric be not a baseless vision, we should conclude that 'Filii Porcus' would be more consonant to reason than 'Filius Porci.' We have had an instance of what seems to all reasonable apprehension to be 'Filii Sacerdos.' If it should appear on further search that other orders, degrees, or offices of an early Christianity are expressed in these legends, and that not in dependence on, but governing the associated 'Maqi,' it would go far to account for this wide spread formula, on grounds not repugnant to the philosophy of language or of history. The degree of Presbyter is actually recorded on one of these monuments, that of Sacerdos on another, that of Chore-bishop, to all appearance, on a third; the designation of Pilgrim, probably, on a fourth; the grade of Sapiens on a fifth; and the relation of *Cele* on a sixth. The wide-spread 'Decedda,' bears a remarkable likeness to *Dean* in its original form of a president of ten. Should further inquiry add substantially to these evidences, the general conclusion could hardly be avoided, that Ogham-inscribed stones are, in the main, Christian monuments. But it does not appear to be necessary to believe with Mr. Herbert, even though we accepted 'Maqi Mucoi' as equivalent

¹ "Brit. after the Romans," p. 108.

to 'Christi de grege porcus,' either that there had been any defection from the true faith in the Christianity with which we should believe the formula to be associated, or that it was of a date in any way dependent on the departure of the Romans from Britain.

"It would be difficult to conceive of an inquiry more attractive to the historical and philosophic student, than would be opened up by finding authentic remains of those 'Scoti in Christo credentes' for whose government—possibly for whose correction—Palladius was sent hither in A.D. 429. Yet it is within the bounds of a reasonable probability that among some of these Ogham legends we may find material for that investigation. Consider, in this connection, the existence of those populations called *Cagots* and *Caqueux*, in France, and *Marrans*, or swine, in the adjoining districts of Spain, who used to enter church by a separate door, and sit apart at worship, and whose burying grounds, like the Ogham-bearing *Killeens* of Ireland, were regarded as unfit for the reception of the general dead; and compare the supposed reason for their isolation, (that they formerly were lepers,) with the possible solution in old ecclesiastical antipathies, suggested as well by what has been said above as by the fact of their being designated contumeliously by the derisive name of *Chrestiaas*. ('Hist. des Races Maudits de la France et de l'Espagne,' per Francisque-Michel, Paris, Franck. 1847.)

"Certainly no one can overlook the essential difference between the *oroit ar*, and *oroit do* of the Irish conventional Christian inscriptions of the seventh and succeeding centuries, and the simple patronymical record of the Ogham formula—A son of B, without admitting a presumption that they belong, if not to different developments, at least to different periods of Christianity in Ireland.

"Reverting to the word 'Mucoi,' it is rarely found unaccompanied by a preceding 'Maqi.' One example of its exceptional use, so far as the position of the stone bearing the inscription enables me to judge, is in that legend at the old Church of Claragh, of your own discovery—

Tasegagni Mucoi Maqr [ette?].

"It is much to be desired that this stone should be taken out of the gable of the church in which it is now imbedded too deeply to admit of its characters being farther traced or reproduced in a paper-cast. It might, if not inscribed on the back, be replaced with such a projection from the face of the wall as would expose all its Ogham-bearing arrises.

"Respecting the wide extension of the formula 'Maqi Mucoi,' Mr. Brash has recently, in correcting an erroneous reading of my own, recognized it for the first time in Britain, on the Ogham legend at Bridell, in Pembrokeshire. Had its presence on that monument been known to Mr. Herbert, it would have been a substantial addition to his proofs.

"I cannot conclude without expressing my admiration for the zeal which has assembled so many objects of high archæological interest in your Museum, and secured for those objects means of exhibition so commodious and even elegant. To have achieved these ends in a provincial city of Ireland bespeaks eminent ability, and a noble ardour in the pursuit of knowledge. Kilkenny has now been made as distinguished a centre of solid and manly learning, as it used to be of bright and genial social in-

fluences. With cordial good wishes for your continued success in cherishing the lamp of letters, I am,

“ Dear Sir, your obliged and faithful Servant,

“ SAMUEL FERGUSON.

“ JOHN G. A. PRIM, Esq.

“ *Kilkenny.*

“ POSTSCRIPT.—Just as this letter is about being signed for the press, the Bishop of Limerick makes me the medium of communicating to the Academy an Ogham inscription of singularly Christian purport, now (I believe) in the garden of the Christian Brothers at Caherciveen; and grounds upon it not only a particular (and, as it seems to me, an unanswerable) argument for its comparatively modern date, but also certain generalizations contributory of at least two new elements to the Ogham Glossary. Bishop Graves, when acquainted with but three examples of the initial formula *Anm*, twenty years ago equated it with *Anima*: and now, having ten examples to support his conclusion, declares himself convinced that such is the proper reading. He adds, what falls in very acceptably with the examples of humiliatory formulas above given, the expression *Atmagi* in *pejori sensu*.

S. F.

“ *Dublin, 11th November, 1872.*”

THE DUNBEL OGHAM INSCRIPTIONS.

BY RICHARD ROLT BRASH, ARCHT., M. R. I. A.

THE Museum of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland possesses a small collection of Ogham Inscribed Stones, to which I would desire to direct the attention of its Fellows and Members. The most important of these are the monuments found at Dunbel Rath, Co. Kilkenny. A minutely detailed account of their discovery has been published in our “Journal,” second series, Vol. III., pp. 402–7. This account is accompanied by accurate illustrations of the Stones (which are reproduced at my request to illustrate this paper); but no attempt has hitherto been made, as far as I am aware of, to render the legends inscribed on them. This has very probably arisen from the great injury they have sustained, particularly on the angles bearing the inscriptions, and I confess, the first glance I gave them made me rather hopeless of a successful result, but remembering that patient examination had

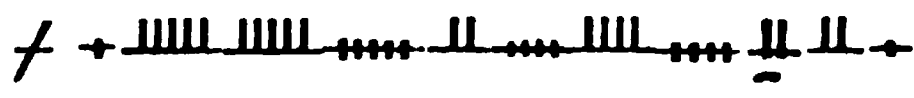
enabled me to decypher other inscriptions fully as unpromising in appearance, I determined to give the Dunbel monuments a thorough and searching scrutiny ; the result, I am happy to say, fully satisfied me.

No. 1. This monolith is at present six feet two inches in length, and thirteen inches by eleven inches at the centre ; it is of hard compact grit, consequently the characters are in good preservation, excepting those injured by violence. The legend commences at one foot nine inches from the bottom of the stone, and ends within four inches of the top ; the characters were boldly cut, the scores broad and deep ; the angle is much damaged, pieces being knocked off in several places, taking with them many of the scores, yet leaving sufficient to determine the words and letters of which they formed portions, thereby enabling the investigator to substantially restore the entire inscription, which at present stands as follows :—

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|-----|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----|----|----|-----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 | 21 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| B | R | A | N | (I) | T | T | O | S | M | A | Q | I | D | E | C | Q | (E) | D | D | (A) |

The first four characters are quite legible, we have then a piece broken off the angle four and a half inches in length ; the character contained on this portion of the stone must have been a vowel, as the consonants being long scores would have left some traces either above or below the damaged part ; the vowel must have been then either an E or an I, more probably the latter, as the space is abundantly sufficient, and it would be more in accordance with the orthography of the name, than an E ; we have then TT, the lower parts of the scores being slightly shortened by the injury above alluded to ; we have then one vowel score with ample space for another where the angle is abraded ; this and the following letter s forms the genitive termination of the name, and which may be AS or OS ; both have been found in several Ogham inscriptions. I incline to the latter form in this instance, from the appearance of the stone where it occurs. Characters nine and ten are legible ; number eleven is faint, but

of D. The name is of a sufficiently Irish type, the word Bran being common as a proper name, and as a prefix to proper common names. Thus we find in the pre-historic age Bran, the son Lyr, fabled to have been the founder of the Cornish Kingdom. Bran, son of Conall, died A. D. 687 ; Bran, son of Muiredach, A. D. 777 ; Bran, son of Scanlan, A. D. 855 ; Brandubh, son of Eochaidh, A. D. 586. Braubeg, Branfin, Branlan, Branchu, Branan, Branagan, all early historic names (see "Annals Four Masters"). os is a genitive termination, found on several of these monuments, and indicates their extreme antiquity and original source, as it is an old Gaulish form, and has been found in many existing inscriptions of that ancient people, in such forms as, Biracos, Bolgios, Doiros, Genos, Tatinos, Ulatos, &c. The patronymic Deccedd will be immediately recognised by Ogham students ; the name is perfect, with the exception of one E, which has been lost by injury, as before remarked ; instead of a double c, we have c and q ; the latter letter is constantly used for the former in these inscriptions, as their sounds are nearly identical. This name has been found in several Ogham legends. Some years since, the late Mr. Richard Hitchcock discovered an Ogham inscribed stone forming the lintel over the doorway of a curious "clochan" or stone-roofed cell, which stood within an almost erased rath on the townland of Gortnagullanagh, parish of Minard, in the County of Kerry. This monument was removed, and presented by Mr. Hitchcock to the Royal Irish Academy, in whose Museum it now is. It has two of its angles inscribed with Ogham characters, each recording the memory of an individual, and in the same formula. That on the left-hand angle reads as follows :—


 M A Q Q I D E C E D D A


In several instances the word MAQI, the genitive case of Mac, a son, is spelled with two qs, as in the above.

Again, in that remarkable group of seven inscribed stones discovered by Mr. Pelham on the sepulchral mound of Ballintaggart, within a few miles of the former locality,

and within a quarter of a mile of the strand of Dingle, we find one which bears the following formula :—


 M A Q I D E C C E D A

Moving from the extreme south-west to the midland eastern counties, we find two other monuments bearing this identical name, this one at Dunbel, and one discovered by the Rev. John Shearman in 1860 at Cilleen-Cormac, on the borders of the counties of Kildare and Wicklow. The Cilleen, as its name imports, is an ancient burial ground of a very remote antiquity, in the form of a low tumulus ; at the base of this monument Mr. Shearman found three pillar stones, two of them inscribed with Ogham characters, one of which bore the following formula :—


 M A Q I D D E C C E D A

This is the ancient form of the name of the Clanna Degaid or Degadi, a tribe who it is stated were originally located about Lough Erne, from whence they were called Ernains, and who were forced to abandon their patrimony by the descendants of Rury, the son of Ir. Under the leadership of Deag, the son of Sen, they migrated southwards, and were kindly received by the then reigning King of Munster, Duach, who allotted them a territory in the County of Kerry ; they subsequently became a numerous and powerful tribe, and usually composed the flower of the Munster armies in war, being named the Clanna Degaid, from their ancestor Deag, who led them into Munster.

This is the bardic story of this tribe ; the migration from Lough Erne I have strong doubts of, for a variety of reasons too numerous to discuss here. The Degadi I believe to have been a numerous and powerful clan, descended from one of the leaders or chiefs of the Gaedhelic or Milesian invasion, whose first landing was in West Munster, and who, in the course of centuries, multiplied and spread themselves along the southern districts of our island, penetrating to the midland counties, and ultimately becoming the dominant race all over the island. It is curious how

we can trace this tribe by their Ogham inscribed sepulchral pillars, from the strands of Dingle to the inland County of Kilkenny, and from thence to Kildare. Stranger still, they must have formed a part of the Gaedhelic invasion, who, before the Christian era, crossed over to the Isle of Anglesea, and who subdued and ruled that Island and North Wales for a long period, and who subsequently were subdued or expelled by the Welsh under Caswallon-Law-Hir, who killed their King, Serigi Wyddell, in a battle fought at Carrig-y-Gwyddell, near Holyhead, as is stated in the Welsh Triads. Cymric authorities give the duration of the Gaedhelian occupation as twenty-nine and a hundred and twenty-nine years, which of course stands for an indefinite period. The grave-stone of a descendant of one of these invaders is still to be seen in the church-yard of Penrhos Lugwy, in Anglesea; it is inscribed in debased Roman letters, and is in mixed Roman and Irish forms:—

HIC JACIT MACCV DECCETI.

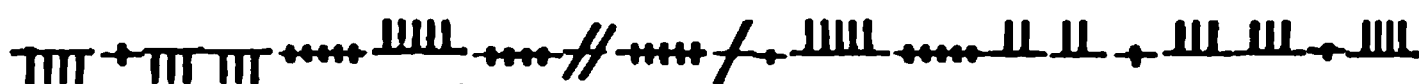
We have here precisely the same formula as in the previous examples, in which the individual is indicated by the patronymic, being simply named "The son of Decced." It will be remembered that in Irish the letters T and D are commutable. It is observable that the orthography of the name at Penrhos Lugwy is identical with that on the stone at Ballintaggart.

No. 2. This stone is in length five feet three and a-half inches, and, at present, twelve by six and a-half inches at the centre; it is broken across nearly in the middle, and the entire much injured; it is of the same material as the former, the legend appears to have been boldly cut, and is as follows:—

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| S | A | F | F | I | Q | E | G | I | M | (A) | Q | I | D | D | A | T | T | A | C |

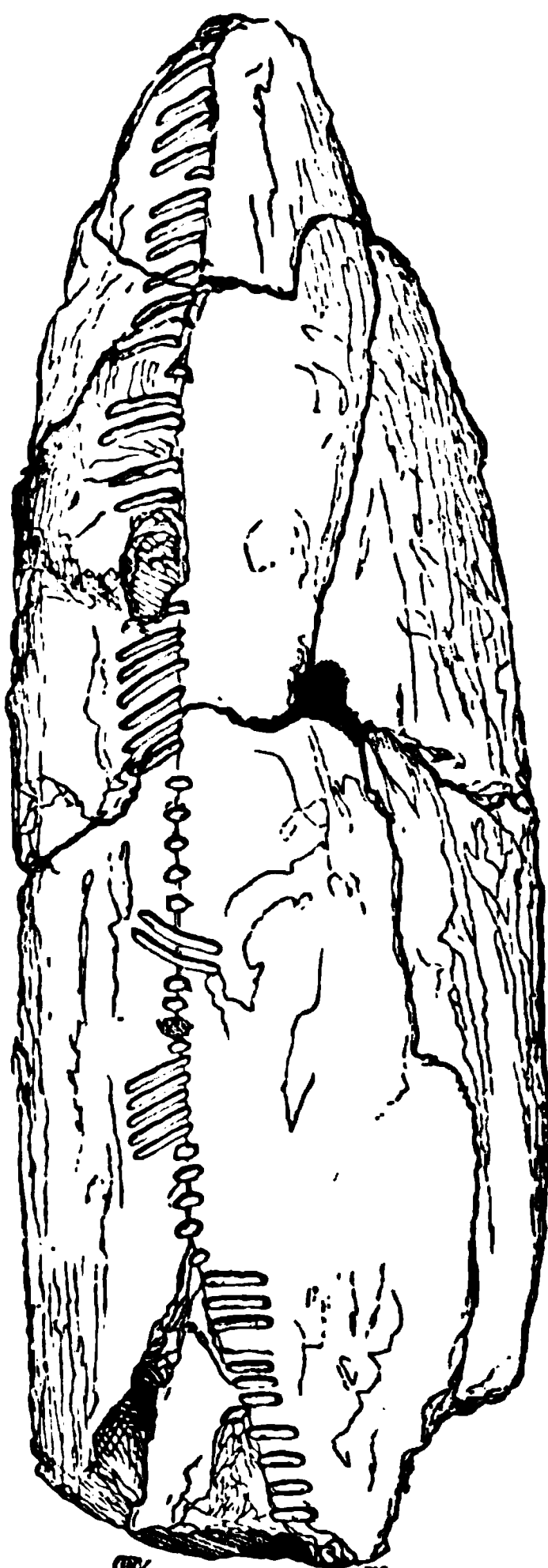
The first six letters are quite legible, one of the vowel dots of number seven is abraded; eight, nine, and ten are perfect; number eleven—this vowel has been lost, as the stone is here cracked across; twelve is perfect; thirteen has but one vowel-dot remaining, the rest lost by a piece knocked

off the angle, the space, five inches, leaving ample room for the usual i. The rest of the characters are perfect, excepting the centre score of seventeen, which has been nearly defaced by a crack across the entire stone; all the uninjured characters are broadly and deeply cut. Restoring the damaged scores, the legend will stand as follows:—



 S A F F I Q E G I M A Q I D D A T T A C

SAFFI QEGI MAQUI DDATTAC.



Dunbel Ogham, No. 2.

The name of the individual commemorated appears to be Cueg, with the prefix Saffi. On one of the Cilleen Cormac stones we find Sah, which the Rev. J. Shearman, in his communication to the "Ecclesiastical Record" for June, 1868, renders "Saei" a wise man, a brehon, a sage : on the stone from Burnfort, county Cork, we find the form "Sagi," which the late Mr. John Windele rendered priest. The name Cueg is of a purely Gaedhelic type ; names with the prefix Cu are common from the earliest age, as Cuchullin, Cuan, Cucaill, Cubretan, Cudullig. This name is still preserved in the forms of Mac Quig, Mac Keag, and Quigly.

The patronymic reads Ddattac ; the doubling of consonants in the names found on Ogham monuments is a curious feature, which I would commend to the attention of Celtic philologists ; thus, on one given in this paper, we have Ddecceda ; on a stone in the Royal Cork Institution Ccarrtacc ; on a stone at Kilgobinet, Gonnggu ; on one from Tinnahally, Furuddrann. This name is of the same type as Dathi, A.D. 438, Dalaise, 638 ; Dalach, 860 ; Dachu, 650 ; Dariet, 948 ("Ann. Four Masters").

It is a hopeless task to attempt to identify any of the proper names found on the Dunbel stones, or indeed, on any other monument of this class ; they belong to an age far beyond authentic history ; and if we remember that this must have been the common form of the sepulchral memorials of an ancient race, and that the names inscribed on them were the common family names borne by thousands of individuals, generation after generation, the hopelessness of attempting to identify them with kings, or saints, or bishops of a known historic age, is perfectly apparent. Too much sentimentality has been imported into the study of this subject, which requires a grave, thoughtful, and purely critical mode of investigation, and if pursued in this spirit, I have every hope that it will be the means of throwing considerable light upon an obscure, but important, era of our national history. In concluding this paper, I cannot help remarking upon the zeal and energy displayed by Messrs. Graves and Prim in rescuing these venerable memorials from an impending destruction, and in putting together their shattered fragments in such

a manner as to have preserved the principal portions of these valuable inscriptions. (See "Journal" of the Kilk. and South-East of Ireland Arch. Soc., second series, Vol. III., p. 402.)

THE JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL
ASSOCIATION OF IRELAND:

ORIGINALLY FOUNDED AS

The Kilkenny Archæological Society,

IN THE YEAR

M.DCCC.XLIX.

TWENTY-FIFTH SESSION,

1873.

If any there be which are desirous to be strangers in their owne soile, and forrainers in their owne Citie, they may so continue, and therein flatter themselves. For such like I have not written these lines, nor taken these paines.—CAMDEN.

VOL. II.—PART II.

FOURTH SERIES.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,

FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

1873.

The Committee wish it to be distinctly understood, that they do not hold themselves responsible for the statements and opinions contained in the Papers read at the Meetings of the Association, and here printed, except so far as the 9th and 10th Amended General Rules extend.

THE JOURNAL
OF
THE ROYAL
HISTORICAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
OF IRELAND,
FOR THE YEAR 1873.

AT the ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING, held at the apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, January the 15th (by adjournment from the 1st), 1873 :

The WORSHIPFUL the MAYOR OF KILKENNY in the Chair ;

The Report of the Committee for the year 1872 was read by the Honorary Secretary, as follows :—

“The year, which has passed over the Association since your Committee delivered their last Annual Report, has been one of fair average progress.

“The Fellows elected during the past year are as follows :—

“The Most Honorable the Marquis of Hartington, Chief Secretary for Ireland ; the Right Hon. the Earl of Desart ; The O'Donovan ; John Evans, F. R. S., F. S. A., &c. ; O'Connell Hackett ; Stuart Knill ; and the Rev. Hugh Prichard.

“The following, already Members of the Association, have taken out their Fellowships under the Queen's Letter :—

“The Very Rev. F. M. Watson, Dean of Leighlin ; J. Cassimer O'Meagher ; Barry Delany, M. D. ; and Robert Romney Kane.

“Seven Fellows and thirty-nine Members have been elected during the year, and the number now on the Roll amounts to seven hundred and three, thus recovering the decrease of last year, and showing a clear gain of eleven over 1870, allowance being made for resignations, deaths, and names removed for non-payment of arrears. The last class have the option of

regaining the privilege of Membership on payment of the arrears due by them, and it is to be hoped that they will, at all events, pay for the 'Journal,' which has been supplied to them. Their names, and the amounts due, will be found in the following list :—

| | | | £ | s. | d. |
|--------------------------|-----------|-----|---|----|----|
| Joseph Bell, | (1870-72) | ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Charles Coates, | do. | ... | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| M. J. Creane, | do. | ... | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| T. N. Deane, | do. | ... | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| D. O'Callaghan Fisher, | do. | ... | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| M. Fitzgerald, | do. | ... | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| J. W. Harris, | do. | ... | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| Maurice F. Kelly, | do. | ... | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| J. J. Kirby, | do. | ... | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| C. O'Keeffe Lanigan, | do. | ... | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| H. Munster, | do. | ... | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| W. J. O'Donovan, LL. D., | do. | ... | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| J. Petit, | do. | ... | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Rev. J. E. Tommins, | do. | ... | 1 | 10 | 0 |

"Of those returned in arrear in last year's Report, Henry James has paid up, and retired from the Association.

"Two of the original or Founding Fellows, viz.—Rev. Michael Birch, P. P., and John Walsh, J. P., have been removed by death; and one elected Fellow, namely, Richard J. Whitty, has resigned.

"The subscribers to the Annual Volume now number two hundred and seventy-four, and five volumes have been issued, viz., for the years 1868, 1869, 1870, 1871, and 1872, whilst that for 1873 is ready for press.

"The appeal recommended in the Report of last year for aid to place the Museum and Library of the Association on a permanent and efficient footing, has been issued, and it is to be hoped, for the credit of the county and city of Kilkenny, that it will be favourably responded to.

"Considerable progress has been made in the repairs at St. Francis' Abbey, Kilkenny, under the zealous and efficient direction of Mr. Middleton. The haunches of the tower have been effectually and permanently secured with hammered stone and made water-tight; and a small additional sum would now suffice to place the entire of this beautiful example of Gothic architecture in a very satisfactory state. Too much credit cannot be given to our associate, Mr. Middleton, for the care and judgment with which he has carried out the very critical operations needed to save this graceful and beautiful tower from impending ruin.

"The financial condition of the Association continues to prosper. Your Treasurer reports a considerable balance in hands—whilst the commencement of a Reserve Fund has been formed by the investment in the names of your Trustees, of £200 in Government 3 per cent. stock, producing £217 10s. 11d. It is still, however, to be regretted that there should be a considerable number of the Members who allow their subscriptions to fall into arrear, thus inflicting a loss by the expenditure of a large sum of money on circulars and postage instead of on the legitimate objects of the Association; and imposing much needless labour on your Treasurer."

On the motion of James G. Robertson, Architect, seconded by the Rev. R. Deverell, the Report was adopted and ordered to be printed.

The Treasurer having laid before the Meeting the Accounts of the Association for the year 1870, and Mr. J. G. Robertson, and Dr. J. B. Fitzsimons having been elected Auditors, they were requested to audit the same and report to the April Meeting.

On the motion of the Rev. C. A. Vignoles, A. M., seconded by Mr. L. J. Ryan, it was resolved that The O'Connor Don be elected Honorary Provincial Secretary for Connaught, in the room of George H. Kinahan, F.R.G.S.I., resigned; and that the Committee and other officers be re-elected to serve for the year 1873.

The Sub-Committee appointed to consider the best mode of improving the condition of the Museum and Library, reported that an appeal for aid had been issued in the county and city of Kilkenny.

Rev. Mr. Graves said that, it would be too soon yet to judge of the probable result of the appeal to the local public to support their Museum and Library as a separate institution for the general benefit of Kilkenny, but he thought it right to mention that the President, the Very Rev. Dean Vignoles, had authorised him to state that he would subscribe £2 per annum for that purpose.

The following new Fellows were elected :—

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dartrey, Dartrey, Co. Monaghan: proposed by the Right Hon. the Earl of Enniskillen.

Worthington G. Smith, F. L. S., M. A. I., 12, Northgrove, West, Mildmay Park, London; and John S. Phenè, F. S. A., F. G. S., &c., 5, Carlton Terrace, Oakly-street, London: proposed by Rev. James Graves.

The following new Members were elected :—

Sir W. A. Staples, Bart, Lisan, Cookstown: proposed by W. H. Patterson.

The Very Rev. William Hayden, P. P., V. G., St. Patrick's, Kilkenny: proposed by the Mayor.

Philip Raymond, the College, Mitchelstown: proposed by A. Fitzgibbon.

The Rev. Patrick A. York, R. C. C., Kilmead, Fontstown, County Kildare : proposed by the Rev. J. Doyle.

Thomas B. Kymsey, Athy : proposed by the Rev. P. V. Skelly, O. P.

Thomas O'Reilly, Ormonde-road, Kilkenny ; James Kieran, Inland Revenue, Kilkenny ; and Kyran Goss, King-street, Kilkenny : proposed by L. J. Ryan.

Rev. G. G. Ballard, Castlederg, County Tyrone : proposed by the Rev. G. Vance.

Rev. Patrick White, R. C. C., Ennis, County Clare : proposed by the Rev. M. Malone.

Michael O'Sullivan, Inspector of National Schools, Omagh : proposed by Thomas O'Gorman.

Thomas Cather, J. P., M. R. I. A., Newtownlimavady : proposed by T. Watson.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

“Walks through Ireland in the years 1812, 1814, and 1817, described in a Series of Letters to an English Gentleman.” By John Bernard Trotter, Esq., London, 1819 : presented by Captain T. Bigoe Williams.

“Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,” Vol. VIII., Part 2 : presented by the Society.

“The Journal of the British Archæological Association,” for March, June, and September, 1872 : presented by the Association.

“Archæologia Cambrensis,” fourth series, No. 12 : presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

“Collections of the Surrey Archæological Society,” Vol. VI., Part 1 : presented by the Society.

“Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History,” Vol. IV., No. 5 : presented by the Institute.

“Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society,” for the year 1871 : presented by the Society.

“The Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal,” Part 7 : presented by the Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Association.

“The Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History

Magazine," No. 38 : presented by the Wiltshire Archæological Society.

"The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," Vol. II., No. 2 : presented by the Institute.

"The Reliquary," No. 50 : presented by Llewellynn Jewitt, F. S. A.

"Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire," new series, Part 1 : presented by the Society.

"The Annual Report of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society," for 1871-2: presented by the Society.

"Annual Report of the Belfast Naturalists Field Club." for 1871-2 : presented by the Club.

"American Journal of Numismatics, and Bulletin of American Numismatic and Archæological Societies," Vol. VII., No. 3 : presented by the Boston Numismatic Society.

"The Actions of the Enniskillen-men : from their first taking up Arms in 1688, in Defence of the Protestant Religion, their Lives and Families, to the Landing of Duke Schomberg in Ireland. By Andrew Hamilton, Rector of Kilskenry," Reprint, Belfast, 1864 : presented by W. H. Patterson.

"Brief Sketches of the Parishes of Booterstown and Donnybrook in the County of Dublin," Part 3. By the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker : presented by the Author.

"A List of the Popish Parish Priests, as they were registered at a General Sessions of the Peace, held at *Ennis* for the County of *Clare*, the Eleventh day of *July*, 1704, and were since returned up to the *Council-Office* in *Dublin*, pursuant to a clause in the late Act of Parliament, intituled, *An Act for Registering the Popish Clergy*." Original Broadside : presented by Andrew Jervice.

"The Builder," Nos. 1604-1630 : presented by the Publisher.

"The Irish Builder," Nos. 281-294 : presented by the Publisher.

A specimen of the fused substance composing the Vitified Fort of Knock Fanell, Strathfefer, Dingwall, Rosshire : presented by the Hon. L. Agar Ellis, M. P.

A bronze 1lb. weight ; the blade of a knife or skene,

with a very thick back, five inches in length exclusive of the tang ; and a portion of a bronze book-clasp nine inches in length, and ornamented with incised lines and dots : presented by Thomas Stanley, Tullamore.

Numerous specimens of pottery and other antiquities, from various Crannogs in Fermanagh ; the most important amongst them being described in a paper which will be found printed at a subsequent page of the Journal : presented by W. F. Wakeman.

Two reduced photographs of portions of the Bayeux Tapestry : presented by Captain T. Bigoe Williams.

A silver penny of one of the early Edwards, found near Cashel : presented by the Hon. Martin J. Ffrench.

On the part of Dr. O'Meara, of Carlow, Mr. R. Malcolmson, Fellow of the Association, exhibited a very graceful fictile vessel of baked clay, curiously ornamented with incised markings. It was 4 inches in height, the widest diameter being that of the rim round the mouth, which was 5 inches ; the least diameter at the bottom, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It had been found by a farmer named Nolan, residing at Killerrig, County Carlow, in lowering a passage from his yard to his haggard. He met with a small boulder, on raising which he found it had formed the covering of a little kist constructed of granite stones, just sufficient in size to contain the urn. Nothing had been found in the vessel but something which he considered to be fine sea-sand. On subsequent inquiry, it was stated that the powder found in the urn resembled ashes, and that a quantity of similar powder, with a small piece of bone amongst it, was found in the kist beside the urn. Two similar urns were found in the same locality, also in kists, but were completely destroyed by the persons who discovered them.

Mr. Graves pointed out that this urn was unlike those in their Museum in which burned bones had been found, inasmuch as it was formed with a raised rim round the bottom similar to the fashion common in the manufacture of the cups and bowls in present use, and it appeared to belong to the class which the English Archæologists now designated "food vessels," they being frequently found in kists along with larger urns containing burned bones ; and the supposition was that food was placed in them by the pagan

aborigines of these countries for the use of the spirit of the departed, whose burned remains filled the larger vessels, or were deposited around them in the kists.

Mr. Malcomson kindly undertook to have a photograph taken of the urn, with Dr. O'Meara's permission, for illustration in the Association's Journal.

Mr. Malcomson also exhibited two miniatures in water colours, one purporting to represent "John Digby," and stated on the back to be painted by Bishop Digby; the other apparently of the Duke of Marlborough, not endorsed, but obviously from the same pencil. The Right Rev. Simon Digby was Bishop of Elphin, and died in 1720, a contemporary authority states his talent for taking likenesses in water colours to have served highly to recommend him for the episcopal appointment.¹

Mr. Prim stated that he had been entrusted by Mr. G. W. Kinchela, City Treasurer, with a number of interesting objects to bring before the Meeting. He would give the first place to a few relics of the old Kilkenny Volunteer corps. There was a uniform coat of the Kilkenny Legion, of which corps an uncle of Mr. Kinchela was the Adjutant; and also a muster-roll, on parchment, of the second company of that corps, dated 1802. The Captain of the Company, was the then Sir John Blunden, Bart., and the other officers, Lieutenants Edmonds and Kinchela. The Sergeants were, Nathaniel Shannon and Basil Gray—they had already in the Museum, the Legion uniform coat of Sergeant Gray. A second uniform coat, amongst the objects now sent by Mr. Kinchela, was of the "Kilkenny Cavalry," another Volunteer corps of the same period. Its colour was blue, with white braiding and silver chain shoulder straps. The Legion coat was scarlet with yellow facings. A still more interesting relic was a silver breastplate of the "Kilkenny Horse," the mounted contingent of the Kilkenny portion of the '82 Volunteers. But the Light Horse of Kilkenny was the first of the Irish Volunteer corps of

¹ "He was a gentleman of the Bristol family, and his father was Bishop of Down here. He was a great master of painting in little water-colours, and by that greatly recommended himself to men

in power, and ladies, and so was early made a Bishop." From letter of Bishop Downes to Archbishop Wake, dated Dublin, April 12, 1720. Bishop Digby died in 1720.

that time which had been formed, the original object of its embodiment being to aid in putting down the Whiteboys ; and in consequence of its precedence in point of time, at the great Volunteer Review in 1782, held by Lord Charlemont, the place of honour on the right of the line was given to this Kilkenny corps. On the breastplate was engraved the figure of a member of the corps, mounted on his charger, and fully armed and caparisoned. He wears a kind of helmet-shaped cap, with a plume, and brandishes his sabre in his right hand, whilst holding the horse's reins with the left. Above, on a scroll, are the words " Kilkenny Horse," and beneath, the date, 1779. There was also a sword of one of the troopers of the Kilkenny Cavalry, a good, serviceable weapon with steel scabbard ; and portions of the silver mounting of a carabine, which also formed part of the equipment of that corps. The two uniform coats and the sabre belonged to Mr. Kinchela's father, the late Mr. Lewis Chapelier Kinchela ; the breastplate of the older Volunteer corps to his grandfather, the late Mr. John Kinchela. It was to be hoped that any other local gentlemen who might have in their possession similar relics of the old Volunteer corps of the County or City of Kilkenny, would kindly bring them before the Society.

Mr. Kinchela had also sent for exhibition a copy of " The General Directory of the Kingdom of Ireland or Merchants and Traders' most useful Companion," printed in Dublin, by B. Dugdale, No. 150, Capel-street, A. D., 1788. It supplies lists of the inhabitants, with the various trades and callings of twenty-six cities and towns, and amongst them those of Kilkenny. In this city it appears there were then 230 persons in trade ; but the matter of the greatest interest which it tended to illustrate was the state of manufacturing industry which Kilkenny then exhibited. There were twenty-four broad-blanket manufacturers ; seven tanners, eight brewers, three distillers, and five starch manufacturers ; a malster, a stuff manufacturer, a stocking manufacturer, a paper maker, a marble manufacturer. There were twenty-four grocers, chandlers, and tobacconists, fifteen linen and woollen drapers, and the other trades in proportion. As regarded the professions, there were three Barristers-at-Law, seven physicians and surgeons, one surgeon

alone, and one surgeon and apothecary; four apothecaries; eight attorneys, one architect. There were three schoolmasters, one land surveyor, one notary public, and one nursery and seedsman.

Amongst the other objects sent by Mr. Kinchella, were a stone celt, found by his father in 1818, with human bones, and said to have been embedded in the skull, several feet below the surface of his land at Greenville, near Kilkenny; and a bronze celt found on the banks of Lough Neagh.

Mr. Patrick Watters, Town-clerk of Kilkenny, exhibited a large number of ancient deeds and charters from the muniments of the Corporation of Kilkenny, which will be given in full in the Journal of the Association. The documents were productive of great interest to the Members present.

The Rev. S. C. Harpur communicated the existence of a silver chalice belonging to the Parish church of Aghaboe, Queen's County, with the following inscription :—

✠ *Ex dono Vrsulæ Carpenter Viduæ Jehosahuhæ Carpenter nuper de Siginstoun in Com: Kildare armi: Ecclesiæ parochiali de Aghaboe 14, Maij 1663. (Daniele Nilon Sa: The: Doctore Rectore.)*

The Rev. J. S. Cooper wished to place on record a custom connected with funerals which prevails in certain parts of the county of Wexford. It was usual to hang on old trees near churchyards, and at cross roads, wooden crosses formed by nailing together the corner pieces cut off the top and bottom of coffins in the making. On the road at "The Pig's Elbow," near Kilmore, there is an old tree full of them; and in the Barony of Forth, trees abound at cross roads laden with them—those near the ground rotting with age.

James G. Robertson, Architect, sent the following notes on the Gores of Barrowmount :—

"Now that the beautifully situated residence of Barrowmount has been restored, previous to its being again inhabited, I would wish to direct attention to a former resident proprietor of it, with the hope that some of our Members will be able to state how it was that a Hertfordshire Squire became the owner of Barrowmount. I allude to Ralph Gore, who is commemorated in the epitaph in the ancient Church of Powerstown :—

HERE LYES Y^E BODY OF RALPH
GORE ESQ^R. LATE OF BARROWMOUNT,
IN Y^R COUNTY OF KILKENNY,
SON OF S^R JOHN GORE, OF SECUM,
IN HERTFORDSHIRE, KNIGHT,
WHO DEPARTED Y^S LIFE Y^R 12
DAY OF DECEMBER, 1721.
AGED 68 YEARS.

“On the tomb is an escutcheon charged with the arms of Gore—a *fees between three cross crosslets fitchés*. Another Ralph Gore, probably the grandson of the above, presented a Communion-table to this Church. It is formed of a slab of black polished marble, 5 feet 6 inches long, by 2 feet 4 inches wide, and 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick, resting upon a frame and legs of wood. On the edge of the slab the following inscription is cut:—

“THE GIFT OF RALPH GORE, ESQ., TO THE CHURCH OF POWERSTOWN, 1766.

“This would appear to be the same Ralph Gore, during whose Mayoralty the Corporation of Kilkenny presented the richly carved organ to the Church of St. Mary's, which bears the following inscription, in gilt letters—

“THE GIFT OF
THE CORPORATION.

RALPH GORE, ESQ^R.
MAYOR, 1774.

“The Corporation were also benefactors to this Church and City by other gifts during his Mayoralty, as commemorated in an inscription on a stone tablet, fixed in the wall of the Churchyard:—

“THIS STEEPLE REPAIRD;
THE ORGAN ERRECTED:
THE FIRE ENGINE PURCHASD;
ALL AT THE EXPENCE
OF THE CORPORATION OF THIS CITY,
1774.

RALPH GORE, ESQ^R.
MAYOR.

“The steeple alluded to was the ancient tower of St. Mary's Church, which was removed about the year 1822, when the present tower and spire were built by Mr. John Robinson, Builder, of Waterford.

“Another of the Gore family was a distinguished soldier, to whose memory a monument is to be found in the Church of Goresbridge.

“I have said that Powerstown Church is ‘ancient.’ I believe it to be very ancient, but this fact does not readily appear, as the old masonry is concealed by many a coat of dashing; however, in one or two places it does make its appearance. Although the mullions and jambs of door and windows are all gone, the thick walls speak for themselves, and then, on entering the Church, we find the basin of a splendid early English font, and wonder that it never occurred to any of the Incumbents of Powerstown to get it restored and set up in a wide, unoccupied space, so well adapted for it, near the door. The font is fluted and closely resembles those at St. Canice's Cathedral and St. Mary's Church. There is an open-

1
BONE-HAFTED BRONZE SWORD, IN THE COLLECTION OF A. K. YOUNG, ESQ., J. P. MONAGHAN

[From a Photograph, size of original.]

ing under one of the side walls of the Church indicating the existence of a vault. The Loftus family were interred here."

The Rev. James Graves said that he was about to redeem his promise made at the last meeting of the Association, and lay before the Meeting photographs of another (the third known at present) bone-hafted bronze Sword. This fine example was preserved in the collection of A. K. Young, Esq., J. P., of Monaghan, who had presented to the Association the photographs from which the accompanying cuts were engraved.

This Sword, accurately represented, on a reduced scale, in the accompanying wood-cut, was, as he (Mr. Graves) was informed by Mr. Young, 20 inches in length, and the breadth of blade $1\frac{1}{6}$ inches on an average; but at the hilt where it required the greatest strength, it measured $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches: when brought to the person from whom Mr. Young purchased it, the blade was broken across at 9 inches from the point, the very place where one might expect it to give way had a trenchant blow been struck with it—i. e. a very short distance below where the leaf-shaped blade was widest. The rivets shown in the engraving (see plate facing this page) were not all genuine: the middle one only was of the original bronze—the other two being of wood, and inserted in the original rivet-holes to keep the haft in its place. The entire outer surface of the bone had been removed by natural decay, and much also of the internal cellular structure; before Mr. Young obtained possession of the sword the haft was much injured by injudicious handling, but fortunately one ornamental curve, carved in the bone close to the blade extremity of the hilt, had escaped, and it was probably balanced by a similar curve at the other side; a piece of the bone was broken away at the lower extremity, exposing a portion of the bronze tang. To the other side of the tang was attached a similar plate of bone, but at present destitute of any attempt at ornamentation. The sword was found early in 1871, in draining a meadow in the townland of Mullylagan, near the River



Bone-hafted
bronze
sword.

Blackwater, Co. Armagh ; but the precise locality was not known. The material of the haft appeared to be deer's horn, but no scientific examination had as yet been made to determine this with certainty.

Mr. Graves added that he had heard from Sir James M. Strong, Bart., of Tynan Abbey, Co. Armagh, that he possessed a bronze leaf-shaped sword, found by some labourers when digging peat on the margin of a lake at that place, which when discovered had its haft attached, but the latter had dropped into the water, and was lost, so that it was impossible to ascertain the material of which it was composed.

Mr. George M. Atkinson sent the following paper on Kitchen-middens in the Estuary of Cork Harbour, accompanied by illustrative drawings and maps :—

“ I have much pleasure in recording the existence of some hitherto, as far as I am aware, unobserved heaps of shells such as are now generally known by the name of ‘ kitchen-middens.’ They are situated on two small islands at the back of the estuary forming Cork Harbour. In August 1870, while enjoying a boating excursion, my attention was attracted by some white marks on the shore, which I inferred were kitchen-middens, and on landing I had much pleasure in finding my conjecture to be correct.

“ The islands are named on the Ordnance Survey maps (sheet 76), Brown Island, and Brick Island, and consist of a mass of loose earth full of boulders of all sizes, the débris of some old sea bottom. There are no trees, nor, as far as I recollect, any evidence of their existence on the islands at present ; both are now overgrown with rough heather, furze and ferns : part of Brown Island is under cultivation. Facing this page will be found a plate comprising views and maps illustrative of this paper. I have placed references on the maps.

“ The heaps of shells (Nos. 1 and 2 on map) are situated on the south sides of each island, and are about 300 ft. long, from 3 ft. to 5 ft. thick for about 100 ft., and consist principally of oyster shells ; there are other shells, but in very small numbers. The sea has washed away a considerable portion of each heap (about two-thirds), thus opening up a good section and affording facility for exploration, and part of the shells have been removed for agricultural purposes. Thin layers of charcoal were visible in many places through the heaps, showing that the aborigines who collected the shells understood the use of fire. The sections exposed gave evidence of different periods of occupation of these sites, by a looseness in some places, and compactness of the mass of shells in other parts. There was a visible regularity or placing together of the shells in parts of the heap on Brick Island ; the shells here being on edge partially resisted the wasting action of the sea. The positions on two small islands, approachable only at one fordable point, show that the people had a good idea of security, encamping on places easily defended, either from wild animals or

KITCHEN-MIDDENS CORK HARBOUR

assaults of other enemies, while they indulged in a good feast on the oysters. With the exception of the charcoal, I found no evidence of civilization, no split bone nor flint flake, nothing among the shells but stone pounders, varying in size, some larger than a man's head, but all the same round boulder-like form, similar to the stones that formed the beach.

“Mr. R. Etheridge, F. R. S., Palæontologist to the Geological Survey London, has kindly examined specimens of the shells. There is nothing peculiar about them—such are common on all parts of the coasts of the British Islands.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|-------------|
| <i>Ostrea Edulis</i> , Junior and Senior, | . | . | Oyster. |
| <i>Mytilus Edulis</i> , | . | . | Mussel. |
| <i>Cardium Edule</i> , | . | . | Cockle. |
| <i>Pullastra Decussata</i> , | . | . | |
| <i>Littorina Littorea Vulgaris</i> , | . | . | Periwinkle. |
| <i>Buccinum Undatum</i> , | . | . | Whelk. |
| <i>Patella Vulgaris</i> , | . | . | Limpet. |
| <i>Murex Erinaceus</i> , | . | . | Murex. |

“I explored the locality last September, and, at a visit when the tide was out, found the shell mounds originally extended to low water mark, a distance of over 100ft. The oyster shells were visible over most parts of this ground, and where covered by the sand and gravel of the strand. Digging a few inches revealed them, and after going down through the shells about 6 inches, I came to the original surface of the islands. The strand I found to rise at (about) an angle of 6°.

“This change opens a most interesting question. How long back is it since these shells were first gathered? The mounds are at least 5 feet thick in the portion that remains (about one third) of each. The sketch will show how the bank has been worn away, leaving the little white cliff of shells and the lines of deposit in the clay of the islands.

“The rise and fall of the tide in Cork Harbour, on the average, is 15 feet. The position is very well sheltered by high land all around. The action of the sea against the islands by storms now is very little, and that reduced only to the time when the tide is full in. There also is no river current at this place. Therefore the rate of denudation must have been and is very slow; and as the aborigines did not live in the water, either the sea has risen or the land has sunk. It was a question for consideration then, whether at the time the kitchen-middens were first collected, the tide had access here, was this place a lake? But I could not see anything in the geological formations around to uphold the idea. The shells also are all sea-shells, and judging by the apparent rate of change, must give some thousands of years for the age of its first formation. I was fortunate in finding several other heaps of shells about the locality. The positions are marked 3, 4, 5 and 6, on the maps. On my asking some questions of the peasants, I was told that the shells ‘were collected by the Pagan Irish for the Bolgies. They were Dutchmen, I am told, sir.’ I think my informant had some confused tradition of the Fir-bolgs, for their strand Trabolgan (No. 7 on map), the residence of Lord Fermoy, is at the mouth of Cork Harbour. But the traditions connected with this locality are very interesting, and quite of the mythic age. Nearly opposite to Brown Island, on the main land, is the ruin of an old castle, said to have been built by that famous Irish architect, The Goban Saor. It is called Bally-

vodig castle (No. 8 on map). The village is called Ballyvodock, and on the little island, not far from this (No. 9 on the map), we have another village, Clashavodig. On the map given by Dr. O'Connor ('*Kerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*.') Ptolemy places the 'Vodiæ' tribe in the south of Ireland, but nearer the Blackwater river (*Dabrona Flu*). The map of *Britannia Romana*, given in Camden's '*Britannia*,' by Gibson, places the 'Vodiæ' at what is now Cork Harbour. 'More inward, beyond the Iberi, dwelt the *Ovδίαι*, who are termed also the Vodiæ, and the Udiæ, some resemblance of which name remains very express and clear in the territories of Idou and Idouth; and of the Coriondi in the County of Cork, which borders upon them. These people inhabited the counties of Cork, Tipperary, Limerick, and Waterford.' Is it not just possible that in the above names 'Vodig' and 'Vodock,' we have a relic of Ptolemy's tribes, the Vodiæ? A short distance to the north, behind the Goban Saor's Castle (No. 8 on map), runs one of the traditional Druid roads. It is called there the Bohur-na-bo-finne,—the road of the white cow. The Rev. R. Smiddy, in his interesting essay on the Druids, Churches and Towers of Ireland, p. 70, mentions this mystical animal, the death-stone or altar of which is near, at a place called Castlemary, and in the Deer-park there traces of an ancient road are shown. This road crossed over the hills, to a place called Rathcoursey (No. 10 on map), and tradition carries it across the River Owenacurra, about one mile and a half from Brown Island. Some twenty-five years ago, dredging operations, to render the river navigable up to Ballynacorra, at this place, brought up some very rudely cut oak piles, confirming the tradition of the existence of some kind of causeway at some time having been there. I recollect being told of this circumstance soon after by a gentleman, since dead, from whom I got my first lessons in archæology. He said, 'the oak was cut with a sharp stone or flint.' I visited the site, and there is a strange artificial look about it still. It is in fact the nearest spot to the sea, at that side, where the estuary was fordable. This enchanted cow walked through Ballyvodig, and on to Foaty Island, and drank at Lough-na-bo, a small lake in front of Mr. Smith Barry's mansion (No. 11 on map). The road runs over the hills to Glanmire, near Cork, and, according to tradition, off to the County of Limerick.

"In the *Journal of the Association* for 1853, Vol. II., Part II., p. 313, Mr. W. Hackett, in his second paper on Folk-Lore, gives this curious tradition:—'In Imokilly, on the strand of Ballycroneen (No. 13 on map), three cows, on a May-eve, about an hour after mid-day, emerged from the sea. One was white, another red, and the third black. After deliberating a while, they walked abreast until they had gone about a mile from the sea; there the three cows parted,—the white cow going to the north-west, towards the County of Limerick—the red cow going to the west, by a road running all around the coast of Ireland, and the black cow going to the north-east, towards Lismore, in the county of Waterford. The roads are pointed out in many places, and are known as 'Bohur-na-Bo-Finne,' 'Bohur-na-Bo-Ruadh,' and 'Boher-na-Bo-Duibhè.'

"It is much to be regretted, that we have no map yet made that would show the skill of the old Gaedhelic road-makers. We have heard a deal talked about the good of a railway round the coast. Perhaps this is as interesting a subject to the Irish, as the Roman roads are to the English.

"From exploration I find that wherever the oyster exists, near the bed will be the remains of a kitchen-midden. At the river edge of a

very steep hill (No. 6 on map), near the village of Rathcoursey (No. 10 on map), the upper part of a shell mound is to be seen, showing by the action of the river on the cliff the probable age. The oyster now is cultivated at that place. Nearer to Cork, the Cork and Passage Railway, about 100 yards from Rochestown Station (No. 12 on map), passes over a shell-mound. This, I found, was situated on what had been a small island, now by the help of the railway embankment reclaimed. At Oyster Haven, a creek west of Cork Harbour, near Kinsale, I also found the remnant of a kitchen-midden. In all of any size I found charcoal, some rubbed stones, and a few bones: one of a horse (*Equus Caballus*), the ox (*Bos-longifrons*), and dog (*Canis*); and if time permitted more extended exploration, probably might have found many others. I may also mention one at Temple Breedy, No. 14 on map, a very prominently placed structure, at the entrance to Cork Harbour. In the church-yard are found quantities of cockle and perri-winkle shells. There is a tradition, that about 400 years ago a famine was in the country, and that then the people used to subsist on the fish. But it seems strange, that people in a famishing state would take the trouble to bring the shells such a distance, and up to the top of a steep hill. Around this, for some miles, is a rocky coast. Now, cockles delight in mud banks, all of which are some distance off. The shells at the top of these mounds have decomposed, and vegetation having grown on them, it effectually protects the remainder."

The following papers were contributed :—

PATRON DAYS AND HOLY WELLS IN OSSORY.

BY JOHN HOGAN.

THE colored races of America have not receded before the advances of the white men of Europe with greater celerity than the national observances of Ireland have been obliterated by the unsparing hand of social progress, and the stern utilitarianism of modern times. Almost every adult still remembers the cherished customs and time-honoured institutions of his early days; many of them hallowed in his estimation by the reverence in which they had been previously held by past generations, and some of them inseparably associated with the reminiscences of his youth. The "Patron Day," to some the occasion of pious exercises, to others the cause of very different observance, shed its halo over every season of the year. The "Maypole"

day, when festoons and garlands, flowers and foliages were lighted up by the morning rays of the first summer's sun. The "St. John's Fire," in the radiance of which village maids and rustic swains, with hearts light and affections fresh, reciprocated the gladdening aspect in which nature decks the midsummer day. Next came the mystical mummeries of "Hallow Eve," and then the traditional absurdities of "Twelfth Night," and the many other anniversaries of minor note, the memory of which is still preserved amid the recollections of many life-long careers, and in some districts are still fondly cherished as dear mementoes of the past. But in the cycle of our national anniversaries the "Patron Day" was in popular estimation the most distinguished, and its return the most gladly welcomed. Constituting as it did a surviving vestige of the religious institutions of ancient Ireland, it became interwoven with the sentimental traditions of the people, and its celebration was, in consequence, honoured with a degree of romantic piety and national enthusiasm peculiar to the high religious tone of the Celtic temperament. The following observations on the origin and abuse of Patron days in Ireland, by the Rev. Joseph Saynds, Rector of Fiddown, in the beginning of the present century, may be here transcribed as an appropriate introduction to the sequence of this essay.¹

"The first institution of Patron Days in Ireland was an anniversary commemoration of those days on which their parish churches had been dedicated to the respective Saints whose tutelary guardianship the people annually implored as their mediators and advocates with the Almighty, which custom also prevailed in England, where such annual meetings are denominated *wakes*, and in both countries used to be celebrated for one or more days after the next Sunday, or Saint's day to whom the parish church had been dedicated. These institutions seem to have been very ancient in Ireland.

"It would appear that the clergy and laity of each parish annually assembled at their respective churches on

¹ "Essay."—See "Parochial Survey of M. R. I. A., Dublin, 1814.—Parish of Ireland." By William Shaw Mason, Fiddown.

those solemn occasions not only to implore the future tutelage of their patron Saint, but also to offer prayers and distribute alms for their departed friends ; from whose venerated tombs they cleared the rank weeds, and decorated them with the gayest flowers of the season, renewing, at the same time, the mournful funeral dirge, in which was recounted every worthy action of the deceased, and his relatives as on the day of interment ; hence it was necessary to erect temporary lodgings or booths in the neighbourhood of the churches, and procure provisions for the poor, which were distributed to them in charity by the pious of every denomination ; as also to find refreshment for strangers, whose devotion frequently brought them from very remote places on those occasions.

“Such was doubtless the first institution of Patron days, and such it continued for ages until the Reformation ; . . . yet the people, ever tenacious of the religion of their fathers, assembled as usual, on each anniversary day, but they were now become like a flock without a shepherd, and exercises of devotion at such meetings gradually gave place to profane amusements ; the pious and devout having in a great measure forsaken those degenerate assemblies, a total relaxation of discipline and good order prevailed among the ungoverned multitude ; drunkenness and riot became in time familiar, and those days originally devoted to the honour of God seemed now wholly set apart to celebrate the orgies of the prince of darkness.” The “Patron days” were originally all holidays, either of obligation or devotion ; but in modern times, when these days do not occur either on a Sunday or holiday, the observances of the “Patron” are transferred to the Sunday next following, or that within the octave of the festival.

After the Anglo-Norman Invasion of Ireland, no general alterations were made in the pre-existing ecclesiastical topography of the country, which dates at all events as early as the Synod of Rath-Breasail, except in the immediate vicinity of the manorial seats of the Anglo-Irish barons, where we generally find traces of comparatively modern arrangements in the foundation of new churches—in some place for secular priests, oftener for regular clergy, and not unfrequently for collegiate purposes ;

and the parishes respectively attached to these establishments are found to have been often formed out of portions of pre-existing parishes. Previous to the period of which we are now writing, there was no such church or parish as St. Mary's in Kilkenny, and the parish now known by that name may confidently be asserted to be but a moiety of the ancient parish of St. Rioch.¹ Sometimes the newly-formed ecclesiastical districts are found to include more than one pre-existing parish. St. John's of Kilkenny comprises four ancient parishes,² not only the sites of the respective churches of which, but even the ancient parochial boundaries, are still ascertainable. These observations are more or less applicable to the parishes of Gowran,

¹ "Parish of St. Rioch."—On this subject, see "Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society." New Series, vol. II. p. 475, *et seq.*

² "Ancient parishes."—The first of these parishes was that with which the Earl Marshal endowed the new conventual church of St. John. It is described in the Charter as "The whole of the parish beyond the bridge of Kilkenny looking towards the east and adjoining the same bridge." What the name of that parish was has not since transpired. Ledwich says it was St. Mell's, but it could not have been; for St. Mell's parish was never in the possession of St. John's Abbey, nor could that parish be described as adjoining St. John's Bridge, and extending thence towards the east. St. Mell's never approached nearer than the site of the present Fever Hospital, and that is due north of St. John's Bridge. By whatever name the ancient parish here may have been known, there is no doubt that Maudlin-street churchyard was the site of its church. Down to the present century that graveyard was called "St. Stephen's churchyard." But whether the church there had been called by the title of St. Stephen before its parish had been given to St. John's, I fear there are no materials to establish.

The second parish included in St. John's comprised the townlands of Purcell's Inch, Leyrath, and Legate's rath east. The church of this parish was Aghmalogue, i. e. *Achadh-Moling*, the field of St. Moling or Molingus. The ruins and site of this church are well known on the brow of the railway near Aghmalogue Bridge, one mile from Kilkenny.

The third parish included the townlands

of Garrynacreen, Hebron, Brownstown, and Green Ridge. The church of this parish is well-known in the field opposite the Pococke School as Garrynacreen church. *Garry-na-Creen* means the Garden of Creen. Whether this Creen was a saint or otherwise there exists no memorial to show, more than the existence of Killcree, or the Church of Creen, near Kilkenny, now used as an out-office to Kilcree House.

The fourth and largest of those suburban parishes comprised the townlands of Newtown, Glendine, Readstown, and Lochmerana. The site of the church of this parish is well known as "Baunfadha churchyard." Baunfadha probably means the long baun or enclosure. To what saint this church was dedicated is not known.

In the centre of these four parishes, and completely insulated between them and the River Nore, is situated the parish of St. Mell, which, though smaller in extent than any of the other four, is still a distinct parish. At what period the parishes of Aghmalogue, Garrynacreen, and Baunfadha were first annexed to that of St. John's there is no record preserved. But that they had been originally independent parishes appears evident from the arrangement of their respective churches; and that they formed no part of the original parish of St. John's is certain from the words of the Charter already quoted, and which describes that parish as adjoining the bridge of Kilkenny, and extending thence towards the east. The district of Baunfadha is three miles due north of that bridge, and therefore could not have formed part of the parish with which the Earl Marshal endowed his newly founded church of St. John.

Thomastown, Knocktopher, Jerpoint, Callan, Kells, &c., which, if not all of Anglo-Norman foundation, are of Anglo-Norman modification, and their respective churches the gifts or endowments of Anglo-Irish barons; and the point to which I desire to direct attention here in connexion with this subject is, that in no one instance in this county do we find a church founded by the English, no matter to what Saint dedicated, that has been honored by the people, after its suppression, by the observance of its "Patron" feast. The obscure site of St. Rioch's church in Kilkenny was never forgotten by his clients on the annual return of his festival day. Whilst the celebrated church of St. John, even whilst a ruin, never evoked such a reminiscence. Neither was there a "Patron" held at Gowran, though the church had been dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, nor at Kells, a more illustrious house, and under the same illustrious patronage, nor at Jerpoint, which, though founded by an Irish prince, subsequently closed its gates against the admission of "Meer Irish" postulants, nor at Callan, though a parish church, which, with a church for Canons Regular of St. Augustin, in the outskirts of the same town, were founded by the Butlers of Kilkenny, who followed Henry the Second to Ireland. Whilst at the comparatively obscure churches of Kilbride, Killaloe, Aughaviller, Castleinch, Grange, &c., &c., the annual return of the respective Patrons' day brought crowds of pious pilgrims to "adore at the place where his feet had stood;" and—what is still more interesting in support of what is here advanced—at Knocktopher, where a "Patron" was observed till lately, the observance was not kept on the 16th July, the Patron feast of the Carmelite church there, but on Trinity Sunday, and at "Trinity Well,"¹ this Sunday having been the old Irish parish festival long before the second Earl of Ormonde founded his house there for Carmelite White Friars. The conventual houses of Callan, Kells, Knocktopher, Jerpoint, &c., as well as the two parochial churches of St. Mary's and St. John's in Kilkenny, as also the Church of Gowran and nume-

¹ "Trinity Well."—This well is now enclosed within the Servants' Hall of Knocktopher Abbey House, the residence of Sir James Langrishe, Bart.

rous others, were either English in origin,¹ in interests, in sympathies, or in rules. They were not looked on by the native Irish as their own institutions; none of them had been erected under the guardianship of an Irish saint; the right of presentation to their respective benefices was vested in some Anglo-Irish baron. Their histories anterior to their suppression were never entwined with the sentimental lore of the native race, and consequently since their suppression, and when even the subdued grandeur of their ruins invests with a high degree of interest the ground on which they stand, yet never have the people assembled at their sites to honor the memory of their patron saints, or to commemorate the day of their own original dedication.

The residence of the Irish *urrie* or toparch, and afterwards of the Anglo-Irish baron, constituted the ancient "bally," "villa," or township which was peopled by the chieftain's family and numerous retainers. Each of these localities had its own church, its patron saint and festal anniversary. Most of these antique social centres are now far removed from our modern highways, and are approached only by old by-roads now nearly out of use, but once the great thoroughfares of the country. Along those old ways, and not unfrequently hidden in the fields, we discover interesting localities with traces of ancient boundaries and primitive plantations, their verdant swards and leafy sweetness at once indicating their venerable old age; and where the progress of modern reclamation has not obliterated the landmarks of previous generations, the peculiar configuration of those places at once points them out as the scenes of former life and importance, often retaining, in the midst of rural silence, the name of the

¹ "English in origin, &c."—These observations are particularly applicable, and are here confined to the religious houses within the "Pale," which having been established and endowed by the munificence of English founders, were, as a matter of course, governed by English sympathies, and held their possessions by English law. And as the "Mere Irish" were outside of the Pale, they were rebels in the eye of the

law, and as such inadmissible to those institutions. English political statecraft is of course responsible for such a policy, it was part of the scheme for the degradation and subjection of the native race. The observations in the text are confined to ecclesiastical foundations in the county of Kilkenny, and therefore do not refer to the religious houses erected in other parts of Ireland by native chieftains.

“Street,” the “Green,” the “Commons,” the “Cross,” or some other title of equal significance. Here we usually find an insignificant enclosure, yet revered for ages past as “holy ground,” here on the appointed day the “Patron” was held. In the adjoining old church-yard the graves are then denuded of their weedy garb and embellished with field flowers. Here too, we find a “Holy Well” retaining the name of the ancient patron Saint of the locality. At it pilgrimages are performed and prayer stations held on the Patron Day; yon scattered stones are now the only remains of the local church, and yon naked stumps are the withered trunks of once spreading beeches, stately ashes or gnarled oaks, beneath whose dense foliage the village boys and farmers’ sons in “bran new suits,” and the rosy-faced country girls dressed in the quaint fashions of the last generation, blushing and smiling, and unburthened with the cares of life, timed with light hearts and agile limbs their favorite reel, the jig, or country dance. Here friendships often originated that developed into unions for after-life, and here too, profligacy and faction strife have often left their sad mementos.

In the year 1846, with the first general failure of the potato crop, may be said to have commenced a social revolution in the condition of the Irish peasantry. Under the pressure of that direful visitation, many of the Irish farmers and villagers fled to America; many clung to their old homesteads until they were at length obliged to seek refuge within the inhospitable walls of the Union Work-house, and many sunk down to an early grave. Many too of the old proprietors, who were strongly attached to the “old stock,” were obliged to save their position by “selling off” in the Incumbered Estates Court, and then came in the new proprietor, who entertained no sympathy with the surviving peasants, or their traditional observances. The reclamation of wastes and the introduction of “improvements” soon derange the village outlines; its festal anniversaries have now no votaries, its holy wells and cherished traditions are alike ignored. The Catholic clergy too have lent their aid to obliterate those vestiges of once important institutions; and if no effort be now made to place on record the details of those national ob-

servances, their respective localities, their titles and their ceremonies, the next generation will not be able to discern a single trace of their existence.

For some time the Rev. James Graves, Hon. Secretary of this Association, has been suggesting to me the necessity of procuring a list of the "Patron Days," "Patron Saints," "Holy wells," &c., &c., in the county of Kilkenny, before the memory of them shall have been entirely obliterated; and as my calling in life constantly introduces me into an acquaintance with localities of traditional and historical interest, at his suggestion I have undertaken to supply to the Journal of the Society from time to time such notes on the parish festivals, patron Saints, and olden customs of this county, as I may be enabled to collect, to which I shall add whatever local, traditional or historical illustrations are accessible to me; but before we enter into the details of this interesting subject, it will be necessary to make a short inquiry respecting the origin of the religious respect paid to "Holy Wells" in Ireland.

Holy Wells.—In Ireland, as in other countries, the first preachers of Christianity so far accommodated their teaching to pre-existing observances, as to tolerate the continuance of such national institutions as did not antagonise with the principles of faith, or the practice of morality, and thus conciliating popular prejudice, converted pagan ordinances into Christian festivals, and consecrated to the service of God those localities, times and objects which had been previously dedicated to pagan worship. It was on this principle that the Pantheon or Temple of all the Gods at Rome was, after the conversion of Constantine, christianised as "the Church of All the Saints." The pagan Irish erected no such stately fabrics for their primitive worship. They assembled beneath the sylvan shade of oaken groves, where the silence of nature and the sweetness of leaves shed an air of inspiration over their mysterious rites, and where the sacred fountain, by reflecting in its waters the azure of the sky, and the majestic pillar stone, by pointing to the sun, directed the mind to heaven. Within those venerated inclosures, already esteemed holy in the religious enthusiasm of the people, did the early Saints erect the first churches in Ireland, and many of those primitive fanes

have left us, in the etymology of their names, the evidence of their oaken origin.¹ No picture in history presents us with a scene more sentimental in its surroundings than that obtained through numerous vistas in our primitive Hagiology, in which we behold the early missionary, robed in the costume of a Christian priest, boldly entering those groves "of ancient birth," and then hung round with the gloomy, but solemn association of ancient superstitions; he approaches within the mystic circle, and carves on the colossal pillar stone the emblem of human redemption; whence those erections of paganism have come down to us as memorials of the first triumphs of the cross; and standing on the brink of the holy wells then consecrated by Druidic rites, he converts their waters into fountains of baptismal regeneration; whence originated that peculiar veneration so fondly cherished from the dawn of Christianity for particular springs of water in Ireland.

Holy Wells in Ireland must be divided into two classes; viz., wells of enchantment, which derived their reputed virtues from pagan superstition: these we call Druidic Wells; secondly, wells that have been esteemed holy, from their association with or their conversion to Christian uses: these we term Christian Wells—a short illustration of each will be necessary to our notes on the Holy Wells of Ossory.

Druidic Wells.—Few memorials now exist of the ceremonies of Druidic worship, but the still surviving traces of ancient superstitions have induced many of our learned antiquarians to conclude that the pagan ritual inculcated devotions for fountains of water, as well as for groves and inclosures, and that the pagan priests consecrated water, as well as fire for the use of their votaries. In the "Battle

¹ "Origin." — "The first Christians amongst us were induced to erect these places of worship at their ancient accustomed places of assembling together, and those places retained the ancient names with some addition. Hence the ancient Irish and British word for a church or temple is *Lhann*, from the Hebrew *Elon*, an oak: thus *Lhann Avach*, or the Church of the Dwarf, in the diocese of Connor, was erected by St. Patrick for one

of his disciples who was low of stature. Thus also *Druis-lhann*, i. e. the Church of the Druid, is the Irish name for a sanctuary;" Harris's Ware, "Antiquities of Ireland," p. 120. The numerous localities in Ireland, variously called Derry, Durrow, Kilderry, Kildare, &c., are all derived from the oaken groves within which the primitive Christian Missioners erected the earliest churches in Ireland.

of Gabhra," an anciant Fenian romance, St. Patrick thus addresses Oisian, son of Fion:—

" Though thou art an aged man at Cruim-Linn,
Thou could not possibly have expelled them all" [i. e. all the Demons.]

Upon this passage the translator writes in the margin, "Crumlin occurs so frequently in the topography of Ireland, as to warrant the opinion that it must have belonged to places of note:" he continues, "Crom- or Crum-linn means the lake of Crom; and if this be the real meaning of the word, it follows that as Crom was the name of a pagan deity, the pool must have been a sacred one." As regards the meaning of the word, all our authorities translate "Linn" a pond, and consequently Crom- or Crum-linn would be the lake, the pond, or the well of Crom; and the meaning of St. Patrick's address to Oisian, is that though he was then an aged man, and spent his life at the Well dedicated to this pagan deity, yet he was not able to expel out of it the demons by which its waters were enchanted. This Crom² or Crum was a celebrated deity with the pagan Irish; his worship was introduced into Ireland by King Tighernas, who was slain at Magh-sletty, with three-fourths of his subjects, on one night by the judgment of heaven: it was upon the eve of *Samhain*, or of our festival of All Saints, that he was struck dead as he was worshipping his idol *Crom-Cruadh*.

The "Book of Rights" is probably the most trustworthy authority accessible on the civil and political institutions of ancient Ireland. Its opening prologue sets forth in detail the *urgharta* or restrictions to be imposed on, and the *buadhua* or prerogatives to be enjoyed respectively by, the supreme monarch and the provincial kings of the nation. We cannot affirm the whole of this very singular code to be of pagan origin, but many of the *urgharta* are prohibitions enacted for the suppression of pagan practices, and bear unmistakable evidence of having

¹ "Battle of Gabhra."—"Transactions of the Ossianic Society," 1853, Vol. I., p. 105, Note 2. Translated and edited from an original Irish Manuscript, with introduction and notes by O'Kearney.

² "Crom."—Keating. "History of Ireland," Carson's old folio edition, Dublin, MDCCXXIII., p. 64; Harris's Ware's "Antiquities of Ireland," p. 140; "Ogygia," part II. p. 68.

been specially ordained to act as preventives against the allurements of ancient heathenism which still hung round with religious romance the springs and streams, the wooded vales and forest trees associated in their traditions with the mystic rites of primeval superstition. In the *urgharta* imposed on the "bold King of Uladh" (Ulster), he is prohibited—

"To listen¹ to the fluttering of the flocks of birds
Of Linn-Saileach after set of sun,

To celebrate the feast of the flesh of the bull
Of Daire-Mic-Daire, the brown and the rough,

To drink of the water whence strife ensues,
Of Bo Neimhidh between two darknesses."

In the first of these restrictions the word "Linn-Saileach" is translated the "pond of the Sallows," by O'Donovan, who also remarks that any place of that name was unknown to him;² yet it appears to me that Linn-Saileach was the ancient name of the sea lough in Donegal, now well known as Lough Swilly, and which must have taken its name from the prolific growth in its neighbourhood of that species of the willow tree, and the king is here prohibited to listen to the fluttering of the flocks of birds amongst those Sallows after set of sun. In the last of the three restrictions the word "Bo Neimhidh" is to be translated *the Cow of the Sacred Grove*, and this *urgharta* interdicts the king *to drink of the water of this Cow*. But the context of the passage is against this literal and offensive translation. Bo Neimhidh was evidently the proper name of some celebrated fountain then well known, and originally so called in honour of the Cow of the Sacred Grove, a favourite object of adoration with many primitive nations, hence the true meaning of the *urgharta* is a prohibition to drink of the water of the Well Bo-Neimhidh—"between two darknesses," i. e. in any part of the day between dawn and nightfall. It is called "the water whence strife ensues," most probably from the belief then existing that it acted

¹ "To listen."—"Book of Rights," p. 23.

² "Unknown,"—Since the above was written I have found that Dr. O'Donovan fully

identifies, in another place, Linn Saileach as Lough Swilly. See "Book of Rights," p. 249.

as a stimulant to discord in those who drank it. The King of Tara, or the supreme monarch of the nation, is declared entitled to seven *buadha*, or prerogatives, and it is added that "if he observe them the ready earth shall be fruitful for him, he shall be victorious in battle, and wise of Council:—"

"On the Calends of August,¹ to the King
Were brought from each respective district
The fruits of Manann a fine present,
The venison of Nas; the fish of the Boinn,
The cresses of the Kindly Brosnach [and],
The water of the well of Tlachtgha too."

It will be observed that the enjoyment of these strange privileges conferred on the Monarch of Ireland is confined to the "Calends of August," which was known in ancient Ireland as *Bron-Troghain*, the name of the first day of *Fo-ghamhar*, or the harvest season, and apparently a pagan festival celebrated in honour of the earth now pregnant, bringing forth its offspring.² In the "Book of Lismore"³ this word *Ṭpogan* is explained *Luḡnara*, i. e. *Lughasa*, which is Anglicised Lammas, the well-known epithet for the first day of August. The Well of Tlachtgha has been identified by O'Donovan; it springs from the foot of an eminence now called the Hill of Ward, near the town of Athboy, Meath. Tlachtgha was the ancient name of this hill, and on it the Druids lighted their sacred fires on the Eve of Samhain, a pagan festival at the end of harvest, in thanksgiving for the gathering in of the fruits of the earth. This festival has come down to our own times under the name of Hallow-eve, and the use of nuts, apples, and other fruits on that night is a surviving vestige of the ancient ceremonies of the pagan festival. The well of Tlachtgha must have been esteemed one of peculiar sacredness, connected as it was with the most celebrated of the pagan festivals of ancient Ireland. The privilege of drinking the water of this sacred fountain on Lammas-day, like the prohibition to drink of the "water of Bo-Neimhidh between two dark-

¹ "August."—Book of Rights," p. 9.

² "Offspring."—The reader will find this subject ably discussed and illustrated by the late John O'Donovan, LL. D., in

the Introduction to "The Book of Rights," p. lili.

³ "Book of Lismore,"—quoted by O'Donovan, as above, in last note.

nesses" are interesting traces of ancient well-worship in Ireland. Traces of similar practices are to be found in other countries. In the ecclesiastical canons of King Edgar¹ it is urgently recommended "that every priest forbid well-worshippings, and Man-worshippings, Necromancies, &c.;" and in the laws of Canute heathenism is thus defined:² "Heathenism is, that men worship idols—the sun or moon, fire or rivers, *water-wells, stones, or forest trees*;" and amongst the accusations which brought Joane of Arc to the stake we find her charged with having attended the nightly meetings of the witches *at a fountain by the fairies' oak* at Bourlemont, where was held the Witches' Sabbath on Thursday night of every week.³ Thus from the same Druidic origin descended the same superstitions in different countries to comparatively modern times.

Christian Wells.—The veneration entertained for fountains of water in Ireland from their association with Christian uses is to be traced to three different causes. First, the primitive saints used these wells for the baptism of their neophytes; secondly, the founders of monasteries for obvious reasons erected their schools on the brink of a well, and this well, like the church of the monastery, became identified with the founder's name; thirdly, the saints themselves blessed and enclosed those wells, whence their waters were subsequently believed to possess a supernatural and curative efficacy. A few cases will illustrate these three points.

One of the most beautiful anecdotes in Irish Hagiology is the conversion and baptism of the two daughters of King Laoghaire, by St. Patrick. This event is recorded by Tirechan, and preserved in the "Book of Armagh;" it has been frequently referred to by writers on Irish History, but we are indebted to Dr. Todd for the entire narrative in its original form. Laoghaire, King of Ireland, sent two of his daughters into Connaught to be educated under the care of the chief Druids or Magi. St. Patrick was then preaching at Croghan (now Rathcroghan, near Ballinagara,

¹ "King Edgar." — "Thorp's Laws," p. 396. quoted in proceedings against Alice Dame Kyteler. "Proceedings of the Cam-

den Society," 1843. Introduction, p. ii.

² Ibid., p. iii.

³ Ibid., p. xii.

in Roscommon), the locality of the ancient residence of the Kings of Connaught, and in which the two daughters of King Laoghair then resided. There was a fountain called *Clebach*, on the side of the hill, near the royal palace, and there the Irish apostle and his attendants assembled to chant their morning psalms at sunrise. We shall now give from Dr. Todd's translation such passages in the narrative as help to illustrate the origin of the devotion for Holy Wells in Ireland:—

“Then St. Patrick came to the well which is called Clebach, on the sides of Chruchan, towards the east; and before sunrise they [i. e. Patrick and his followers], sat down near the well. And lo! the two daughters of King Laoghair, Ethne the fair, and Fedelm the Ruddy, came early to the well, to wash, after the manner of women, and they found near the well a Synod of holy Bishops with Patrick. And they knew not where they were, or in what form, or from what people, or from what country; but they supposed them to be Duine Sidhe, or gods of the earth; or a phantasm.”

This supposition most probably arose from the clerics being robed in ecclesiastical costume—a form of dress which these ladies could not have recognised. The narrative goes on:—

“And the virgins said unto them: ‘Who are ye? and whence came ye?’ And Patrick said unto them. ‘It were better for you to confess to our true God, than to inquire concerning our race.’

“And the first virgin said. ‘Who is God? And where is God? And where is his dwelling place? Is he in heaven or earth? In the sea? In the rivers? In mountainous places? In valleys? Declare unto us the knowledge of him.’

“But St. Patrick, full of the Holy Ghost, answered and said:—‘Our God is the God all men, of heaven and earth, of the sea and rivers, of the sun, of the moon, and all stars, of the high mountains, and of the lowly valleys. He hath made springs in the dry ground, and dry islands in the sea, &c. &c.’

It will be here observed that St. Patrick specially notices, as being made by God, those objects which the pagan Irish were accustomed to worship. The apostle then goes on to instruct the virgins in the principal mysteries of the Christian faith (which does not concern our present design) and concludes his address thus:—

“But I desire to unite you to the Heavenly King, inasmuch as you are the daughters of an earthly king.

“And the virgins said, as with one mouth, and one heart: ‘Teach us most diligently how we may believe in the Heavenly King. Show us how we may see Him face to face, and whatsoever thou shalt say unto us we shall do.’”

St. Patrick then interrogates them in the principle Articles of the Creed, one of which will suffice for our object:—

“‘Believe ye that by baptism ye put off the sin of your father and mother?’ They answered. ‘We believe.’

[“And when he had preached to them with persuasive eloquence the damsels believed in Christ, and he baptised them even in that fountain,]’ and a white garment put upon their heads. And they asked to see the face of Christ. And the saint said unto them, ‘Ye cannot see the face of Christ except ye taste of death, and except ye receive the Sacrifice.’

“And they answered: ‘Give us the Sacrifice, that we may behold the Son our spouse.’ And they received the Eucharist of God, and they slept in death. And they were laid out on one bed covered with garments, and [their friends] made great lamentation for them.”

This beautiful anecdote, so full of faith and sentiment, and the eagerness with which the two sisters demanded baptism, incidentally remind one of an equally interesting incident related in the Acts of the Apostles, when, as Philip was going towards the South from Jerusalem through the desert, he joined himself with the eunuch of Ethiopia and explained to him the Scriptures: “And as they went on their way they came to a certain water; and the eunuch said: See, here is water, and what doth hinder me from being baptised? And Philip then (as St. Patrick above) thus interrogates the eunuch. “If thou believest with all thy heart thou mayest. And he answering, said: I believe, &c. And he commanded the chariot to stand still, and they went down into the water, and he baptised him. And when they were come up out of the water the Spirit of the Lord took away Philip, and the eunuch saw him no more.”

Dr. Todd is of opinion that St. Patrick selected the well Clebach, and the hour of the rising of the sun, for the performance of his devotions, with the hope of conciliating some pagan superstitions; and if this hypothesis be cor-

¹ “That fountain.”—The words within [brackets] are from Jocelyn’s Life of St. Patrick. In Tirechan’s version it is not

said that he baptised them “in that fountain,” but only that he “baptised them.”

rect, it will follow that this well was esteemed a sacred fountain in pagan times. Many such fountains as Clebach, for centuries dedicated to the superstitious rites of Druidism, became invested with a higher and holier degree of religious virtue from their having been used by the first missionaries as baptismal fonts, when from wells of enchantment they were consecrated refreshing springs of life and regeneration. In the history of the foundation of the Church of Trim, preserved in the "Book of Armagh," as translated by Dr. Todd, we have another illustration of the use of wells by the early saints for the baptism of their converts :—

"But, when Patrick, with his holy companions in voyage, had arrived in Ireland, he left holy Lomman in the mouth of the Boind [the Boyne] to guard the ship forty days and forty nights; and then he remained another forty after he had obeyed Patrick; then, according to the command of his master, he arrived under the guidance of the Lord against the stream as far as the ford of Trium, at the door of Feidilmede [the house of Feidilmith], son of Loigaire.

"And when it was morning Foirtchem, son of Feidilmith, found him reciting the Gospel, and, wondering at the Gospel and his doctrine, straightway believed; *and there being an open fountain in that place, he was baptised in Christ* by Lomman, and he stayed with him until his mother came to seek him, and she rejoiced at the sight of him, for she was a British woman."

The history of the origin of St. Patrick's Well in Dublin is a still more interesting case in the same subject. It is taken verbatim from Jocelyn's Life of St. Patrick, Chap. lxxi :—

"And St. Patrick, whilst abiding in this village [Dublin], was entertained at the house of a woman, who often in his presence complained of the want of fresh water, for the river that ran near it was, by the flowing in of the tide of the sea, made wholly salt of taste, nor before the return thereof could any fresh water be obtained unless drawn at a great distance. Therefore, on the morrow, he went unto a certain place, and in the presence of many standing around he prayed and touched the earth with the Staff of Jesus [his pastoral staff], and the name of the Lord produced from it a clear fountain. And this is the fountain of Dublinia, wide in its stream, and plenteous in its course, sweet to the taste; which, as is said, healeth many infirmities, and even unto this day is rightly called the fountain of St. Patrick."

St. Patrick during his stay in Dublin having restored

life to two children of the king of that city, who had been drowned in the bay, our author thus proceeds :—

“ And the king was called Alphinus, and his son was called Cochadh, and his daughter Dublinia ; and he and all his people rejected the idols, were converted to Christ, and were *baptised at the fountain of St. Patrick* at the south side of the city ; and from that time the King Alphinus, and all the citizens of Dublinia, vowed themselves and all their posterity to the service of St. Patrick and the Primate of Ardmach, and buildeth one church near this fountain, and another near the Church of the Holy Trinity, westward of the Archbishop's palace.”

This account of St. Patrick's Well was written about the middle of the twelfth century : the well itself is now enclosed within the premises of Messrs. Cantrell and Cochran, Nassau-street.¹

Wells in Ireland are also esteemed holy from their vicinity having been selected by the early saints for the erection of their schools and churches, when, like those institutions, they became identified with the name of the founder. Of this we have a highly interesting case recorded in the Life of St. Kieran,¹ of Saighir, from whose well there both the locality and the saint have derived their appellations. Kieran was about thirty years of age when, having learned of the spread of Christianity at Rome, he proceeded there in A. D. 405. He remained in Italy for about twenty years, and on his return to Ireland, about the year 425, on parting

¹ “ Nassau-street.”—“ It would appear, from an able paper read at a meeting of the Royal Dublin Society some years ago, by Mr. Clibborn, in which he evinced a thorough knowledge of the topography of the springs of Dublin, that the neighbourhood most prolific of spring wells is College Park, Nassau-street, and Leinster-street. Mr. Clibborn in his essay speaks at great length of what was known in past times as St. Patrick's Well, which is situated at the rear of the houses between Nassau-place and Kildare-street ; and after expressing regret that the water of the spring wells of Dublin had not been utilised for the benefit of the citizens, the essayist writes :—

“ This Well of St. Patrick appears to have been, in the good old times, as many people like to call them, the occasion of great and excessive water-drinking on the 17th of March, on St. Patrick's Day, in every year. The old Primates of Armagh

attended at St. Patrick's Well, and no doubt, with all their attendants, drank a glass of water to the memory of the saint, and to the permanency of its water, and the ancient usage of the citizens of Dublin of paying a tribute or rent to the Archbishop of Armagh for the usage of this water. After the Reformation, however, the practice appears to have died out, and the very tradition or memory of the Well of St. Patrick, and the doings at it, were hid in the names of Nassau-street and Leinster-street. No doubt, the demonstrations at the Well of St. Patrick had been taken advantage of by the Irish people to exhibit Irish and anti-English feelings ; and so it may have been that the Corporation of Dublin, under Elizabeth and her successors, by one regulation or another, gradually put the old Well of St. Patrick altogether out of use.”—Taken from the *Irish Times* Newspaper of February 19th, 1872.

with St. Patrick in Italy, the latter thus encouraged Kiaran to undertake at once the conversion of the Irish :—

“ St. Patrick said to Ciaran : ‘ Proceed before me to Ireland, and you will meet a well in a solitary spot, and erect a monastery for yourself at that well. The name of the well is Uaran ; and your name will be held in reverence there until the resurrection of the dead.’ Ciaran replied and said : ‘ Tell me where is that well situated.’ And St. Patrick said : ‘ The Lord will guide thee ; and take a small bell with you, which will not ring until you reach the well, but when you do, it will ring with a most charming and melodious sound, and thus shall you know the well ; and in thirty years hence I will follow you to that place ’ And they blessed and greeted each other. And Ciaran proceeded on his journey to Ireland—and directed his footsteps straight towards the well, and on reaching it the little bell rang quickly with a most melodious sound.”

In this anecdote, as in many others in the same legend, the writer is to be severely taxed with designed partiality for the interests and authority of his own Church of Seirkieran. From the sequel of this same biography we have authority to show that St. Kiaran on his return from Rome did not proceed direct to Saighir ; that he was near twenty years engaged in the conversion of his own people in Ossory, before he retired to the wilds and fastnesses of Eilie, where, in a lonely spot surrounded by woods, he erected his cell on the brow of the spring, where he determined to live the life of a hermit, until his scholars having discovered the place of his retreat, again flocked around him, after which the poor hut grew up into an ecclesiastical city, taking its name from the well, on the brink of which Kiaran had built his cell of twigs and brambles, this city was anciently called *Saighir-Ciaran*, and now Seirkyeran. Towards the close of the fourteenth century the compilers of the Books of Lecan and Ballymote thus commemorate from the *ran* of an ancient bard St. Patrick’s prophecy respecting this Well of Saighir. Patrick said to Kieran :—

“ Saighir the Cold
Found a city on its brink
At the end of thirty pleasant years,
I shall meet there and thou.”

And at the end of the “ thirty pleasant years,” i. e. about A. D. 455, the Irish apostle visited Kiaran at his well, and the biographer of the latter has left us the following ac-

count of the hospitality with which Kiaran entertained himself and his illustrious retinue on that occasion :—

“ St. Patrick and Aengus Mac Nadhfrach went with a numerous multitude to Saighir, where Ciaran dwelt, and besides the other food prepared for dinner eight bullocks were killed for the occasion. Some one said to Ciaran, ‘ What signifieth this quantity of meat for such an immense number of guests?’ Ciaran replied, ‘ He who fed thousands in the wilderness on a few loaves of bread and a few small fishes will also provide food for these men.’ *And he blessed his own well and turned it into wine;* and though immense the multitude assembled, it so happened by the grace of God and Ciaran, that they had plenty of food and drink.”

But the Saints not only blessed their wells, but they also enclosed them with walls, and covered them with stone roofs in order to preserve them from desecration. St. Mochua, who died in the year 637, and who is said to have been an eminent architect and builder, paid such attention to his well that the legend tells us it gushed forth at his bidding, and that both himself and the place derived their names from the walls with which he enclosed it, “ Not far off is a fountain never seen in that place before. [i.e. before Mochua’s time], surrounded by a ‘balla’ that is a parapet [a low wall with a coping], whence the town received the new name of ‘Balla,’ and Moccua the surname of Ballanensis.” This is the present town of Balla in the county of Mayo. The Lives of the Saints, the legends and folklore of the country abound in similar stories, and in consequence these wells are inseparably connected with the ecclesiastical topography and traditional observances of the people. A Holy Well is generally to be found in the neighbourhood of the sites of the ancient churches, and as a general rule retaining the name of the saint to whom that church had been originally dedicated. Some form of devotion at the holy well was nearly always included in the ceremonies of the Patron day; and in many cases the well itself, and not the church, formed the object of reverence at those anniversaries. At Kells, in Meath, the well is near a mile from St. Kiaran’s church, and there on the Sunday after the saint’s day pilgrimages were performed in the running waters. St. John’s Well, in the parish of Rathcool, near Kilkenny, is more than a mile from the ruins of the ancient church, and the exer-

cises of the "Patron" were exclusively confined to the well, or to the bason or reservoir into which it empties itself; and all the miraculous cases said to have been effected there took place in this bason, and on the night of the eve of the Saint's day, the 24th June. These practices would seem to have been modelled on the Gospel accounts of the well or pond at Jerusalem called Probatika, which had five porches, and in which "lay a great multitude of sick, of blind, of lame, of withered, waiting for the movement of the water. And an angel descended at certain times into the pond, and the water was moved; and he that went first down into the pond after the motion of the water was made whole of whatsoever infirmity he lay under."

To some of those wells, including the last named, tradition and popular repute have assigned a general efficacy, whilst to others the curative powers of the water has been confined to special infirmities. In the parish of Rathlogon, about four miles north of Freshford in this county, is a well called *Tobar-na-Suil*, at which innumerable cures of sore eyes are said to have been effected; and the peculiarity of this case is that this well is visited for this purpose at all times in the year: the custom is to bathe or wash the eyes three times in the water of the fountain, and to recite certain prayers during the lavation. This well, its customs and its nature, remind us of the Scripture anecdote where the blind man was sent to wash his eyes, in the pool of Siloe. *Tobar-na-Suil* means the Well of the Eyes: does the pool of Siloe mean the same, or was our Irish word *Suil* derived from the Scripture word *Siloe*?

Those wells are profusely distributed over every part of the country generally, investing their respective localities with no small degree of romantic interest. In the secluded glen they spring up amidst the perfume of verdure: on the slope of the mountain you find them fresh amidst the rudeness of nature. In the ancient grave-yard we meet them draped in the pious associations of mortality and faith. In the village green the silent witness of the social joys and traditional observances of many gone by generations. Here one gushes in great volume through an aperture in a solid rock. There another boils, and sparkles beneath

the covering of an ancient stone-roofed house ; now beneath the shade of venerable plantations, musically gurgling through copse and cresses, refreshing in its course the sweet-brier, the cowslips and field flowers, thence gently rippling through stones covered with moss ; again sweetly meandering over beds of glistening sand ; now rushing and foaming through mountain chasms ; next falling in spray over terraces of rock, commingling its effervescence with the fragrance of the fields and ultimately expanding into brooks and mill streams, frequently the most picturesque and generally the most useful objects in the landscape. The march of social and agricultural progress, the reclamation and enclosing of wastes and commons, the construction of new roads and the closing up of old ones, and the great decrease in the population of the rural districts have done much of late years to obliterate the traditions and customs peculiar to our Holy Wells as well as of our Patron Days. In the present essay, I propose to place on record the names and sites of these venerable fountains, and as far as practicable the customs peculiar to each of them. It is true that our notes in many cases must be necessarily meagre ; but if we can succeed in procuring even a list of these Holy Wells, with the names of the patron Saints after whom they may have been respectively called, and of the ancient churches to which each of them belonged, before the memory of them shall have been completely obliterated, we shall have done something towards advancing the objects of this Association ; and as the city of Kilkenny has the first claim on our services, we shall commence with some few notes on its Holy Wells, ancient churches, &c.

(To be continued.)

THE FALL OF THE CLAN KAVANAGH.

BY THE REV. JAMES HUGHES.

FROM the arrival of the English in Ireland down to the Tudor times, the Clan Kavanagh, which was the chief Clan of the Leinster Irish, never had such real independence, as it enjoyed during the Wars of the Roses. As far as we know, none of the clan at that time, or indeed at any other, discharged the office of agent or factor or seneschal for the great English Absentees¹ who, inheriting Strongbow's conquest, had claims upon their country. The district commonly known by the name of "the Kavanagh's Country" comprised nearly all Carlow, and North and North-west Wexford skirting the mountains, and in this territory at that time, not only were the rights and jurisdiction of the absentee lords set aside, but even the authority of the Crown was not acknowledged by the clan, or put forward by the Government. None of the King's subjects could travel "in the dominions² of the M^cMurrough," without protection from the chief, and even in the Pale, an Anglo-Irish colony, life and property were more secure, when protected by the M^cMurrough, than by the King's laws. The M^cMurrough, in truth, for the forbearance which he exercised, and for the security which he conferred, received as much payment, if not more, than the most powerful of the Anglo-Irish nobles. The Crown itself paid him tribute in the shape of "black rent" (£40 annually from the Exchequer), for the security of the Pale; and in a similar way, for the protection of the English Settlement in Wexford, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Count Palatine, paid him a like sum. From these facts we may gather the state of power and independence then enjoyed by the clan.

¹ The Act, by which the Irish property of the Absentees was confiscated, was passed in the year 1537; the Earl of Kildare's Carlow claims having been before set aside, this Act of Parliament gave all the property of the Carlow Absentees to

the King.

² These are the words of the Treaty of 1536, made between the Lord Deputy and the Lord Charles M^cYncrosse Kavanagh, otherwise M^cMurgho. "Carew Calendar," Vol. I., p. 93, No. 6..

When Henry VIII., who assumed the Kingship of Ireland, began to reign, the royal style and title of King of Leinster existed in the Clan Kavanagh. Morogh the Woodkerne, also called Ballogh, the Freckled, was then King, and was the founder of many septs, who inhabited the Carlow side of the mountains. None of his sons, though they were many and powerful, ever attained the rank or authority of their father, in consequence of Sir Peter Carew's conquest of Idrone, which was their country. The chief title, whether it was "King," or "M^cMurrough," or "leading man of the Kavanaghs," was no longer within their reach, reduced as they were to a state of tenancy and subjection to the Carews and Bagenals. The title, whatever it happened to be, with the authority and supremacy which it indicated, passed after the death of Morogh Ballogh to the sons of Donnell Reagh, namely, Art the Yellow, and Gerald of Ferns, and to their sons Cahir Morogh M^cInnycross¹ and Muriertagh Kavanagh. Art the Yellow ruled Leinster from 1511 to 1518, when he was succeeded by his brother, Gerald of Ferns. The reign of the latter lasted but for four years (to 1522) when his son Morogh succeeded and after him Cahir M^cInnycross was elected (1531) to the title through the favour and influence of the Earl of Kildare. He was the last of the Kavanaghs who bore the title of King of Leinster, and when he died, his cousin Muriertagh Kavanagh, the son of Art the Yellow, was made, not King but M^cMurrough, which title he held until the year 1547.

On the death of this last chieftain, the clan title and power, taken from the sons of Donnell Reagh, were bestowed on the descendant of Dermot Lavderg,² the famous chief Cahir M^cArt Kavanagh of St. Mullins and Polmonty. With the exception of this interval, in which the descendants of Dermot Lavderg had supremacy, and which con-

¹ The genealogists are not agreed as to the descent of Cahir M^cInnycross. Some make him a younger son of Morogh Ballogh, while others, we believe more correctly, say that he was the second son of Gerald of Ferns. Hence the name of Cahir M^cGerald. In the Pedigree the latter descent is adopted.

² "This Dermond aforesaid had for his

portion of living and the line that should come of him. He had the Barony of St. Malynes, Fernemanagh that was belonging to the Abbey of the Grage, a portion of Fernhamon and the Barony of Balyan." "Abstract of the Kavanaghs and their Lands," written in 1572, it is supposed by Harpole, Constable of Carlow. "Carew Calendar," Vol. I., pp. 289, 422.

tinued until, towards the end of the century, the leading part in the affairs of the clan, if indeed it could then be called a clan, was taken by the descendants of Art the Yellow. It was resumed by Donnell Spaniagh, who led the clan in their last effort against the Crown in Tyrone's war, by his son Sir Morgan, and his grandsons Daniel and Colonel Charles Kavanagh, all of whom had a large share in the political troubles of the time.

As we have said already, Cahir M^cArt of St. Mullins and Polmonty became the M^cMurrough in 1547. It was in his time that the crisis came, and not only the clan title, which we have been considering, but also all the essential elements of clanship and clan life were destroyed. It is true, that the different septs of which the clan was composed held together for many years afterwards, up to the time of James I., but they never exercised their clan rights, and their Celtic laws and usages, formally abrogated, were gradually falling into disuse.

With regard to the clan title of M^cMurrough, it was publicly renounced by Cahir M^cArt in Dublin,¹ and never afterwards resumed by any of the chiefs. In compensation, he received two other titles, the first was Baron of Ballyanne by which he was made a Lord of Parliament, though he never took his seat in the House of Peers, his patent of creation being made out a very short time before his death, and the second given by the Government, which designed it to be the medium of restoring to him some of his privileges, was that of "Captain of his country." The Kavanaghs, however, still continued to call him the M^cMurrough.

In "the Captainry," the eldest son of Cahir M^cArt succeeded his father, who died in 1554. This was Murtogh Kavanagh the Baron of Cowellyn; and to him by royal favour, and title, and not by the exercise of clan rights, his brother Dermot was appointed Tanist. On the death of these two chiefs without lawful issue, their next brother, Bryan M^cCahir Kavanagh of Borris Idrone, became the leading man of the Kavanaghs. He is mentioned

¹ On the 4th November, 1550, before many Lords. "Cox, Hibernia Anglicana," St. Leger and in the presence of a great p. 288.

as such, by Harpole the Constable of Carlow in his "Abstract" of the Kavanaghs' Lands." As far as we know, he never assumed, or received the title of M^cMurrough, nor was he ever made by the Crown "Captain of his country." He was the most martial of his father's sons, and was in rebellion² in 1572 with Feagh M^cHugh, Walter³ Galde Kavanagh, and the Furlongs; and after his submission, for the few remaining years of his life, he adopted the ideas of English civility and government, in consequence, it is said, of his friendship and intercourse with Sir Peter Carew.

On his death, his son, Morgan M^cBryan, being young, the clan endeavoured to exercise the right of election, and taking advantage of the political confusion which then prevailed, offered the title of King of Leinster to Murtoth Oge Kavanagh of Garryhill, the eldest representative of Morogh Ballogh, which offer he prudently declined. Donagh Kavanagh, the descendant of Art the Yellow, and the father of Donnell Spaniagh, then made a plot for the Captainry, and in consequence thereof, was seized by Sir Nicholas White in 1583, and executed. Donnell Spaniagh, after this time, took the leading part in the affairs of the Kavanaghs, but he never had any title: he himself figured in the wars with Queen Elizabeth, and his son and grandsons were very prominent in the troubles of 1641, and in the Jacobite war.

As soon as Morgan M^cBryan came into the possession of his father's property, he naturally had all the influence to which his more numerous estates entitled him. He was called by contemporary chroniclers "Chief of his Nation," and his descendant at this day, in Borris Idrone, is the Chief of his Name.

So far for the title in the clan Kavanagh.

Mount Leinster and the range of the Blackstairs

¹ Abstract of the Kavanaghs and their Lands, as divided in times past with the untimely ends, &c., of divers of them. Hamilton's Calend. Vol. I., xxxviii. No. 65.

² The chief battle in this rebellion was fought in the barony of Shelburne, near Dunbrody, where Bryan M^cCahir with his auxiliaries overthrew the Wexford gentlemen. See the letter of Sir Nicholas Devereux to the Deputy on the great

slaughter and murder in his country because he would not make peace with the rebels. Id., vol. I., xxxvii, No. 59, vii.

³ He was a famous freebooter. Cahir Roe (Red Charley), of the line of Garryhill, living 1590, was another. His "den" is on the Wexford side of the mountains below Scollagh Pass. His grandson, Owen M^cDonnell Kavanagh, forfeited Ballaghmore in 1641.

divided the Kavanagh's Country into two parts, and raised up between them an almost impassable barrier. This separation must have always presented a serious obstacle to the practice of gavel-kind in the whole clan. If the law of gavel was ever fully observed throughout the whole clan, it received a serious check in the time of Art Oge, king of Leinster, for he made a division of the territory, giving all westward of the mountains, which he called Upper Leinster, to his elder son, Donnell More; and all eastward of the mountains, which he called Lower Leinster, to his younger son, Gerald. After this period there was no gavelling, strictly so called, but division and subdivision; and this state of things lasted until the loss of clan rights and the new arrangement of the lands. In Cahir M^cArt's time, his country having been first completely conquered and devastated, all the lands of the clan were divided among the different septs and families, by the order and authority of the Crown, and hereditary succession and English feudal tenure were established. For the maintenance of this division of the lands, so necessary for the English conquest, but so fatal to the Irish practice of gavel-kind, English Captains were stationed in various districts of the Kavanagh's country, whose duty it was, not only to maintain this, and other enactments, but to win over the whole district, as well as they could, to English obedience.

There were many plans drawn up for the settlement of the Kavanagh's Country, some of which were suggested in 1537, as we may see from the "State Papers," and in them all, this parcelling and setting out of the lands was a favourite measure. This project, if carried out, would necessarily put an end to gavel-kind. In these schemes were also set forth the holding of the land by Knight's service, and succession by heirs male. Walter Cowley, who was in frequent treaty with Cahir M^cArt for the reformation of his country, and the abolition of the clan system, wrote two letters upon this subject, one² dated from "the borders of Cahir M^cArt's countrie" to Lord Deputy St.

¹ "Carew Calendar," Vol. I., p. 133, No. 118.

² Given in Vol. II., new series, of the

"Journal" of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, p. 81.

Leger, 1540–41, and the other¹ from “the Greige by the Ryans’ countrie” (the present Graignamanagh) addressed to Lord Deputy Bellingham March 1549, in which he strongly advocates these measures, and also the abolition of the Irish dress and manner of living. Though some of these projects were made so early as 1537, the actual division of the lands did not take place until 1552,² when it was made by the Lord Deputy Croft with the concurrence of Cahir M^oArt. The chief, however, in this new settlement of the land, in which the clan system fell, made wise provision for himself; for he covenanted with the Deputy that he should have the lordships of St. Mullins and Ballyanne, and that they should not be divided among his relatives. By this measure he secured in the division a great preponderance of property to the house of Borris Idrone.

The election of Tanist in the clan passed away shortly after the law of gavel. In Cahir M^oArt’s time, his eldest son was elected Tanist, and when the latter gentleman succeeded to the Captaincy, his brother Dermot was appointed³ Tanist by Queen Mary, and was not elected by the clan. This indicated a decline in the clan rights and power, when the heads of the clan sought their appointment from the favour of the Crown, rather than from the election of the people. Dermot, we believe, was the last Tanist, and in the second Parliament of Queen Elizabeth, the office was abolished, and in the time of James I. was extinguished throughout the whole kingdom.

The Brehon law existed in the clan up to the time of James I. Amongst all the Irish of the kingdom, “the evil custom” prevailed, the Statutes of Kilkenny and the laws of Queen Elizabeth notwithstanding. Not only had the Irish chiefs their brehons for the administration of justice, but the Anglo-Irish nobles also kept Irish judges. Thus Pierce Roe, the eighth Earl of Ormonde, had an Irish brehon, named Rory Mac Laughire,⁴ in the county of Kilkenny.

¹ This letter is printed in the Appendix to the “Annuary of Roy. Hist. and Archæological Association of Ireland” for 1869.

² State of Ireland. Copy of Sir Thomas Cusack’s book to the Duke of Northumberland. “Carew Calendar,” Vol. I., p. 236.

³ The Patent creating him Tanist is given in Vol. II., new series, p. 91, of the “Journal” of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society.

⁴ See note in “Annuary” for 1868, p. 100.

In all the controversies of the southern Geraldines, they invariably appealed to their brehons, and this existence of the Brehon law in Munster was a constant source of complaint, and its abolition was always a point in the treaties with Desmond. The Earls of Kildare, in the heart of the Pale, got rid in a great degree of their English freeholders. Irish tenants replaced them, and as the Earls insisted on Irish rights and exactions, they also administered Irish or Brehon justice. When such was the case with the Anglo-Irish Lords, it is not surprising that the Brehon code was the only acknowledged legislation among the Celtic chiefs and clans.

In the clan Kavanagh, the O'Dorans were the brehons or judges, as the Mac Eoghies or the Kehoes were the bards or rhymers. The Treaty¹ or Agreement of Ross, (1543), made between the Crown and Cahir M^cInnycross, appointed, amongst others, two of these brehons, John O'Doran and Ferganyn O'Doran, to limit and assign the lands belonging to the King's Castles and Manors. In 1572, when the barony of Idrone, then vested in the Crown, was ordered by royal commission to be meared or measured, one of the O'Dorans, Donagh O'Doran of Rathaskand, was amongst the Irish gentlemen² of the barony who were chosen for that purpose, and his appointment was due not so much to his property, as to his rank and knowledge. In a conversation which Colclough of Tintern had with Cahir M^cArt in 1548, the chieftain said to him "that he wished no man to be hanged for stealing only, sticking to the Brehon law of restitution," from which observation it would appear that at the time the Brehon law prevailed in his country.

Notwithstanding the undoubted prevalence of the Brehon code in their country, the Kavanaghs were in various ways brought into contact with English law, and even filled places and offices required for its administration. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the part of their country most affected by English law was Idrone. Sir Peter Carew was

¹ Given in "Journal" of the Kilk. and S. E. of Ir. Arch. Soc., Vol. II., n. s., p. 84.

² The List of English and Irish gentle-

men who surveyed the barony may be seen in Maclean's "Life of Sir Peter Carew." Appendix, p. 254.

by English law proprietor of the barony, and this brought him into immediate relations with the people. Over the St. Mullins and Polmonty district he was but the English Captain,¹ and had not much connexion with its population. All the people of Idrone became his tenants, except the Tallons² of Nurney and the Kavanaghs of Garryhill, who, with the pride of the senior race of the Kavanaghs, could hardly be brought to acknowledge Sir Peter's claim, and always resisted it, when opportunity was given. Amongst all these people of Idrone Sir Peter established regular courts of session, where he, as judge and magistrate, administered justice according to English law. The Bagenals, who bought the barony from Sir Peter's nephew, continued, as far as they could, the same administration of English justice. Any differences between the Kavanaghs and English settlers were referred to the English judges, who held courts of session either at Carlow or Leighlinbridge.

So early as 1562, Lord Deputy Sussex, in his Report,³ stated that the Kavanaghs were so amenable to the laws, that they answered the summons of all the Dublin courts, serving on juries, &c. They held office under the Crown, as Constables, or Sub-Constables of the royal Castles in their country, that is to say of their own Castles, held by them for the Crown, the officers and ward being paid from the Royal Exchequer. In this way Ferns was made a royal castle, so also were Clonmullen, Clohamon, and Ballyloughan. Thus Bryan M^c Donagh Kavanagh was Royal Constable of his own castle of Ballyloughan, made a king's castle by act of the Crown, and this gentleman was the first Sheriff of Carlow that we find amongst the Kavanaghs. This, however, was at a time, 16 Jac. I., when the clan, as such, had entirely fallen in common with the other Leinster tribes. Cahir M^c Art was for so short a time Lord of Parliament, that he could hardly have taken his seat in the House of Peers. None of the Kavanaghs sat as Common-

¹ "Bryan M^c Care and his bretheren and kinsmen belong to Sir Peter Carewe as Captain over them, appointed by the Governors, and their living is the Barony of St. Mayln, which is the Queen's Majesties to take and to give at her pleasure."

Abstract of the Kavanagh's lands, &c.

² The Tallons went to law with Sir Peter. They brought him before the Star Chamber and Council Board. Sir Peter died before the suit was ended.

³ "Carew Calendar," Vol. I., p. 337.

ers in the Parliament of Lord Sussex in 1560, nor in Sir Henry Sydney's Parliament in 1569, nor in Sir John Perrott's Parliament in 1584. The first of the Kavanaghs who sat in Parliament, was Morgan M^o Bryan, of Borris Idrone, who, with George Bagenal, of Ballymoon, the father of Colonel Walter Bagenal of Dupleckney, represented the county of Carlow in the Parliament of Sir Arthur Chichester in 1613. Sir Morgan Kavanagh, of Clonmullen, Knight, the son of Donnell Spaniagh, was elected to Strafford's Parliament in 1634, but, from some informality, the election was declared void.

Notwithstanding this submission of the Kavanaghs to the courts of law, and to the English judges at sessions, and their taking places of trust and office under the Crown, it may be fairly said, that until their fall as a clan they did not obey the King's laws, which indeed was much to be regretted, and it may be also added that until their final overthrow by Mountjoy and his officers, the Brehon law prevailed in all their private affairs amongst the Kavanaghs.

It is not difficult to set forth and trace the causes of the decline and fall of the clan.

The first and principal was the abolition of clan rights. No M^o Murrough was permitted to be chosen by the septs who composed the clan. The title was renounced by the chiefs. After Dermot the Tanist, no other was appointed or elected. Gavelling had ceased, and each sept had its own share of the lands, and each family in the sept had its allotted portion. Succession to these lands was no longer elective but hereditary. These measures broke the public spirit, and interfered with the common action of the clan.

Another cause of its early fall and subjugation was its proximity to the seat of English power. What was said at this time of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow was almost true of the Kavanaghs: "there be those who dwell within sight of the smoke of Dublin who are not subject to the laws." They were so near the city, that little better than a day's journey would bring the hosting of the Deputy into their midst. No sooner did the English power begin to increase, in the reign of Henry VIII., than the Government turned anxious eyes towards the Carlow marches. Beyond the

borders the king's power was very limited, reduced almost to nothing. He had the castles of Carlow, Leighlinbridge, and Duiske Abbey, on the waters of the Barrow. On the Slaney, he had Baltinglass and Tullow, and on the sea-board, Tintern, Arklow, and Wicklow. Outside of his Carlow forts the king had little or no power—barely free passage to the South over the bridge of Leighlin. Carlow was neither shired nor sheriffed, and the king's lieges could not travel therein without M^o Murrough's protection.

The first act of the Government was to get rid of the payment of the black rent,¹ and in lieu of it they gave a life pension to Cahir M^o Innycross. By a treaty made in 1536, M^o Murrough submitted, offered tribute, and free passage through his dominions to the king's subjects. Shortly after this period, commenced these frequent invasions of the Deputies, which in the end completely broke down the power of the clan. On any point of their country invaded by the Deputy, the Kavanaghs were unequal in numbers, in equipment, in horsemen. Of cannon they had none. The natural consequence was, that on occasion of each of these invasions, their piles or castles were sacked, their villages burned, and many of their men were slain.

In 1537, Lord Leonard Gray, the Deputy, led a host-
ing into their country. Wexford sent a contingent of 800 horse and foot to the expedition. M^o Murrough and his people submitted. In 1539, the Kavanaghs broke out, wasted the Wexford Liberty, and "were dividing² the poor men's goods in the fasagh of Bantry." St. Leger, the Deputy, assisted by James, 9th Earl of Ormonde, then invaded their country, and greatly prostrated the power of the clan. Another invasion, projected in 1542, was warded off by the treaty of the following year. In 1550 Lord Justice Brabazon carried fire and sword through Cahir M^o Art's country, after which he submitted, and renounced the title of M^o Murrough. In 1551-2 Croft made a progress through their country, and in 1566 Sir Henry Sydney did the same. In Bryan M^o Cahir's rebellion, 1572, the Crown sent a body of archers, which, with the Wexford contingent,

¹ By an Act of Parliament in 1537, all payments for protection were forbidden.

² Hamilton's "Calendar," Vol. I., p. 48, No. 12.

marched against this chief. The Deputy Grey De Wilton carried his army through their country in 1581, encamping at St. Mullins. Russell, Stanley, Masterson, and at a later period Sir Oliver Lambert, completed the work. These progresses and invasions, accompanied with burning, slaughter, and wasting of the land, were enough to annihilate the power of the clan.

The establishment of English Captains or Seneschals over the Kavanaghs injured greatly their clan system. Their influence and action were of a two-fold nature—preventing the revival of clanship and reducing them to English ways and obedience. Usually there were two English Captains in the county of Carlow—one at Carlow, the Constable of the royal castle there, the other residing at the “Queen’s House” in Leighlinbridge. In the beginning, there was a third stationed at St. Mullins for the protection of life and property. The pass of Polmonty, not far from this place, was full of danger, and the Kavanaghs from M^e Murrough Island, and at the tidal water of St. Mullins, were accustomed to take heavy toll on the merchandize and property carried in boats on the Barrow. After some time the presence of the English Captain was not required at St. Mullins, and the Constable of Leighlin had jurisdiction to the gates of Ross.

The Harpoles were Constables in Carlow, and so aggrandized themselves at the expense of the Irish, that in the Queen’s County, they founded a family which lived at Shrule Castle, and which, in the last century, ended in the unfortunate George Harpole, so celebrated by Sir Jonah Barrington.

In Leighlinbridge there was a great run of Constables. First, Heron ; after him came the eccentric and unfortunate Stukeley ; then the famous Sir Peter Carew. The younger Sir Peter having held the office for a short time, and having been slain in Glenmalure, his brother George was made Constable, and when he sold the barony to Dudley Bagenal, he also got him appointed Royal Constable at Leighlin. Dudley Bagenal being slain by the Kavanaghs, the Constablenesship was held by Ralph Bagenal, his brother, and also by the Marshal, and by St. Leger during the minority of Sir Ralph, the son of Dudley Bagenal. Sir Ralph

being killed in a duel in 1607, was succeeded by Fisher, and the Bagenals, no longer Constables, settled down in Dunleckney.

In Ferns the Mastersons were Captains—Sir Thomas and Sir Richard. The former was a great foe of the Kavanaghs, and appropriated a considerable share of their property. He made a great slaughter at one time of the Kavanaghs of Ferns, from which Donnell Spaniagh escaped. In Enniscorthy Sir Henry Wallop followed the same course. To rightly understand the influence and action of these Captains on the *property* of the clan, let us take the line of Art the Yellow of Enniscorthy. He died in the beginning of the century in 1518, and he received from his father, Donnell Reagh, as his portion, twenty marte-lands. In the end of the century, 1599, his direct descendant, Donnell Spaniagh, then a pensioner of the Crown,¹ had not an acre of this patrimony, nor was it enjoyed by any other member of the family. The greater part of these lands² in that year were possessed by Sir Richard Masterson, Sir Henry Wallop, Lord Mountgarrett, and Sir Nicholas Walshe.

Even when the Captains had no desire to acquire the property of the clan, they in many other ways, as was their duty, interfered with its freedom and privileges. In times of real or threatened turbulence, they seized on the chiefs, or on the sons of the chiefs, whom they held as hostages for the good behaviour of the clan. In this way, the Captain at Leighlinbridge often held hostages from the Kavanaghs and O'Mores. Their vigilance extended to every chief, and they took care that he did not become too powerful, or support too many "idle men." They would not allow any one, except the chief, to ride armed in warlike

¹ Letter from the English Privy Council, 22 August, 1 Jac. I., notifying the King's pleasure, that he should be a pensioner at ten shillings per day till he recover his rights or be better provided for. This pension he surrendered 5th November, 13 Jac. I., when he received a grant from the King of one marte-land and a half. Some of this for safety sake he conveyed away by deed in 1622. This small patrimony descended to his son, Sir Morgan.

In a letter of Sir John Davies, he gives

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a curious account of a supper at Carlow where Tyrone, Mountgarrett, Donnell Spaniagh, and Phelim Mc Feaugh met together. They had a brawl over their cups, and drew their swords, but a reconciliation was effected before they came to blows, which reconciliation, Sir John adds, tended neither to the peace nor the religion of the Kingdom. Irish Cal., Vol. I., by Dr. Russell and Mr. Prendergast, p. 159.

² "Carew Calendar," 1589-1600, p. 352.

array, and the brehons and their laws they discountenanced as much as they could, and also the bards¹ and rhymers, whose fall was near at hand.

The influence and action of these captains would soon have brought on the downfall of the clan, were it not that they too, like the Norman lords in Ireland, "degenerated." Living amongst the Irish, they acquired their spirit. In their quarrels with their neighbours they took Irish into their pay, and, to save money, took them as wards into the royal castles and forts. Hence in many instances their influence was not so destructive.

We may see what a burden in a financial way these captains and royal castles were, from the following extract from the State Papers of Elizabeth (Vol. 33, No. 48), which shows the cesses paid by the Kavanaghs of Idrone to Leighlin House:—

"So Idrone is 67 mart land containing 335 plough lands.

"Every mart land in the Drones yieldeth to the house of Leighlin 3 beofs yearly, 52 muttons, 52 barrels of oots [oats], 52 gallonz of butter, besides small acats and cariages at the discretion of the Constable of the House.

"They bear also their portions of cesses of beofs, muttons and oots for the provision of the Deputies house and victualling of forts, and no soldiers but soldiers of the house and the Deputies train when he cometh." Endorsed by Cecil, "O'Drones, Sir Peter Carew."

The presence of the English proprietors and settlers in the midst of the Kavanaghs, tended greatly to break up their clan. Sir Peter Carew possessed all Idrone, and lived in the midst of it at Leighlinbridge. He did great service, and was greatly beloved, but his whole influence was against clanship. There were many English settlers in Idrone, whose language, manners, and mode of living, superior to those of the Irish around them, naturally invited imitation. Davells, Wood, Tynte, &c., were of that class.

In the St. Mullins district there were no settlers. An-

¹ In the houses of the Irish chiefs the bards and rhymers were somewhat like the minstrels and gleemen in the castles

of the Norman lords, or the troubadours, or trouveres in the chateaus of the French nobles.

thony Colclough claimed the barony, but he did not reside there. He lived in Tintern Abbey. Even at this day there are very few "strangers" in St. Mullins, and it is still peopled with the descendants of the old race.

In the fasagh of Bantry, and in the Duffrey, Lord Mountgarrett's family were the chief English settlers. James Butler,¹ son of the second Lord Mountgarrett lived at Ballyboro now Castleboro, the seat of Lord Carew, before he went to reside in Tinnehinch Castle,² opposite Duiske, and Pierce Butler "the rashe young man," the Baron of Kayre, lived at Kayre, now Wilton, the seat of Mr. Alcock. The presence of these English settlers of necessity tended to weaken and finally to destroy the Irish system.

The frequent rebellions of the Kavanaghs, and the executions and confiscations consequent thereon, broke the spirit of the clan, and took away that influence and power, which belong to the possession of property.

The Kavanaghs were out in the Geraldine rebellion in 1534, and Cahir M^c Art, then a young man, was seized and kept prisoner in Dublin Castle, from which he effected his escape by the connivance of the Deputy. It was one of Alen's charges against Grey, that he let Cahir M^c Art go. Cahir M^c Art was the brother-in-law of "the Silken Lord." In 1569 the Kavanaghs of Idrone fought Sir Peter Carew before the Privy Council (not in the law courts of the kingdom), where their fate was soon sealed. The defendants in the cause were the heads of the septs of Garryhill, of Ballyloughan, of Ballyloo and Morogh, the son of Gerald "Sutton." When defeated at the Council Board,

¹ The Hon. James Butler lived in Tinnehinch Castle, County Carlow. He married Mrs. Butler, widow of Pierce Butler, of Duiske Abbey, and after the marriage, resided for the most part in Lowgrange Castle, County Kilkenny, on the Duiske property. He was a great politician, maintained a correspondence with Spain, and took a prominent part in the rebellion. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Governorship of the County Carlow with the Supreme Council, which gave it to Col. Walter Bagenal, of Dunleckney. See App. Second Report on

Historical MSS. 231, 193.

² Built by the Mountgarrett Butlers, to overawe the Kavanaghs. In the Cromwellian war, the castle was held by the Confederate troops, and the bridge here being the first stone bridge over the river, the Marquis of Ormonde used it to throw succours into Wexford county, then threatened by Cromwell. From this place also the Marquis, with the consent of the Commissioners of Trust, sent through Scollagh Pass, under the command of Inchiquin, the unfortunate Glascarrig expedition.—Carte's "Ormonde." Vol. II. p. 96.

they turned out with Sir Edmund Butler in the field, and made common cause with him, but in vain. The Kavanaghs were also engaged in "the Pale" rebellion of Baltinaglass, and from 1578 to 1586 there were continual seizures and executions on the Kavanaghs of Idrone and Ferns. Their feud with Bagenal the successor to the Carews, was a private affair. Murtoagh and Donogh Carogh, sons of the murdered chief, Murtagh Oge M^o Cahir Kavanagh, of Garryhill, slew Bagenal, and escaped punishment through the influence of Sir John Perrott. Masterson's slaughter of the Kavanaghs of Ferns took place in 1580, and Russell and Stanley's a few years later in 1583. In the fifteen years' war made by Tyrone (1588-1603) the nine septs of the Kavanaghs which constituted the clan were in rebellion. Lambert, Esmonde, and Mountjoy, completed their destruction.

The nine septs of the Kavanaghs are referred to, and described in a paper in the Survey of Ireland, given in the "Carew Calendar."¹ The date of this Paper is 1597, or, according to the better opinion, 1604. These nine septs, with their chiefs, are easily found in the genealogical table. The following is the passage in the Survey of Ireland:—
 "1. Gerald M^o Moridaghe Oge, of Slught Moritaughe; he is upon protection, his sept in rebellion, his house Rathengerye in O'Dorne. 2. Brian M^o Donoghe (both these are of Slewght Morroghe Ballaghe) upon protection, his house Castle Balliboghare, in O'Dorne. 3. Moriortaghe M^o Donoghe dead, his sept in rebellion. 4. Moriortaghe M^o Morishe in rebellion; both these septs are of Slewght Ayte More; both these men's lands in O'Dorne. 5. Donoghe M^o Cahir in rebellion, his house was the Castle of Fenes. 6. Donnell M^o Dowghe, alias Donnell Spanaghe, in rebellion; his chief house was Huysceethy. 7. Dermond M^o Morish, a pensioner in pay, his sept in rebellion; these three septs are of Slewght Donnell Reaghe; his pension in Kilkennyn, in Wexford. 8. Moroghe M^o Brian upon protection, his sept in rebellion; he is of Slewght Dermond Langrett, his land in St. Molin, in Wexford. 9. Moroghe

¹ "Carew Calendar" (1601-1603), p. 447.

Leighe M^c Cahir dead, his sept in rebellion ; he is of Slewght Aitmore, his land in St. Melyn, in Wexford.'

No. 1 is the sept of Garryhill, or the clan Muriertagh. The chief was Gerald M^c Muriertagh Oge Kavanagh, who died 1630. He was upon protection, but his sept in rebellion ; his house was the Castle of Rathnageeragh, in the barony of Idrone. No. 2 is the sept of Ballyloughan, or the clan Donagh, which, with that of Garryhill, descends from Morogh Ballogh. The chief was Brian M^c Donagh, at that time protected ; his sept in rebellion ; his house was the Castle of Ballyloughan, in Idrone. No. 3 is the sept of Ballyloo, descended from Art More, the younger son of Donnell More. The chief, Moriertaghe M^c Donoghe, was dead ; his sept in rebellion ; his house the Castle of Ballyloo. No. 4 is the sept of Park, also descended from Art More. The chief was Muriertaghe M^c Morishe ; he, with his sept, in rebellion. No. 5 is the family of Ferns coming from Gerald of Ferns, the second son of Donnell Reagh. The chief was Dowghe, the son of Cahir, the son of Art Buoy, who was slain by Heron ; Dowghe M^c Cahir, with the sept, was in rebellion ; his house was the Castle of Ferns. No. 6 is the family of Enniscorthy, the line of Art the-Yellow, the eldest son of Donnell Reagh. The chief was Donnell M^c Dowghe, or Donnell Spaniaghe, who, with the sept, was in rebellion ; his chief house was Huyscheety (Enniscorthy perhaps). No. 7 is the line of the third son of Donnell Reagh, Sliocht Morogh. Dermot, its chief, received a pension from the Crown in Kilkennyn. Nos. 5, 6, and 7, are the three septs coming from the three sons of Donnell Reagh. No. 8 is the sept of St. Mullins, Polmonty and Borris Idrone, of the line of Dermot Lavderg. The chief was Moroghe M^c Bryan, or Morgan M^c Bryan of Borris Idrone, the son of Bryan M^c Cahir ; his sept in rebellion. The chief was protected ; his land was in Carlow and Wexford counties. No. 9 is the sept of Low Rock, descended from Art More of Low Rock, the brother of Dermot Lavderg. The chief was Moroghe Leogh M^c Cahir ; he died in 1600 ; his sept in rebellion ; his land on the Wexford side of the mountains.

The fall of the Garryhill Kavanaghs came long before the reign of James I. They had been despoiled of the

greater part of their property by the Carews and Bagenals. Still the last of them, Gerald M^c Murtagh of the Garryhill, contrived during the Elizabethan wars to preserve a good remnant of the ancient patrimony. This property he did not retain in his own name, for, by a deed made in 1597, he conveyed to William Wall and Edmund O'Doyne, a great moiety of this estate, including the castle and townland of Rathnageeragh, and by another deed in 1623, he made over to Walter Sinnott and Dermot M^c Dowling Kavanagh, the remaining moiety, which contained Garryhill and other townlands. He died 21st December, 1631, and on the same day an Inquisition took place at Wells, and in this Inquisition his property is recited in full. By his wife he had no male issue. The children of the second family, by Anastasia Fitzgerald, were illegitimate, as may be seen in the Book of Distributions for Carlow. Art Kavanagh, of Ballytiglea, gentleman, his nephew, claimed to be his heir. The Crown gave away almost all his property to various persons, as we can see in "the grants" of this king's reign. The Kavanaghs, however, held some of it under the new grantees, for we find that Murtagh Kavanagh forfeited, in 1641, his estates of 1800 acres in Rathnageeragh, Drumfey, and Miltown, all belonging to the Garryhill Kavanaghs. These lands of Garryhill, after passing through various hands, came at length into the possession of the Ponsonbys, and, with Grangeforth, which they acquired in the Cromwellian confiscations, form the Carlow estate of the Earl of Bessborough.

The second sept, descended from Morogh Ballogh, was that of Ballyloughan, and it too came to an end in the Cromwellian wars. Bryan M^c Donagh Kavanagh, Royal Constable of Ballyloughan, and the first Carlow Sheriff among the Kavanaghs, died in 1619. By Inquisitions taken at Carlow in 1625 and 1626, he was found to possess Ballyloughan, Coolnacopoge, Aghabegg, the two Corries, the two Ballinrushs, Ballytiglea, and part of Ballynagrane, for which he paid to the Bagenals £4 annual rent. His son and heir, Art Kavanagh, was of full age and married at the time of his father's death. This Art Kavanagh, "Irish Papist," figures among the forfeiting proprietors in Idrone in 1641. His lands of Ballyloughan were granted

to the Beauchamps, who, by their intermarriage with the Bagenals, brought Ballyloughan again into the Bagenal family.

The great Bagenal property in Idrone is now divided into five parts, the Latouches having one part, Captain Packe Beresford a second, Mr. Bruen a third, Lord Downes a fourth, and the fifth is Mr. Newton's, with the manor house of Dunleckney. Ballyloughan is in Mr. Bruen's portion, and he who maternally is a Kavanagh is now the landlord of the castle and lands of Ballyloughan.

It would prolong our notice too much, were we to touch on all the families founded by the other sons of Morogh, but there is one which we cannot pass over, both on account of the great notoriety which it acquired, and also because it throws some light on the ecclesiastical condition at this period of the Kavanagh's country—we refer to "the Grage Family," the head of which is said to have been Cahir Kavanagh, last Abbot of Duiske, the third son of Morogh Ballogh. Everything seems to favour the supposition that his children were born before he entered into religion. His eldest son Murrough, "the Murderer," was Archdeacon of Leighlin. His history, crime, and execution are given in Ware's "Bishops," p. 461. His two other sons were successively Deans of Leighlin. If they were not "in orders," at least they received the title and temporalities. The son of one of these Deans, was Daniel Kavanagh,¹ Protestant Bishop of Leighlin, who was more remarkable for good fellowship and good nature than for piety or learning. Sir John Perrott wrote to him about the state of his diocese, and we give his reply, with the list which he furnishes of "the ruined and waste churches" in the Kavanagh's country :—

"CAREW MS., VOL. 614, P. 245.

"To the Right Honourable Sir John Perrott, Knight, her Majesties Lord Deputy of Ireland, Concerning the estate of the churches within the Dioceses.

¹ He does not appear to have been anxious about the Bishopric, for the Deputy Sydney, in his second application for him, speaks of "the negligente sute of the p'ty." The nomination was made "for

his alliaunce in the dioces," and for "his conformitie in religion." The letter of solicitation of Sydney and the Queen's letter of nomination are given in Shirley's "Original Letters," 292, 298.

" Upon receipt of your most honorable letters dated the last of February, I have according to my bounden duty and contents of the same made diligent enquiry throughout my Dioces of all such churches and chapels as in the same are ruinated and waste, the names of the which with the Deaneries wherein they be I have sent unto your honour, most humbly beseeching the same that as the decay is most pitiful so it might please you for the better reformation therof to take such redress therein, that God's service may be the better mantained, and the people brought to the knowledge of his word, and duty to their prince, so should the whole country be bound continually to pray for your honour's long and prosperous estate, and government to the Almighty, who ever preserve the same with all increase.

" Your honour's most bounden,

" DANIEL LEGHLINE.

" Churches belonging and appertaining to the Dean and Chapter of Laghten.

" Ruinated and not waste belonging to the Dean only :—

" The church of Wells, Knockan [Ballyknockan, near Leighlin], with the chapel of Tully.

" Ruinated and not waste belonging to the Dean and Chapter :—

" Church of Painston [Painestown]: the church of Raghill [Rahill], the chapel of Ballygeralt [Ballygarrett].

" Ruinated and utterly waste belonging to the Dean and Chapter :—

" Church of Mollenacuffye [Mullinacuff] church of Trew Keronyhie, church of Leguffe [Sliguff], with the chapels of Donous [Donore], Aghmige [Agha], Kilrye [Kilree], Kylloghe Dermisin [near Garryhill], and Temple Molinge [Temple Molasha].

" Churches being ruinated but the land not waste in the several Deaneries hereafter ensuing.

" Deanery of O'Drona :—

" Church of Tighmolinge [St. Mullins], with the chapel of the Holy Virgin Mary; church of Ballyellin with the chapel of Kyltraghnegerathe [Kyle perhaps]; church of Dunleckneye with the chapel of Rathedyne [Ratheaden]; church of Ullarde, church of the Wood Grange [Grange Sylvae]; church of Powerstown, church of Kilmocahill, church of Senkyll [Shankill], with the chapel of Ballycloghna [Cloghna].

" Churches being in utter ruin, and the land being in utter waste, in the several Deaneries hereinafter specified.

" Deanery of O'Drona :—

" Church of Kyltennell with the chapel of Knockstoir [Knocksquire]; church of Clonagnes [Clonagoose], with the chapel of Killconnye [Kilcloney]; church of Leonum [Lorum]; church of Mourneye [Nurney], with the chapel of Ballyetrasneye [Ballytarsna]; chapel of Kyllcollegnye [Kilcollaun, near Tinecarrig].

As for free schools there is not any in my Diocess.

Endorsed. " The Bishop of Leighlin's certificate of churches decayed in his Diocess."

We have given only those portions of the list referring to the Kavanagh's country.

The Bishop's brothers were slain by the Kavanaghs of Garryhill, and this Grage family disappeared before the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

The Kavanagh families descended from Donnell Reagh, namely, those of Enniscorthy, Ferns, and the sept of Morogh, lost their property and status by Tyrone's war. Art Buoy the younger, of Ferns, was slain by Heron in 1549, and Walter Galde, of this family, who for a long time was the terror of Wexford, was executed in 1581. The last chief of this line, Donogh M^o Cahir, was in rebellion in 1599. The property of this family, with that of Sliocht Morogh, was "planted" in the reign of James I.

The line of Enniscorthy held somewhat longer. Donnell Spaniagh was the head of this family, and he being dispossessed of all his property, got a pension from the Crown of ten shillings a day. When he gave up this pension (13 Jac. I.), he received a royal grant of a few townlands of the property of his ancestors—Clonmullen, Baragh, Kilbranicke, Carrickduffe, &c. This property he transmitted to his son Sir Morgan Kavanagh, Knt., having protected it by legal conveyances. Sir Morgan fled after the fatal field of Kilrush, in the county of Kildare, and he, with his elder son, Daniel Kavanagh, of the Confederate Catholics, 1646, was attainted and their property confiscated. Colonel Charles, the second son, who lived at Carrickduff, county Carlow, engaged in the Jacobite war, and forfeited. His descendants were living at Nancy, in France, about 1770.

Of the remaining families, namely, those of Borris Idrone and Ballyleigh, we shall say but a few words. In the division of the clan property, the house of Borris Idrone acquired a great share of the lands, through the ability of the chief Cahir M^o Art. This property was preserved through the friendship of Sir Peter Carew, who saved it in the rebellion of Bryan M^o Cahir, and who gave to this family English notions and ideas, which greatly befriended them. In the troubles of 1641, Bryan Kavanagh, of Borris, forfeited a great amount of property in the baronies of Idrone and St. Mullins, in Carlow, and in Bantry, in Wexford. He is registered as a Protestant in the Books of Distribution for Carlow and Wexford, and we suppose that

the restoration of his property was due to his religious profession. In the Jacobite war, his son Morgan was on the list of the attainders of 1691, and we do not know how he contrived to escape the confiscation which fell so heavily on his cousin and brother-in-law, Colonel Charles, of Carrickduff. The prudence and caution of the heads of the family during the period of the penal laws preserved this great property intact, and it has come down as a noble possession to our own times.

The portion of the Borris Idrone property given to the younger sons of Bryan M^o Cahir, passed out of the hands of the Kavanaghs. Bryan M^o Cahir gave two or three townlands to each of his younger sons, who paid a nominal head-rent to the house of Borris. These all joined in the Confederate struggle, and all forfeited, except the Rock-savage family, who were declared "Innocent," and restored to their estates.

The Ballybrack property was confiscated in 1641. Dermot Kavanagh, the grandson of Bryan M^o Cahir, forfeited Ballybrack and Liselican, and his lands were given to Stopford, and are now possessed by the descendant of Stopford, the Earl of Courtown.

The family of Ballyknockstaggard, or Knocknesaggard, also forfeited in the person of Gerald, the son of Edmund, the son of Bryan M^o Cahir. In the "Book of Distributions" this Gerald Kavanagh is found to have forfeited Kilmissan, Rathgeran, and Knockymulgurry. This property was afterwards given to the son of Gerald's first cousin, Thomas M^o Tirlogh.

The Ballybrannagh Kavanaghs divided into three families, namely those of Ballybrannagh, Rocksavage, and Inch. Gerald Kavanagh, of Ballybrannagh, was slain in the Cromwellian war, and Ballybrannagh at first forfeited was restored finally to Thomas M^o Tirlogh. He then had the properties of Ballyknocksaggard and Ballybrannagh.

In his own right, he had Rocksavage, which had been forfeited, but which was restored to him, he being declared "Innocent" in 1663.

The Inch family were mere tenants to the house of Borris. The last representatives of this family were James

list so meagre and so vague, that it is quite useless for purposes of identification.

The genealogical table of the Clan Kavanagh, which faces this page, has been taken from a folio book on Anglo-Irish families compiled by the late Mr. Hore, and also from MSS. kindly lent by his son P. N. Hore, Esq. This genealogy agrees with that in the Herald's College, London, Vincent No. 26, and differs very little from another which Mr. Hore compiled from the Carew MSS. It is confirmed by the MS. Genealogies and Prophetical Poems (23 H. I. 1.), kept in the Royal Irish Academy.

It differs, however, in some very important particulars, chiefly in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from the genealogy in the Ulster Office, compiled by Sir William Betham, and signed by the late Mr. Walter Kavanagh, of Borris. It differs also from that found in Keating's History of Ireland, and from that drawn out by the late Dr. O'Donovan, who followed Keating. All things considered, we are inclined to think that the genealogy compiled by the late Mr. Hore is the most complete and consistent of the Kavanagh genealogies, and that it correctly shews the main lines of descent, and the chief persons of the clan.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRINCIPAL CRANNOGS OF FERMANAGH.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN.

DURING a sojourn, now of more than seven years, in the "Interlacken" of Ireland, as the territory of Fermanagh has been not inaptly styled, I have seldom lost an opportunity, when such was presented, or could be made, of visiting and examining the character of the little artificial islands which appear upon the surface of nearly all the lochs, greater or smaller, of the district. The Erne itself, river and loch (I venture to assert that *loch*, and not lough, or lake, is the proper word to be used when writing of inland sheets of water in Ireland, as in Scotland), contains a few,

and only a few, remains of this class. The reason for this fact, I hope on a future occasion to explain. In former numbers of our "Journal," it has been my endeavour to describe some nine or more of these water-girt retreats, and to note the class of remains, animal and artificial, &c., &c., which upon examination they were found to contain. Not a few of our Members will fail to recollect how much we owe to the Earl of Enniskillen, and to Mr. Albert Way, for light which has accompanied this investigation so far. The crannog subject, though more than thirty years old (since the discovery at Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath), is still a new one, in the character of the antiquities which the islands or islets present. We get something fresh every year, and a time may come when, by a scientific classification of the objects obtained, and by a comparison of our own with those found in other countries, many an antiquarian question now robed in mystery may be solved. This is an idea by no means novel, or even newly expressed ; but it is one which should not be lost sight of. There will be no doubt amongst antiquaries that a large majority of the crannogs which have been discovered in Ireland date from a remote period. It cannot be supposed, however, that many of the earlier examples are nearly of the same era. It is but fair to assume that their utility in comparatively rude times would be readily acknowledged. Successive generations would construct or re-edify strongholds similar to those in which their fathers, near or distant, had found shelter from ravenous animals, or from human enemies, equally wild, and far more dangerous. The Irish crannog, great or small, was simply an island either altogether, or in part, artificial, strongly staked with piles of oak, pine, yew, alder, or other timber, encompassed by rows of palisading (the bases of which now usually remain), behind which the occupiers of the hold might defend themselves with advantage against assailants. Within the enclosure were usually one or more log-houses, which no doubt afforded shelter to the dwellers during the night-time, or whenever the state of the weather necessitated a retreat under cover. We know, from numerous historical references of authority, that crannogs were used at an early time ; but we have no

right to suppose that structures of the kind may not have been constructed even during an age preceding all authentic annals referring to Erin. On the other hand, we read that so lately as the sixteenth century, and even later, several Celtic chieftains of note possessed lacustrine dwellings which were looked upon as strongholds. It would be well indeed, in the interest of antiquarian science, that some judicious observer should take up the subject, and classify our crannogs. This might be accomplished, perhaps, less by reference to the construction of the works themselves than by an examination of the antiquities which the islands had been ascertained to present to explorers. As a rule, our Irish crannogs have been found to be constructed of layers of brushwood, branches, gravel, timber round or split, heather and ferns, earth-mould and small boulders, the whole usually covered by a stratum of flagstones. In some few instances the body of the work is entirely of stone, the woodwork which appears round its base being simply the ruin of the "chevaux-de-frise," or "hedge," by which the island was fortified. The crannogs almost invariably present in themselves no feature by which their respective ages might be determined. The plan is ever the same, or nearly the same, the arrangement of the materials showing the only variety. It is then to their contents we must refer for an idea as to the period of their occupation. Beyond doubt, numbers of these fastnesses were used "off and on" during a period to be measured by many centuries. In our "Journal" for January, 1868, Mr. Benn describes two flint knives, and a stone celt, or "thunderbolt," as having been found in a crannog near Cloughwater Meeting-house, about four miles from Ballymena. To my own knowledge, a couple of ordinary stone celts and a bronze spear head were dug out of the great crannog of Lagore, near Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath. Mr. Shirley, in describing a collection of antiquities from crannogs in "Mac Mahon's country" (Monaghan), enumerates stone celts, a worked flint, apparently an arrow-head, besides various celts, arrow-heads, and other objects of bronze. The Hon. John Cole was kind enough to inform me of the discovery at Hazlewood, Co. Sligo, on the surface of a newly drained crannog, of several articles of antique bronze—amongst the

rest a pair of tweezers, a kind of implement usually found in Britain associated with Roman or early Saxon remains. These, I hope some time to have an opportunity of laying before a Meeting of our Association. I think, indeed, that it can be satisfactorily shown that our crannogs, or some of them, were occupied during that mysterious period when the general use of flint or stone was giving place to that of bronze ; and further—that there is evidence in the style of manufacture exhibited by many of the antiquities composed of iron found in and around these islands, that their artificers had derived their ideas of form from traditions handed down from father to son (crafts we know, in the olden time in Ireland, were hereditary), from the grand old days of what might be styled the heroic period of Erin—the time of the torques, “golden” (hilted) swords, many-bossed shields, and chariots inlaid with bronze and findruine.

We know that the primitive people of Ireland possessed the art of constructing excellent fictile ware for mortuary purposes. If they could make sepulchral urns of fire-hardened clay is it likely that they would not have also manufactured everyday culinary vessels of the same material ? Within the last few years an immense quantity of pottery, evidently of a domestic kind, has been found in connexion with many of our crannogs.¹ This ware is extremely interesting, as from its numerous examples we have an opportunity of comparing ordinary domestic vessels, unquestionably very ancient, with the urns and vases of an undoubtedly prehistoric and pagan period. But we can do even more. As the great majority of the specimens of crannog pottery which we possess present designs stamped upon them, we have an opportunity of comparing the style of art which they exhibit, not only with the ornamentation of vessels deposited in cairns, but also with the decorations found upon golden, or bronze ornaments,

¹ The Earl of Enniskillen, who takes a deep interest in the Crannog question, was kind enough to forward several characteristic fragments of this ware to Augustus Franks, Esq., of the British Museum, accompanied with a request that Mr.

Franks would favour our Association with his opinion as to their age, &c., &c. In his reply Mr. Franks stated as his opinion that “they may be of any date;” and that in texture and pattern they were very like Canadian pottery.

arts and implements, and sometimes even upon the walls of cairns, or the surface of rocks—all of which are usually, if not invariably acknowledged to belong to archaic times.

Fig. 1.

Crannog Pottery, Ballydoolough.

Fig. 2

Figs. 1 and 2, drawn one-half the real size, represent portions of vessels which had been used on the crannog of Ballydoolough, county of Fermanagh. The larger fragment bears upon its ear, or handle, two figures somewhat like a St. Andrew's cross, but which here, I apprehend, need not be regarded as a Christian symbol. Such figures have been found in Ireland inscribed on rocks, and upon the walls of natural or partly artificial caverns, and even within the enclosure of Pagan tumuli, as at Dowth, accompanied, in several instances, by "scorings," at present unintelligible. The late lamented George Victor Du Noyer has noticed several examples, and I myself, in the "Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy," have figured not a few notable specimens from the cave of Loch-na-cloy-duff (*The Loch of the dark Trench, or Mound*), county of Fermanagh, and from the "Lettered Caves" in the cliffs of Knockmore, in the same county. In a recent number of the "Archæologia Cambrensis," Mr. Albert Way has described a number of spoon-shaped objects of antique bronze which exhibit a style of workmanship which has been invariably associated with pre-Christian times in Britain and Erin. These curious relics are all decorated with the figure of a cross exactly similar in design to that symbol, as found upon

some of our earliest quernstones. Discs and thin plates of gold, which there is every reason to believe belong to the days of torques and brazen swords presenting the same figure, have been sometimes found in Ireland. In Britain, cross-shaped designs have been discovered impressed upon the clay of primitive urns. From an article signed "F. M. Y.," which appeared in the "People's Magazine" for February, 1873, I make the following extract:—

"Many people will doubtless be unprepared to hear that the cross was a sacred symbol long before the rise of Christianity. This is nevertheless a well-attested fact, and one that has received numerous proofs. The cross has been sacred to almost all religions. It has been found inscribed on Keltic and Teutonic coins, and on coins of Corinth, Syracuse and Chalcedon. It is also common in old Indian paintings, being often placed in the king's hand as a sceptre; in one of those, reproduced by Müller, Brahma, who is represented with four hands, holds the cross in one of these; in another painting it is grasped by three of the six hands of Krishna, and these are by no means solitary instances.

"Nor was the use of this sign confined to the Aryan family; it has been discovered among the hieroglyphics sculptured on the temples in Egypt, especially on those dedicated to Serapis. Osiris is also represented holding out a cross to a mortal; this is an emblem of death, or rather, it signifies that the mortal has put off mortality and entered upon the life to come. The great figure of Tiglath-Pileser, in the British Museum, bears upon his breast a Maltese cross. When South America was conquered by the Spaniards, they found that the cross was held sacred by the Mexicans, the Paraguayans, the Floridans, and many other tribes."

I am quite unable to suggest any meaning for these very curious vase markings, but, at the same time I cannot regard them as having been merely intended for ornament. A most remarkable discovery of a nearly similar cross cut upon a large block of stone, which was set many feet deep in the heart of a cairn situate at a place called "The Miracles," near Derrygonnelly, county of Fermanagh, was made last year by our brother Member, Mr.

Plunkett, of Enniskillen. It is worthy of comment that immediately adjoining this carn, the name of which seems to be simply a blundered translation of the Irish word *Fearta*, "graves," are the remains of a very fine crannog, of which more hereafter. The vessels under consideration are of a dingy brown colour, and their "scorings" are deeply impressed in what was a paste of unusually gritty matter. It may not be out of place to state here, once for all, that between the crannog pottery and the vases found in carns, and usually styled "sepulchral," there is, apparently, no difference in the style of their manufacture. Strange to say, both classes exhibit the action of fire more strongly upon the interior than upon the external sides or base. Their colouring upon the whole is generally similar, varying from a dull red to a dark brown, nearly black; and in no instance, as far as my observation carries, has glazing been practised.

Fig. 3.

Crannog Pottery, Lough Eyes.

Fig. 4.

The two cuts which I now present (drawn half size) illustrate portions of vessels from "Lough Eyes," as the name appears upon the Ordnance Maps. Fig. 3 had been a deep-lipped bulbous vessel of great beauty of form. Its "herring-bone" ornament is absolutely identical with the prevailing work found upon many of our "burial urns," as in the specimen from "The one man's carn," at Moytura, figured by Sir William Wilde, in his most valuable book upon "Lough Corrib," &c., &c. This is the kind of decoration usually seen upon our bronze celts, and other remains of an early and even pre-historic period. Fig. 4,

representing a portion of an eared vessel from the same locality, is equally characteristic. It also is given half size. The colour is light reddish drab.

Fig. 5.
Crannog Pottery, Lough Eyes and Ballydoolough.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 5, drawn half size, exhibits the same style of art, though the design is bolder and ruder. It is from Ballydoolough, where so many of the chevroned patterns were found. Fig. 7, from Loch Eyes, has a peculiarly Pagan look. Fig. 6 had formed a portion of a very chaste vessel. Its style of ornamentation is extremely rare amongst the Fermanagh remains, and is very remarkable as being identical with that exhibited upon a portion of a decorated leathern shoe figured in "Notices of Scottish Crannogs, and of Analogous Remains of other Countries, by John Stuart;" Edinburgh, printed by Neill and Company, MDCCCLXVI.



Fig. 7.
Crannog Pottery, Lough Eyes.

From the class of remains found with this shoe, some deductions of interest may be drawn. Mr. Stuart describes the articles found in the islets (crannogs) of Dowalton Loch, Wigtonshire, Scotland, as follows:—

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|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bronze dish, with handle, of Roman work. 2. Two bronze dishes, hammered out of the solid. 3. A smaller bronze dish of separate pieces, riveted together. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. A bronze ring, having attached to it a portion of the vessel of which it had been the handle. 5. Fragment of leather, with a stamped pattern on it. 6. A large blue glass bead. |
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| 7. Two glass beads with streaks, and spots. 8. A bead of amber. 9. A bead of vitreous paste. 10. A small brooch of bronze. 11. A small ring of bronze. 12. A copper coin. 13. Five querns. | 14. A fragment of bronze. 15. Piece of iron slag. 16. A small earthen crucible. 17. Whetstones. 18. Three iron hammers. 19. Portions of armlets of enamel- led glass. 20. Five canoes. |
|---|---|

“The objects found on the Irish islands (writes Mr. Stuart) comprehend specimens of almost everything found on those at Dowalton, and show the same combination of articles of personal ornaments with such homely objects as querns and the like.’
 There is a peculiar interest in this small colony of Dowalton, from its neighbourhood to the site of Ptolemy’s Roman town of Leucophibia, which probably suggested the site of the Saxon settlement of Whithorn, and from the circumstance, that at least one object of Roman workmanship—the bronze vessel already described—has been found amongst the relics of the old inhabitants of the islands. It is only a matter of conjecture how it came there, whether in the course of commerce, by gift, or by appropriation after the removal of their Roman neighbours. It seems, however, not unreasonable to regard the occurrence of a Roman vessel at Dowalton, associated as it is with relics which are elsewhere found in early sepulchral cairns and British hut circles, as pointing to a period of occupation of the islands not later, and probably earlier, than that of the Roman settlement at Whithorn. It seems plain from the new bottom, and the numerous mendings of one of the rude bronze dishes, that such objects were not easily procurable.

The Dowalton crannogs seem to have been abandoned at an early period. Not one article of mediæval character was found in connexion with them. The copper coin is described of “doubtful” character, and as it may have been dropped into the loch at any time, “its presence does not disturb any inference which may be drawn from the general character of the deposits.” We have here important evidence which points to the occupation of crannogs in Scotland at a period at least as early as the Roman occupation of Britain. The list of antiquities found at Dowalton is, therefore, extremely valuable to Irish archaeologists. With the exception of a bronze vessel of undoubted Roman manufacture, our crannogs have, over and over again, yielded articles precisely similar. The larger Irish islands, however, have been found greatly richer in early remains, animal and artificial, than any similar works which have been elsewhere explored. When I say early remains, I refer to manufactured objects which, from

the style of their ornamentation, may be referred to periods varying between the sixth and eleventh centuries as well as to the bones of animals (some of which are curiously carved), of a species now generally extinct. These bones, in some instances, have been found in enormous quantities, as at Dunshaughlin and Strokestown for example, where several hundreds of tons of remains of the *Bos longifrons*, *Cervus elephas*, &c., &c., have been, as lawyers would say, "recovered." However, it is not with the crannogs, or crannog sites of Ireland, generally, that I wish to deal. In this Paper, I would but place on record my experience of a number occurring in Fermanagh, which I have either wholly or partially searched, or have at least superficially examined. In many cases a thorough exploration would be impossible, except after a continuance of not a few unusually dry seasons. Descriptions of several of these islands have already appeared in our Journal; these I shall not repeat, but a glance at the objects found will not be out of place in a supplementary paper like this.

1. Drumgay, near Enniskillen:—Drumgay signifies *the Ridge of the Goose*, and gives name to a small loch in which are four crannogs, one of which is composed entirely of stones, while the others are composite: viz., built of timber, earth, stones, and vegetable matter. Here were found querns, whetstones, worked pieces of deer horn (apparently implements used in the manufacture of fishing lines), some fragments of iron plated with bronze, many pieces of ornamented pottery, some of which were furnished with ears, or handles; a very curious stone (apparently a tombstone), sculptured with a cross and ornamented with four human heads, and scroll work; and, a large boulder upon which a cross-like figure had been picked or punched out. Since my last article on Drumgay was written, I have received a tradition, that some forty years ago a fine single-piece canoe of oak was found imbedded in the boggy soil of its eastern shore.

2. Ballydoolough—*The Place, or Town of the Dark Loch*, near Enniskillen, presented one of the most instructive crannogs ever discovered in Ireland. It contained, in wonderful preservation, three-fourths of the foundation of its original log-house, the beams of which were mortised

together, and further fastened with pegs of oak. The antiquities here discovered were very interesting, and consisted of stone, wood, bronze, iron, a mixed metal, probably findruine, and pottery of which I have given examples in this and former Papers. The most curious relic noticed here was an Ogham stone, which has been pronounced the most northern monument of its class yet discovered in Ireland. The pieces of pottery were very numerous, and usually exhibited ornamentation of an extremely early kind, amongst which chevron patterns similar to those found upon "sepulchral urns" were conspicuous. The bronze articles were few, but of importance as bearing upon the antiquity of the crannog. Of these a thin plate of genuine antique bronze claims especial attention, as it is unquestionably a patch lost from a dish or pan like those figured by Mr. Stuart, as having been found in Loch Dowalton in company with a Roman vessel. Vessels composed of lustrous and very thin bronze have not unfrequently been found in Erin. A fine example of an ancient utensil of this kind is preserved in the College of Saint Columba, near Dublin. This was found at *Eamhain*, now Navan-Rath near Armagh, a seat of the Ulster Sovereignty for 600 years down to the time of Fergus Fogha, after whose death in A. D. 332, the old palace was dismantled, or according to Dr. Reeves, "demolished." The Ballydoolough fragment is of an oblong form measuring five and a half inches in length, by four and a half in breadth. It is of the thickness of a worn shilling, and still retains a number of its rivets.

A curious reference to the value in which bronze caldrons were held in Ireland about the year of grace 458, is given in Dr. Reeves' translation of a portion of the Book of Armagh, a composition of the year 750.—See "The Ancient Churches of Armagh," by that distinguished ecclesiologist. It may be well to note that the great majority of dishes and caldrons composed of thin golden bronze discovered in Ireland are found carefully patched and mended. There can be no question that our specimen was such a patch. The other bronze objects discovered in Ballydoolough were a looped pin about four and three-quarters of an inch in length, a thin ribbon which might

have been a fillet for the hair, or a hoop for a small bucket; and an article apparently belonging to horse-furniture. Two iron knives, one of which had traces of bronze mounting, were also picked up. These resembled like articles found in barrows in England. A brooch partly composed of a white metal, probably findruine, also occurred, as well as portion of a shoe of a small horse or ass. There were quernstones, whetstones, a crucible, and numerous pieces of iron slag. The bones, which were very plentiful, consisted of portions of the *Bos longifrons*, *Sus scrofa*, *Cervus elephas*, *Equus asinus*, of goats, &c., &c., all of which, I believe, occur in connexion with the oldest British and Roman settlements in England. All the portions of vases found were composed of earth and sand, fire-hardened. There was no glazing, or trace of the use of the wheel. Many of the specimens were furnished with handles or ears, as shown in some of the preceding cuts. A solitary vessel of wood, probably yew, was discovered entire, but reduced almost to a state of pulp. This

I here figure about one-fifth of its real size. A considerable portion of this unique vessel still remains, but it split to many pieces, all of which became strangely twisted and distorted. My sketch was made while yet the object retained its primitive proportions. In his invaluable "Catalogue" of Antiquities of Earthen and Vegetable Materials preserved in the

Vessel of wood, found in Ballydoolough Crannog.

Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Sir William Wilde (page 179) figures and describes what is supposed to be a sepulchral urn. It was found in 1847, in a small stone chamber at Knocknecoura, near Bagnalstown, County of Carlow, enclosed within a much larger and ruder vessel. Now, any person comparing our cut

with that of the little Carlow vase will be at once struck with their similarity of form. That the Ballydoolough specimen was a food vessel there can be no question. It is at least remarkable to find, in a grave, an urn of almost exactly the same form ; and here, I think, is a subject for reflection to all who maintain that our so-called "sepulchral urns"—vases found in cairns and graves—must necessarily have been formed to hold only human ashes or the incinerated bones of sacrifices. In Ballydoolough, balls of stone, evidently fashioned by art, and varying in size from that of an orange, to that of an ordinary walnut, were discovered. These were probably sling stones. Immense quantities of hazel nuts, and a stone disc, upon which nuts could be cracked, were also found, as well as the remains of several querns. Mr. Coalter, an elderly farmer living on the spot, informed me that no fewer than three canoes, each formed of a single piece of oak, had from time to time been dragged from out the mud of the loch. I may also mention the occurrence of a small oaken vessel formed of staves.

3. Lough Eyes. —This sheet of water, situate near Lisbellaw, contains no fewer than six crannogs, all, with one exception, entirely artificial. The exception consists of a partly natural islet, which has been added to and strongly staked. Here were found quantities of early, eared pottery, an axe-head of deer's horn, portions of bracelets of jet, a small arrow-head of iron, querns and whetstones, pieces of slag, fragments of iron, and some portions of worked timber which may have been used in the construction of log-houses. Some years ago, pans and vessels of brass or bronze were found, on, or around several of the islands. These have unhappily been lost or destroyed.

Our brother Member, Mr. Martin, of Drumlone, informs me that, in the neighbourhood of Lough Eyes, small mounds consisting chiefly of heaps of burnt sandstone were very common. Such places were supposed by the peasantry to have been constructed for the manufacture of charcoal, quantities of which were found amongst the stones. These stones are very easily pulverized. Mr. Martin writes, "Would the potters of crannog times have used them as material for their vessels; or, are the mounds the actual kilns,

and the stones screens by which the direct action of heat was modified?" "Fireclay vessels," he says, "are used for this purpose in modern potteries." I could not hear of any canoe having been found in Lough Eyes. The bones were numerous, and exactly of the same class as those which had been found in Ballydoolough and Drumgay. The larger bones had been all split for the purpose of getting at the marrow. In bogs in the immediate neighbourhood of these islands, during the process of turf-cutting, the workmen often come upon sharp-pointed stakes which had been placed vertically in the soil. It has been supposed that these stakes, which had been sharpened by a clean-cutting tool, were some way connected with the practice of trapping deer, or other wild animals. Their upper ends are generally about five feet below the present surface. There is a tradition that there was anciently a road or *tóchar* through the loch leading from crannog to crannog. Of this I could find no trace.

4. Pad Lough—*Boat Loch*—close to Lough Eyes is a very small loch containing a crannog, which I trust to explore next summer, should the water sufficiently subside.

5. Monea—*The Plain of the Deer*.—Here, within the compass of a small, deep loch, occurs one of the finest of the Fermanagh crannogs. The place lies at a distance of five English miles from Enniskillen. About two years ago Mr. Plunkett, and I, visited this spot together. We found anything like a full examination of the island an impossibility, owing to the thickness of the plantation with which it is overgrown, and the overabundance of the roots of ancient trees. We ascertained, however, that the crannoge is composed almost entirely of timber, and that it is well staked. Upon digging into a portion of its shore, the curious iron helmet here figured was in our presence discovered by a workman. This helmet is entirely devoid of ornament (no traces of nasal or cheek-pieces remain), and is acutely conical. A casque very similar, found in the River Nore, near Borris-in-Ossory, Queen's County, is preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. What the age of our crannog helmet may be, I cannot take upon myself even to guess, but with it were

found several pieces of bone of the *Bos longifrons* and other animals, iron slag, and quantities of charcoal. There is a

Nº 1

Nº 2

Iron Helmet found in the Monea Crannog, front and side view

tradition that this loch contains a brazen caldron full of treasure, and guarded by a *piast* in the form of a serpent. Old people say that, some years since, a farmer actually saw this vessel, and with the aid of plough harness endeavoured to get it out of the water. The demon guardian, however, was too strong. The tackle broke, and with a horrible hiss the serpent regained his lair, taking the caldron along with him! It is a very curious fact, in connexion with this legend, that, not many years ago a large bronze vessel, described to me by people who had often seen it, as bearing resemblance to a modern preserving pan, was found by a man making a drain at the edge of the loch. It was sold some time since as old metal to a travelling tinker or rag-man, and is supposed at present to be in the Museum of the Academy. This crannog is quite circular, the diameter being about seventy-five feet.

6. The Miracles.—About one mile from Monea in a westerly direction occur a crannog, and a cairn of unusual proportions. The word “Miracles” I have already said is

probably a mistaken translation of the Irish word *Feartha*, i. e. graves. These graves are doubtlessly within the carn, which I trust will be thoroughly explored next summer by Mr. Plunkett. Here, during the operation of turf cutting, the crannog, some years ago, became exposed. A number of articles were then found, of which I could only get poor descriptions. They appear to have been celts, and ringed brooches or pins of bronze. All went to the ragman, and cannot now be traced. The later discoveries, which I saw, and have drawn and measured, consist of beams of oak varying from three feet eight inches to four feet and a half in length. They were one foot broad, by six inches in thickness, and had mortices cut in one end. A number of oaken paddles were also found. One of these, now in the possession of Mr. Porter, of Belleisle, measures three feet seven inches and a quarter in length. The breadth of the blade was three inches. The handle terminated in an oval expansion measuring two inches and a half across. From amongst the timbers were dug out a number of well-formed stone balls of various sizes, the diameter of the largest being six and a half inches, while that of the smallest was about two inches. Amongst the stone articles were the usual class of whetstones, and two circular grinding stones, the only specimens of their kind I have ever heard of as having occurred in a crannog. The larger measures eight inches across; the smaller is now in the Museum of our Association, it having been presented by Mr. Plunkett. The material of both is close yellow sandstone. The bones here were numerous, and of the usual crannog class. Single piece canoes had from time to time been found in the surrounding loch. The remains of pottery found here were unimportant, but at least one very good crucible, as well as iron slag and charcoal, were turned up. Perhaps the diggers have not yet arrived at the level of the pottery.

7. Drumskimly.—This is very perfect and interesting island, lying in a loch of the same name, situate about two miles from Derrygonnelly. It is well palisaded in the usual manner, but its surface has been made into a garden by Mr. Trotter the proprietor. The form is circular—diameter about thirty-five feet. Here from time many pieces

of pottery have been disinterred. One of these I have figured in connexion with the Pagan vase from the "Barr" of Fintona (see "Journal," fourth series, Vol. I., p. 583), which is decorated with the same kind of design. The other antiquities which were found here and recorded, are a spear-head of iron, an iron arrow-head, and a pair of early quern stones. Drumskimly loch contained at least two other crannogs, the sites of which are pointed out by Mr. Trotter. These, however, are now dry and under cultivation. I think, judging from the original shape of this loch, which is now nearly drained, that its name may be translated—*Ridge of the Bent Loch*.

8. Loughavilly.—*The Loch of the Old Trees*, about two miles from Enniskillen, near Garvary church, though now dry in summer-time, was not long since a considerable sheet of water. Its crannog still remains, though in a greatly ruined state. Here I found the usual bones, a fine whetstone, and a timber of oak, four feet three inches in length by one foot in breadth, and nine inches in thickness. This block contained two mortice holes, each of which was six inches square; some other, but unimportant remains of the log-house were noticeable. I intend during the ensuing summer to explore this place fully. The diameter of the crannog was thirty-six feet—plan circular. About twelve of the surrounding piles still showed their heads above ground.

9. Coolyermer is the name of a loch situate about four miles from Enniskillen, in the direction of Letterbreen. Two years ago last summer, I visited its island, which promised to prove very interesting whenever the surrounding waters should subside a couple of feet. They have never done so since, and I must only hope for some good fortune there next season. This appears to be entirely composed of oaken beams. The name Coolyermer is probably an untranslatable corruption of an Irish compound of *Cúil*, a corner, or recess, *eó*, a yew tree, and some other word.

10. Drumsloe.—*The Ridge of the Host*—is the name of a loch lying within a short distance of Bellinamallard. The loch is now nearly dried up, and its crannog has become all but obliterated. Here, from time to time, many

interesting objects have been found, but nearly all are now lost.

The curious quernstone of which the above is a correct illustration is the only antique relic which I could procure from the place. It measures exactly one foot six inches in diameter. Cross inscribed quernstones are not of rare occurrence in Ireland. For reasons already stated, I hold that it may be maintained that these quern crosses must not be necessarily pronounced Christian symbols. The

Upper surface of Quern found in Drumaloe Crannog.

quern or *bro* is, perhaps, the oldest implement we have remaining in Ireland, and the most unchanged.

11. Ballaghmore—*The great Way or Road*.—This is a loch lying at a distance of about one mile and a half from Enniskillen. It retains its crannog, which appears to be composed entirely of earth and stones. There is no piling visible. Its island has yet to be thoroughly explored. The task will be a difficult one, owing to the immense depth of the mud, and the rank luxuriance of the herbage round its sides.

12. Moinenoe—*The Bog of the Yew*, otherwise Chanter Hill—One mile from Enniskillen. Here was once a loch in which people still living used to bathe, and fish for perch, bream, eels, &c., &c. It is now in summer, owing to draining operations, rather a dangerous swamp. It retains its crannog, which, like that of Ballaghmore, and for similar reasons, is most difficult to examine. Within this loch, some years ago, was found a canoe of the ordinary kind. This relic is still upon the spot, having, for the purpose of concealment, been recommitted to the mud by its discoverer, who hid it so well that even he himself could not find it again.

13. Breagho—*Wolf-field*.—Near this place, some three

years since, while digging turf, the men came upon a stockaded inclosure lying some twelve or fourteen feet below the bog surface. At the time of my visit, all that remained of the articles found there were the piles, a magnificent pair of quernstones, and a large vessel of wood (oak, and bowl-shaped), which was split into many pieces. This very ancient crannog was, as usual, circular, the diameter being about thirty-five feet. I trust to get the querns, having been promised them.

14. Aughlish—*Fort-field*.—About five miles from Enniskillen, in the direction of Boho, is a fine crannog not yet examined. I had hoped to do it last summer, but the elements said, "no."

15. Killynure—*The Wood of the Yews*.—This little loch may be seen within a mile of Enniskillen, on the Tempo road. For two or three years, owing to the flooded state of the water, the crannog which it contains has not promised much success to an investigator.

16. Lough Mac Nean.—Owing to the liberality and archæological spirit of one of our most enthusiastic Members, the Earl of Enniskillen, who placed a boat and crew at my disposal, I was enabled, in the autumn before last, accompanied by H. K. Leslie, Esq., the successful explorer of the crannog of Cornagall, county of Cavan, to examine the four artificial islands remaining in the above-named loch. Three of these were veritable crannogs, and the fourth, called Inishee, or *Fairy island*, may possibly prove to be of a sepulchral character. One of the islets situate close to the western shore is designated on the Ordnance Map by the very appropriate title of "Crannoge." It consists of a regular cairn of stones, rising to a height of about eight or ten feet above the winter level of the water. The diameter is about sixty-four feet, and the work was strongly inclosed by a double row of piles, composed of oak, yew, and pine. Though the shore was carefully searched, and turned over, we only found the usual crannog teeth and bones, a couple of fragments of pottery, and quantities of iron slag, and charcoal. Another island lying close to Belcoo afforded the same kind of bones, slag, and charcoal, and nothing more. The dimensions of these two stone-built crannogs were exactly

similar. Perhaps during some season of very low water an examination of these curious islands might be followed by instructive results. A nameless crannog towards the southern end of the loch was next visited ; here nothing but the piles remained visible ; and from repeated encroachments of the water, digging was found to be impossible. It is the intention of Lord Enniskillen to examine Inishee thoroughly, as soon as the season opens.

17. Trillick—*The Three (Pillar) Stones*.—This is the name of a place near Letterbreen, about five miles from Enniskillen. Here in the centre of a marsh, which was not long since a loch, are the ruins of a very promising crannog, which, through the kindness of Lord Enniskillen, and Mr. Nicholas Archdall the owner of the land, I hope to open this coming summer.

18. Lough Yoan—*The Lake of the Yew*, is in Castlecoole demesne, close to Enniskillen. Its island has all the appearance of a crannog, and as yet has not been dug into.

This glance at the crannogs of Fermanagh, as far as it goes, may, I trust, prove not uninteresting to many of our Members, and to archæologists generally. It is far from complete in its enumeration of the "Lake Dwellings" still remaining in this old Territory ; but it gives, I think, the principal examples.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a GENERAL MEETING, held at the apartments of the
Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday,
April 2nd, 1873,

PATRICK WATTERS, A. M., in the Chair,

The Treasurer's Account for the year 1870 was sub-
mitted to the Meeting by the Auditors as follows :—

CHARGE.

| 1870. | | £ | s. | d. |
|----------|---|-------|----|----|
| Jan. 1. | To balance in Treasurer's hands (see p. 67, <i>supra</i>), | 414 | 11 | 10 |
| Dec. 31. | „ Annual subscriptions, | 392 | 12 | 0 |
| | „ Entrance fees of Fellows, | 46 | 0 | 0 |
| | „ Life compositions, | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| | „ One year's rent of land, Jerpoint Abbey, . | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | „ Cash received by sale of "Journal," &c., to Members, | 25 | 11 | 0 |
| | „ „ by sale of woodcuts, | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| | | <hr/> | | |
| | | £900 | 9 | 10 |

DISCHARGE.

| 1870. | | £ | s. | d. |
|----------|---|-----|----|----|
| Dec. 31. | By postages of parcels and correspondence, . | 26 | 2 | 10 |
| | „ „ of "Journal" and "Annual Vo- lume," | 27 | 12 | 10 |
| | „ Illustrations for "Journal" and Annual Volume," | 116 | 9 | 7 |
| | „ Printing, paper, &c., of "Journal" for July, 1867, and January, and April, 1870, . | 121 | 8 | 3 |
| | „ General printing, binding, and stationery, | 50 | 15 | 4 |
| | „ Collection of subscriptions, | 30 | 2 | 6 |
| | „ Sundry expenses, | 12 | 2 | 6 |
| | „ Early numbers of "Journal," and other books purchased, | 28 | 9 | 4 |
| | „ Rent and insurance of Museum, | 20 | 9 | 0 |

Carried forward,

 433 12 2
2 1

| | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-----------------|----|----|
| <i>Brought forward,</i> | 433 | 12 | 2 |
| By rent and caretaker, Jerpoint Abbey, . . | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| „ Transcribing and editing original documents, | 19 | 14 | 6 |
| „ Purchase of £54 6s. 8d., new Three per cent. Government Stock, | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| „ Balance in Treasurer's hands, | 395 | 3 | 2 |
| | <hr/> £900 9 10 | | |

CAPITAL ACCOUNT INVESTED IN THE NAMES OF THE TRUSTEES.

| 1870. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|----|----|----|
| Dec. 31. By new Three per cent. Government Stock, . | 54 | 6 | 8 |

We have examined the Accounts, with Vouchers, and have found them correct, leaving a balance of £395 3s. 2d. in the hands of the Treasurer.

14th March, 1873.

J. G. ROBERTSON,
J. B. FITZSIMONS, M. D., } *Auditors.*

The Hon. Secretary reported the total failure of the effort made to enlist the support of the County and City of Kilkenny towards maintaining, arranging, and throwing open to the public the Museum of the Association. There was but one response from the County, and four from the City. Under the circumstances it would not be fair to receive the subscriptions thus offered. Perhaps the time would come when, too late, the local public would regret their apathy in the matter.

The following new Members were elected:—

The Most Rev. Dr. M'Gettigan, R. C. Archbishop of Armagh ; proposed by Dr. Riggs.

Richard Massey Greene, Rockview, Inistioge ; proposed by Mr. Hugh Greene.

Colonel the Hon. S. F. Carew, Cahir Abbey House, Cahir ; the Rev. W. G. Carroll, A. M., 27, Wellington-road, Dublin ; John Rhys, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, 2 Kilmore Villa, Rhyl ; and George Walker, M. D., 11, Hamilton-square, Birkenhead : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

Rev. Michael Cody, R. C. C., The Rower, Inistioge, and Thomas Hart, Claragh, Kilkenny : proposed by Mr. John Hogan.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

“Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London,” second series, Vol. V., Nos. 4 and 5 : presented by the Society.

“The Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,” Nos. 114 and 115 : presented by the Institute.

“The Journal of the British Archæological Association,” December, 1872 : presented by the Association.

“Archæologia Cambrensis,” fourth series, Nos. 13 and 14 : presented by the Cambrian Archæological Association.

“Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire,” new series, Vol. XII. : presented by the Society.

“Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society,” No. 12 : presented by the Society.

“The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,” Vol. II., No. 3 : presented by the Institute.

“Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie,” 1871, Nos. 2, 3, and 4, and “Tillæg;” 1872, No. 1 ; also “Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord,” new series, 1871 and 1872 : presented by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries.

“American Journal of Numismatics, and Bulletin of American Numismatic and Archæological Societies,” Nos. 59 and 60 : presented by the Numismatic Society of Boston.

“The Builder,” No. 1631–1644 : presented by the Publisher.

“The Irish Builder,” Nos. 295–300 ; presented by the Publisher.

“The Reliquary,” Nos. 51 and 52 : presented by Llewellynn Jewitt, F. S. A.

“Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late Charles O'Connor Belnagare, Esq., M. R. I. A. :” presented by Captain T. Bigoe Williams. The book belonged to Lady Morgan, and contains her autograph as “Sydney Owenson.”

A large collection of photographs, comprising views of

Dover Castle, the Cromleac called "Kit's Coty House," &c. : presented by Captain T. Bigoe Williams, Dover.

An admirably preserved silver groat of Mary, before her marriage to Philip of Spain : presented by Rev. John Lymbery, Fethard.

A drawing of a fine bronze axe or celt, 9 inches long and 7 wide at the edge, weighing $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., and ornamented down the sides by rows of pellets : presented by Mr. W. J. Knowles, Cullybackey, Co. Antrim.

Dr. Richard Caulfield, of Cork, sent the following :—

"My attention was lately directed in the Library of the British Museum to a MS. volume entitled "Monastic Records, Ireland" (6165, Plut. CLXXI. D.). "A valuation and taxation of all the possessions, spiritual and temporal, belonging to the monasteries, priories, rectories, &c., throughout Ireland in the 20th Edward I. 1292." At p. 373 of this MS. is given a full account of the property of the houses of the Knights of the Temple in Ireland at their dissolution in the first year of King Edward II. (1307), copied from the original among the Irish Records. The warrant was directed by King Edward to John Wogan, Justiciary of Ireland, "to seize all the goods, chattels, &c., as well ecclesiastical as temporal, with the charters and muniments, of the brethren, cattle, &c.; that the lands be sown out of their own profits; that the knights be not imprisoned, regard being had to their station, and that an inventory be made and returned to the Exchequer." These inventories have come down to us, and from the extreme accuracy with which they were drawn up afford an interesting insight into the internal domestic arrangements of this illustrious confraternity, who have left behind them marked traces of the influence they exercised over the mediæval literature of Europe. To arrive at some definite knowledge of the nature of this Society, I shall refer to the evidence of contemporary documents. Rymer ("Fœd." Vol. I., p. 27) gives an Epistle of Pope Alexander III. in 1173, addressed to the Knights Templars at Jerusalem, regarding their privileges, in which he styles them "the origin and fountain of that sacred institution and order, a religious Knighthood, that no one should be admitted to the order unless a religious and military person; that the customs instituted by the Master and brethren could not be infringed; they were to be girt with a sword, and to wear a mantle, and, after making profession, to assume the habit. On no pretext were they to preach for money unless the Master of the Temple should consent; and that they should have a separate place of burial." There are two Bulls from the the same Pope worthy of notice (ib. p. 333);—(a) grants perfect immunity from danger to those who, either by themselves or with their goods, shall seek refuge in the houses of the Templars—(b) grants confirmation of the liberties, privileges, &c., conferred on them by Kings and Princes. There is another Bull from Alexander IV., in which he orders "that no confraternity take precedence of the Knights of the Temple, when once in the year they collect alms in the parish churches." From these records

they appear to have been a military, religious, and partly a mendicant order. From the return made by Wogan, the Knights Templars appear to have had revenues out of the following places :—Co. Kildare—Naas, Rathbride; Co. Meath—Villa Reginaldi, Hilton, Hoggebretteston, Villa de Hankyneston; Co. Louth—Portlyneran, Molanery, Gernouneston, Kylsaran, Kylmedymock, Kylpatryk, Drostroyl, Kyltanelaght, Cremartyn; Co. Dublin—Ballyrothery, Balymacorisde, Clontarf; Co. Waterford—Kylbary, Crok, Kylclogan, Insula juxta Waterford; Co. Carlow—Rathronan in Fetherid; Co. Kylkenny—Balygaveran; Limerick City; Co. Tipperary—Ardmoyle, Balyshythar; Co. Wexford—Kylclogan. If this be a correct return, as it professes to be, it is rather hard to account for the absence of two places in Cork, which have always been considered as preceptories of the Templars, namely, Mourne Abbey, and the church of St. John of Jerusalem, at Cork. Archdall mentions both, and cites King, who mentions one William le Chaplain, who in 1292 was Master of the Preceptory of St. John, at Cork; and the subsequent incorporation of the lands of this hospital with the Cathedral, for choral purposes, would appear to have been the origin of the arms as at present borne by this see, namely, a *cross patée, gules*, which was the badge of the knights of this ancient order. As the Knights Templars were introduced here by Strongbow, it is not possible that during their short career they could have ever exercised any permanent influence on the native population, being aliens both in race and language, neither do they appear from the inventories to have been possessed of much domestic affluence or splendour. They may have shared the rude hospitality of the age. We have no mention of a library, such as is to be met amongst the inventories of other Orders. The books mentioned are merely those used for the different religious offices, if we except one, “a certain part of the first book of the written law,” which may have been some gloss on the Canon law. From the implements of agriculture mentioned they appear to have bestowed much care on husbandry. The names of the several articles in those records are expressed in the quaintest mediæval Latin. The meaning of some of the items are obscure, even with the assistance of Didot’s edition of “Ducange.” I have selected the Kilsaran inventory as being the fullest, and containing more exact particulars than the others. It will be observed that Archbishop Bykenore, in his zeal to serve his king, appears not to have been altogether unmindful of himself. Here we have particulars of the goods of the Templars and of John de Bonevill, taken into the custody of the king for certain reasons, of which Alexander de Bykenore, Archbishop of Dublin, lately Treasurer of Ireland, in his account rendered to the Exchequer, was charged, and which were likewise noted in the items of the nineteenth year of King Edward the Second, amongst the records of Michaelmas Term. He was charged with 30*s.* for a silver chalice, 40*s.* for one great antiphonary, 10*s.* for a graduale, 3*s.* for a processional, 5 marks for two pairs of vestments, 12 marks for a black horse, 4 marks for three silver cups, and 50*s.* for brazen vessels for cooking, which goods and chattels were the property of the said Templars. The Archbishop was likewise charged with 10*li.* for two silver vessels, which belonged to John de Bonevill, seized by the king, for debts which he owed to the king, on the day of his demise. Having examined also the rolls and memoranda aforesaid, it was found that on the 3rd day of February there were in the manor of

the said Templars at Kilsaran, in the Co. Louth, the goods and chattels subscribed, viz.:—In the chamber of the guardian of the said house, one couch, one canvas, and two linen, coverlets, and a canopy for the couch, price half a mark. Two measures called wyteles, worth 2s. One robe made of dyed wool, worth half a mark. A robe of net work, worth do. One overtunic of camelyn, worth 3s. One tunic of russet, 2s. One military cloak, 6s. One pair of coffers and five hoods, furred, each 10d. A sack made of a hide with a cask and bench, half a mark. One basin, one lavatory, 18d. Two travelling garments, each 12d. One manuel, 6d. Two linen coverlets, 18d. Two ells of white Irish cloth, per ell 3d. Three lambs' fleeces, 9d. In the hall four tables with a trestell, one dish, four bacons and a half, 8s. One carcas of beef, 3s. Four carcasses of sheep, each 6d. One lavatory, 10d. One flagon and a half of honey, 12d. In the cellar, one peck of oatmeal, 12d. One peck of malt, 6d. One peck of oats for brewing, 9d. One mazer, 3s. Two goblets, each 6d. One travelling cloak, 12d. Three do. of canvas, 18d. Two flaketti (?), 12d. Four joustes, or liquid measures, each 1d. One handfield (?), 3s. Two axes, 10d. Four penetralia, which are called awgers, 8d. One rock of iron, 3d. One hoe, 6d. One hammer for breaking stones, 4d. A bill for cutting thorns, 2d. A large knife for cutting bread, 2d. A hamper of hides bound with iron, 16d. One empty cask, 6d. Three wedges, 18d. One barrel and seven dishes of salmon, 8d. One mes-kune (?), 2s. A chest without the cover, 6d. In same chest, 10 pecks of oats for brewing, 2s. 8d. One harrow, 2d. In the chapel, a gilt chalice, one mark. Three towels for covering the altar, each 6d. Three pair of vestments, 15s. Three bordures for the vestments, 9d. One cruet of pewter, 1d. One missal, 40s. One breviare, 6 marks. A book containing the psalter and graduale, half a mark. One psalter, 2s. A certain part of the first book of the written law, 5s. A small image of the Blessed Virgin of Inero and one great bell, 3s. A very small bell, 1d. In the chamber near the chapel, one chest in which are two pecks of oats for brewing, each peck, 6d. In the kitchen, three brazen pots, one 10s., another 8s., the third 4s. Two vessels for washing the hands, each 12d.; one dish, 12d.; another, 2d.; a gridiron, 6d.; a tripod, 5d. In the bake-house, two furnaces, each 10s.; one mescune (?), with a trough, 5s.; three wedges, each 8d.; one bake-trough, one tub for kneading, 2s.; one crannock of oats for brewing, 4s. In the grannery, eight crannocks of corn in sheaves, each 40d. Two horses, one Bayard, and the palfrey of the guardian, 20s.; another horse, iron grey, 20s. Ten heifers, each 3s. One pottage dish, 12d. Nineteen oxen, each 3s. Two carts with the irons, each 3s. Six rakes, each 1½d. One old two-wheeled cart, 12d. Two spades, each 2d. Ten cows, each 4s. Ten oxen, each 2s. Eight score sheep, each 4d. Forty-four swine, each 6d. Two bodies for the waggons, each 3d.; do. for the cart, 3d. One press for making cider, which does not act; two pairs of wheels for the waggons—one pair, 12d., another, 18d., a third, 5d. Seven selions and a half, each 5d. Fifty acres of corn sowed, 40d. per acre. Which goods and chattels were valued in the form aforesaid in the presence of brother Hugo, guardian of the said manor, and two legal men, neighbours in said places, viz.—Roger Gernoun and Roger Clerk, of Maundemleston on oath, before Benedict le Hauberge, then Sheriff of Louth, and the sum of the goods, lands, churches, and debts, 42 li. 14s. 8½d.

MONASTIC RECORDS, MUS. BRIT., 6165, PLUT. CLXXIX. D. PAGE 373.
IRELAND, KNIGHTS 'TEMPLARS, THEIR POSSESSIONS.

"Tempore Bykenore Thesaurarii. Recepta de Bonis Templariorum in Hibernia, tempore Alexandri de Bykenore Thesaurarii Hiberniæ in termino Paschæ, anno regni regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi primo, ut patet per rotulum indentatum in Thesauro Saccarii Dubliniæ remanentem.

"*Kyldar*', manerium. De Henrico ballivo de Rathbryde *xlx s.* de debitis in quibus Templarii tenebantur die captionis eorundem de eodem Henrico *xxvi s.* de eisdem debitis suis per fratrem Henricum de la Forde.

"*Kylsaran*, manerium. De Adamo vicario de Kylmedymok *x li. xviii s. iii d.* de exitibus ballivi de Kilsaran per Robertum Madowe—de eodem Adamo *civ s. viii d.* de eisdem exitibus per eundem Robertum.

"*Midia*, manerium. De Roberto le Waleys proposito villæ Reginaldi *lxix s. viii d. ob.* de redditu ejusdem ballivi, de eodem redditu *ii s. vii d.* per eundem Robertum.

Uriel, ecclesia. De Willielmo le Waleys et sociis suis *iiii li. x s.* de decimis ecclesiæ de Molanery.

"*Dublin*', manerium. De areragiis redditus Henrici de Waletton in Dublinia *x s.* per Monial de Hogges, de Adamo Meurioyk de Ballyrothery *x s.* de redditu suo termino Paschæ, de redditu Templariorum in comitatu Dubliniæ *l s. vi d.* per Randulf Dandy.

"*Waterford*, manerium. De Stephano Fraunceys ballivo de Kylbarry *vii li. vi s. v d.* de redditu ejusdem ballivi et antiquis debitis per Robertum Eiluard, de eodem Stephano *lxxiii s. v d.*, de redditu ballivi de Crok de eodem Stephano *viii li. x s. iii d. ob.* De redditu et aliis exitibus ballivi de Kylclogan.

"*Dublin*', manerium. De Jordano Banagh et Aluredo ballivis de Balymacorisde de bladis ibidem venditis et aliis exitibus *xliiii s. v d.* De eisdem Jordano et Awlredo ballivis ibidem de bladis ibidem venditis et aliis exitibus *xls. ix d.*

"*Uriel*, ecclesia. De Nicolao de Dromcath *iiii li* pro decimis quas emit de Templariis in comitatu Uriel in autumpno regni regis *xxxv s.* Summa *lix li. xix s.* Item in termino Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis supradicti secundo.

"*Midia*, manerium. De redditu villæ Reginaldi *iiii li. viii s.* per Robertum le Waleys propositum.

"*Uriel*. De bonis Templariorum *x li.* per Nicolaum de Dromcath. Summa *xiiii li. viii d.* Item in termino Sancti Hillarii anno supradicto.

"*Lymericum*, civitas. De bonis Templariorum *iiii s.* per Robertum de Trym.

"*Caterlough, Waterford, Kyldar*, maneria. De bonis Templariorum *ix li.* per fratrem Thomam de Lyndesye et Johannem de Egge. *Kyldar*', manerium. De redditu de Rathbryde *xls.* per Henricum clericum.

"*Nass*. De bonis Templariorum apud le Nass *vi s.* per Robertum le Foreman.

"*Uriel*, ecclesia. De exitibus ecclesiæ de Gernouneston *xx s.* per fratrem Thomæ le Lyndeseye, de redditu de Kylsaran *iiii s.* per eundem

fratrem Thomam. Summa xii*li*. xiiii*s*. Item in termino Paschæ anno supradicto.

“*Caterlough*, manerium. De exitibus terrarum predictarum Templariorum apud Rathronan in Fotherid *cvis*. viii*d*. per Frumundum le Brun. De eodem Frumundo x*la*. in bonis predictorum Templariorum sibi venditis.

“*Waterford*, manerium. De redditu de Kylbarry x*mr^{ts}*. per Stephanum Fraunceys. Summa xiii*li*. Item in termino Sanctæ Trinitatis anno supradicto.

“*Waterford*, manerium. De exitibus bonorum Templariorum apud le Croc iii*li*. per Robertum Ailward.

“*Kylkenny*, ecclesia. De exitibus bonorum Templariorum apud Balygaveran xx*vis*. viii*d*. per Willielmum filium Hugonis, Summa *cvis*. viii*d*. Item in termino Sancti Michælis anno regni regis supradicti tercio. Item in termino Sancti Hillarii proximo sequenti.

“*Caterlough*, manerium. De exitibus terrarum Templariorum apud Rathronan in Fotheryd *cvis*. viii*d*. per Frumundum le Brun.

“*Lymericum*, civitas. De bonis Templariorum iii*s*. per Robertum le Trym. Summa cx*s*. viii*d*. Item in termino Paschæ proximo sequenti.

“*Midia*, manerium. De redditu de Hilton v*mr^{ts}*. per Thomam Page. De exitibus ecclesiæ de Portlyneran v*mr^{ts}*. per Hugonem de Clynton.

“*Uriel*, ecclesia. De exitibus ecclesiarum de Kylmadymok et Kylpatryk xv*li*. *vis*. viii*d*. per Adam Vicarium de Kylmadymok et Robertum clericum de eadem, de exitibus ecclesiarum de Kylsaran et Drostroyl xx*li*. per Nicolaum de Dromcath, de exitibus ecclesiæ de Gernouneston *cvis*. viii*d*. per Rogerum Gernoun, de exitibus ecclesiæ de Portlyneran vii*li*. *vis*. viii*d*. per Stephanum Gernoun, de exitibus ecclesiarum Templariorum in comitatu Uriel xxxii*li*. per Walterum Donedale vicarium.

“*Uriel*, manerium. De redditu de Kylsaran lxxiii*s*. iii*d*. per Adam Fulshawe et Adam Johannis.

“*Midia*, manerium. De arreragiis redditus de Hoggebretteston xiii*s*. iii*d*. per Galfridum de Bret de Tulok.

“*Midia*, manerium. De redditu villæ Reginaldi viii*li*. viii*s*. x*d*. *ob*. per Johannem Hasard, de eodem redditu iii*s*. iii*d*. per eundem Johannem. Summa c*li*. xii*s*. ii*d*. *ob*. Item in termino Sancti Trinitatis proximo sequenti.

“*Uriel*, ecclesia. De firma ecclesiæ de Molanery ix*li*. vi*s*. viii*d*. per Stephanum Gernoun, de firma ecclesiarum de Kyltanelaght et Cremartyn liii*s*. iii*d*. per eundem Stephanum.

“*Kilkenny*, ecclesia. De exitibus bonorum Templariorum apud Balygaveran x*mr^{ts}*. per Willielmum filium Hugonis.

“*Dublinia*, manerium. De exitibus manerii de Clontarf xlviii*li*. per Walterum de Thornbury Cancellarium Hiberniæ. Summa lxvi*li*. xiii*s*. iii*d*. Item in termino Michælis anno regni regis Edwardi supradicti, quarto.

“*Midia*, manerium. De Johanne Hasard iii*li*. v*s*. viii*d*. *ob*. de redditu villæ Reginaldi, patet videlicet iii*li*. v*s*. viii*d*. *ob*. In termino Sancti Hillarii—Michælis. In termino Paschæ proximo sequenti.

“*Midia*, manerium. De Thoma Man v*mr^{ts}*. de redditu de Hilton, de redditu villæ Reginaldi iii*li* v*s*. viii*d*. *ob*. per Johannem Hasard. Summa vii*li*. xii*s*. iii*d*. *ob*. Item in termino Trinitatis anno regni regis Edwardi supradicti quarto.

“ *Kilkenny*, ecclesia. De exitibus bonorum Templariorum apud Balygaveran, per Willielmum filium Hugonis. Summa viii *li*. Summa totalis usque hucusque ccciii cccii^{xx} xviii *li*. xiiii *s*. vii *d*. ob. Item in termino Sancti Michaelis proximo sequenti, videlicet anno regni regis supradicti quinto.

“ *Kylkenny*, manerium. De tenentibus Templariorum in libertate Kylkennie viii *s*. viii *d*. de arreragiis redditus sui per Edwardum de Tonnebrygge.

“ *Kyldar*, manerium. De Henrico ballivo de Rathbride lx *s*. iii *d*. de debitis in quibus fratribus militum Templi tenebatur die captionis eorundem. Summa lxix *s*. Item in termino sancti Hillarii proximo sequenti, videlicet anno regni regis supradicti quinto.

“ *Lymericum*, civitas. De bonis Templariorum viii *s*. per Robertum de Trym.

“ *Midia*, manerium. De redditu villæ Reginaldi iii *li*. vi *s*. ii *d*. ob. per Johannem Hazard. Summa iii *li*. xiiii *s*. ii *d*. ob. Item in termino Paschæ proximo sequenti.

“ *Waterford*, manerium. De arreragiis redditus Insulæ juxta Waterford xl *s*. per Henricum Cantok, de bonis Templariorum venditis apud Waterford vi *s*. vi *d*. per Stephanum Fraunceys. Summa xlv *s*. vi *d*. Item in termino Sancti Trinitatis proximo sequenti.

“ *Waterford*, manerium. De exitibus maneriorum del Crok et Kylbarry viii *li*. vii *s*. ix *d*. per ballivos ibidem, per Nicolaum de Balscote.

“ *Midia*, manerium. De redditu villæ Reginaldi iii *li*. v *s*. vii *d*. per Johannem Hazard.

“ *Typerary*, ecclesia. De exitibus ecclesiarum de Ardmoyle et Balyshythar xiii *li*. per Ricardum de Wodehouse. Summa xxv *li*. xiii *s*. iii *d*. Item in termino Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Eduardi supradicti sexto.

“ *Weys*, manerium. De arreragiis redditus quorundam tenementorum qui nuper fuerunt Templariorum in comitatu Weys' xiiii *s*. per Philippum Furlang, de arreragiis redditus quorundam tenementorum quæ nuper fuerunt Templariorum in comitatu Weys' xvii *s*. vi *d*. per Edmundum Hunne.

“ *Lymericium*, civitas. De bonis Templariorum iii *s*. per Robertum de Trym. Summa xxxv *s*. vi *d*. Item in termino Sancti Hillarii proximo sequenti.

“ *Weys*, manerium. De exitibus manerii de Kylcloghan xx *li*. per Radulphum Hore et Robertum Spaygne Summa patet. Item in termino Paschæ proximo sequenti.

“ *Weys*, manerium. De exitibus manerii de Kylcloghan x *li*. per Radulphum Hore et Rogerum Spaygne.

“ *Kilkenny*, ecclesia. De exitibus ecclesiæ de Balygavernan xxiii *li*. per Willielmum filium Hugonis. Summa xxxiii *li*. Item in termino Sancti Trinitatis proximo sequenti nil. Item in termino Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Eduardi supradicti vii^o.

“ *Midia*, manerium. De redditu villæ de Hankyneston xxii *s*. per Henricum le Blound de Leken. De redditu villæ Reginaldi iii *li*. vi *s*. iii *d*. per Johannem Hazard, de redditu villæ Reginaldi iii *li*. vi *s*. v *d*. per Johannem Hazard. Summa ix *li*. xiiii *s*. ix *d*. In termino Sancti Hillari proximo sequenti.

“ *Lymericium*, civitas. De bonis Templariorum iii *s*. per Robertum

de Trym. Summa patet iiii s. Summa totalis post aliam. Summa totalis cl li. xvii s. iii d. ob. Summa summarum cccc li. xi s. xi d."

The Rev. James Graves laid before the meeting a transcript of a document in the Evidence Chamber, Kilkenny Castle, being a list, written on vellum, of the names returned in 1644, by the Judges, from each county in Ireland, from which one in each shire was to be "pricked" as Sheriff for the ensuing year. An asterisk placed before one of them in each county, showed which name had been selected for the Shrievalty respectively, and the first name was seldom that selected:—

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| " Hibernia . . . | Noia eor' qui p Prenobiles Viros Joha ⁿ Borlase Milit ^e & Henric ^u Titchburne Milit ^e , Domi ⁿ Justiciar' huius Regni Hibnie, Noi ^a nt' Vicecomit' sepa ^t comitat' eiusd' Regni p hoc anno reque ⁿ t' vizt. Anno D ⁿ i n ^r i Regis Caroli vicesimo, annoq ^{ue} D ⁿ i M ⁱ l ⁱ mo Sexcentissimo Quadragessimo Quarto. |
| " Dublin . . . | Johannes Hoy mil ^e . *Rob ^t us Kennedy a ^r . Wittimus Ball a ^r . |
| " Wickloe . . . | *Wittimus Usher mil ^e . Johan ⁿ Pue a ^r . ffranciscus Dade a ^r . |
| " Kildare . . . | Robertus Weldon a ^r . *Thomas Weldon a ^r . Johes Newman a ^r . |
| " Wexforde . . . | Johannes Etchingham a ^r . Ed ^r us Chicester a ^r . *Henricus Masterson a ^r . |
| " Catherlagh . . . | *Brian Kavanagh a ^r . Henricus Warren a ^r . Edmondus Butler Baronett'. |
| " Kilkenny . . . | Patricius Wymes mil ^e . *Olliverus Wheeler a ^r . Wittus Alfrey a ^r . |
| " Regis . . . | Wittimus Colley mil ^e . *Georgius R. a ^r . Johan ⁿ Sherlocke mil ^e . |
| " Regi ⁿ . . . | Wittus Gilbert mil ^e . Johes Piggott a ^r . *Barnabas Doine a ^r . |
| " Waterford . . . | Richus Osborne mil ^e . *Pierceus Smyth mil ^e . Hugo Croaker a ^r . |

- “Tipperary Willelmus ffenton milf.
*Thomas Meredith milf.
Willelmus Peaslie añ.
- “Limeriche Georgius Courtney añ.
Johes Browne milf.
*Henricus Harte añ.
- “Clare Georgius Colpes añ.
*Willelmus Brigdall añ.
Robtus Starckie añ.
- “Corke Robtus Teut añ.
Henricus Delane añ.
*Thomas Daunte añ.
- “Kerry Johes Blenerhassett añ.
*Edrus Blenerhassett añ.
Jenkin Conway añ.
- “Westmeath *Thomas Wilson añ.
Georgius Gibbs añ.
Christopherus Hawfen.
- “Longford Robtus Newcomen Baronett’.
*Patricius ffuxe añ.
Johes Kennedy añ.
- “Roscoman Robtus Ormesbie añ.
*Richus Lane añ.
Richus St George añ.
- “Leytrim Robtus Parcke añ.
*Jacobus Ringe añ.
Willelmus Parcke añ.
- “Mayo *Georgius St George añ.
[blank] Pawlett.
Gregory Nolan añ.
- “Sligoe Thomas Crofton añ.
Willelmus Crofton añ.
*Keane O’Hara añ.
- “Gallwaie Johes Turnor añ.
*Johannes Morgan añ.
Robtus Scott añ.
- “Midd’ *Dudly Loftus milf.
Robtus Lill añ.
Thomas Ashe añ.
- “Cavan *Arthur Cullinn, añ.
Willelmus Moore añ.
Georgius Launder añ.
- “ffermanagh *Brian Stapleton añ.
Willelmus Hamilton añ.
Johes Cole añ.
- “Donnegall Willelmus Simple milf.
Thomas ffairefax añ.
*Henricus Brookes añ.

- "Tirone Audley Mervin aŕ.
 *Thomas Newborough aŕ.
 Johannes Sanderson aŕ.
- "Lovid Worsley Bolten aŕ.
 *Seafowle Gibson aŕ.
 ffranciscus Moore aŕ.
- "Downe *Johannes Echelin aŕ.
 Patricius Sauage aŕ.
 Bernard Wade aŕ.
- "Antrim *Rogerus Langford milŕ.
 Joŕes Dallwaie aŕ.
 Johannes Michell aŕ.
- "Armagh Henricus Smith aŕ.
 *Wittmus Brumloe milŕ.
 Tobias Points aŕ.
- "Monaghan *Brian Stapleton aŕ.
 Walter Cope aŕ.
 Richus Willoughbie aŕ.

"[Signed],

"R. BOLTON, Cañ.¹

"GE: SHURLEY.²

"SA: MAYART.³

"JAS. DONELLAN.⁴

"GERRARD LOWTHER."⁵

Mr. W. F. Wakeman, Enniskillen, presented a rubbing and transcript of the inscription, in raised Roman letters, on a cross, in the churchyard of Kils Kerry, Co. Tyrone, which he considered would be deemed of considerable interest in connexion with the pedigree of a branch of the O'Neills. The inscription was as follows:—

HERE LYETH
 THE
 BODY
 OF M^r. CON MAC TUR
 LOGH O ONEIL MAC. SH
 ANOG
 M^c. BR
 EON
 M^c. SHANE
 ODEMUS EARL OF
 TYRONE & 21 OF
 HIS CHILDREN. HEE
 DYED MAY THE 29,
 1723, AGED 86.

¹ Lord Chancellor.

² Sir George Shurley, Chief Justice
 King's Bench.

³ Samuel Mayart, Justice Com. Pleas.

⁴ James Donellan, Justice Common
 Pleas.

⁵ Gerrard Lowther, Chief Justice Com-
 mon Pleas.

Mr. Graves had submitted this inscription to Mr. Thomas O'Gorman, one of their Associates who had contributed a paper on the family history of the O'Neills. He expressed himself much interested by it, but stated he did not consider that it in any way affected the statements lately made heretofore in the Association's "Journal" respecting the descendants of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, as he looked upon it as belonging to a different branch of the family, viz., that of the celebrated John O'Neill, who was The O'Neill during a portion of the reign of Elizabeth. He went on to say, "I ground my views on the curious words SHANE ODEMUS, which I take to be an Anglicised way of writing 'Shane an Diomais' commonly translated 'John the Proud.' If this be correct, and I think it is very likely to be so, the descent would stand thus—Con, son of Turlough O'Neil, son of Shane Oge, son of Brian, son of Shane an Diomais, Earl of Tyrone. Now Shane an Diomais, although not the eldest son, according to Moryson (vol. 1, p. 13, 2nd ed.), of Con, the first Earl of Tyrone, was yet his successor in his Irish Chieftainship. Con, from some dislike to his other sons, had the remainder to his English title confirmed to his son, or his reputed son, Matthew—who, however, was never acknowledged by Shane as an O'Neill at all—so that the inscription, which of course followed the views of the family, may not be very far wrong in styling John the Proud—Earl of Tyrone. I have failed to identify Brian (Breon), the son of the Shane of the inscription, with any of the sons of Shane an Diomais. Four of his legitimate sons are mentioned in history, viz., *Art* and *Henry* in the Four Masters, *Con* and *Turlough* in Moryson, vol. 1, p. 15. There is an illegitimate one also mentioned in the Four Masters—Hugh na Gavelock, who was hanged for treason, by his namesake, the great Earl, and I am strongly inclined to think that the Kilskeery tombstone commemorates the descendant of another illegitimate son Brian, as from Shane's character he is likely to have had more than one. I consider, therefore, that it belongs to an illegitimate son of Shane the Proud, and I believe my supposition is right, as I find that Hugh of the Fetters, hung by the great Hugh O'Neill, had a brother named Brian, a descendant of

whom I am pretty sure was commemorated by the old tombstone. The family still exists in the district, but reduced to the lowest grade."

Mr. John P. Prendergast, Barrister-at-law, presented a transcript of a letter from the Council of State, to "the Commissioners for the affairs of Ireland," in 1656, reciting a petition of one of the younger sons of Luke, Earl of Fingall, to be restored to a small estate of his confiscated in the County of Meath. Referring to the manuscript account of the Langton family of Kilkenny, edited by Mr. Prim, in the Association's "Journal" for April, 1864, which gave a narrative by Nicholas FitzMichael Langton, of his capture by Moorish pirates and captivity in Salle, in the year 1649, the document now presented by Mr. Prendergast served to show that such a fate was not unfrequently experienced by Irishmen at the time.

Letter from the Council of State to the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland.

"21st October, 1656.

"MY LORDS,

"Edw^d Plunket, one of the younger sons of Luke Earle of Fingall in Ireland having by Petition to His Highness set forth that there being a small estate in lands called Drumbarach and Caslaghton &c. in the Co. of Meath of the yearly value of about £100 settled on him by his father in his lifetime, hee was shortly after his ffather's death (which he alledgeth to be in the year 1635) the Petitioner being then in his minority, sent by his ffriends to travel in fforaigue parts (for his education) where he continued about 9 or 10 years, and being on his return towards England was taken by the Turks and carried to Salley, where he remained in captivity five years, and about January last arrived in England having not been in Ireland since his travels and captivity. And therefore expresses his hope that his estate so settled on him shall not be adjudged lyable to forfeiture or sale. His Highness and the Councell in consideration hereof have thought fitt to referr it to your Lōpps to examine the Petitⁿ tytle to the s^d estate, and if you shall finde the same to be as is before set forth then you are desired and are hereby authorized to cause possession thereof to be forthwith delivered unto him.

"Signed in the name and on behalfe of the Councell.

"H. LAWRENCE, *President*."

"*Whitehall, 21 Oct., 1656.*"

Mr. Graves laid before the meeting a tract, presented by Samuel Ferguson, Esq., LL. D., entitled "Oghamica," being a re-print of that gentleman's paper on the Ogham

Monuments in their Museum and the County of Kilkenny, read at the last meeting of the Association and published in the last number of their "Journal." The distinctive feature of the re-print was an illustration, by means of two photographs, of the Dunbel Ogham stones. On both of these photographs Dr. Ferguson relied as proof of the correctness of his readings of the inscriptions, in the rendering of which Mr. R. R. Brash, in a paper read at the same meeting of the Association, had differed from him.

Mr. Brash also made the following communication to the Association :—

"During the last fortnight I have made a discovery of two Ogham inscriptions, hitherto unnoticed, both in the County of Cork, and in the same locality; one of them had formed one of the covering stones of a cistvaen; it is $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and has an inscription in fine preservation, over $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length, and perfectly legible. The second is *in situ*, one of two noble pillar-stones standing at the corners of a rectangular-shaped mound, 7 feet above ground; it has an inscription, much weather-worn, but every letter traceable except one—a vowel, which is not perfect. The bottom of the cistvaen contained black earth and charcoal; pieces of a fictile vessel were also found in the excavation."

The following papers were contributed :—

LOCA PATRICIANA.—No. I. KILLEEN CORMAC.

BY THE REV. JOHN FRANCIS SHEARMAN.

AMID so many Archæological discoveries made up to the year 1860, it may appear unaccountable that the ancient Cemetery of Killeen Cormac had been neglected, and the venerable remains of extreme antiquity still existing there had been uninvestigated. Mr. Thomas O'Connor, to whom, under the Ordnance Survey, these parts of Kildare and Wicklow had been assigned for archæological research, appears never to have been at Killeen Cormac; its name does indeed occur in some one of his letters preserved among the Ordnance Survey records, but he writes of it rather as a place he has heard of than explored. In the autumn of 1860, when I first visited Killeen, the venerable air of antiquity lingering about the place deeply im-

pressed me. I saw the Ogham pillar stones, and heard too, for the first time, the curious legend recorded in this paper. I expected, however, to have found some notice of the locality in the County "Survey" of Kildare, so that my interest in the history of the place was not as lively as it became when I found that it fell to my lot to be the fortunate discoverer of interesting remains of antiquity hitherto unnoticed and uninvestigated.

Being, again, at Killeen Cormac in October 1860, the evening was showery with intervals of bright sunshine, and looking at these monuments, the hitherto unnoticed Roman letters filled with water and glistening under the slant rays of the declining sun enabled me to read the Latin epigraph—IV VERE DRVIDES.

At that time I had been reading over the account of the mission of St. Patrick in this part of Leinster in Dr. Lanigan's "Ecclesiastical History," and of the personages connected with him in his labours. The idea at once suggested itself that Killeen Cormac was a Patrician locality, and that I was looking, perhaps, on the tomb of his follower and friend, the Druid Dubthach Mac Ua Lugair. At that time I had no data for this opinion except what I had gleaned from Lanigan, and in the recently published "Lectures" of Professor O'Curry. These, with the inscription then discovered, led *per saltem* to a conclusion which subsequent investigations, made on true archæological and philological grounds, proved to be correct and well-founded. At the suggestion of Dr. Samuel Ferguson, I had the honor to report this discovery to the Members of the Royal Irish Academy in a paper read before them May 22nd, 1865. In 1868, a more detailed account, embracing all that had been discovered to that date, was given in the June number of the "Irish Ecclesiastical Record."

Keeping the subject still in view, I have since then gleaned much more information, gathered from the researches of Dr. Ferguson, Dr. Whitley Stokes, and particularly from ancient MS. authorities generously placed at my disposal by Mr. William M. Hennessy, M. R. I. A. The results are embodied in this essay.

Killeen Cormac lies three miles S. West of Dunlavin, County Wicklow, midway between that town and Bally-

KILLEN COMBAC

tore, in the townland of Colbinstown, a detached portion of the parish of Davidstown, Barony of E. Narragh and Reban, County Kildare. In the one inch Ordnance Map of Kildare, No. 129, a rath or moat-like elevation is shown; on the six inch Map, No. 32, a small circle surrounded with trees is engraved, but in neither instance is the name of the place thus marked given. In Rawson's Map, in his "Survey of Kildare," it is noticed, and the name is written "Killeen-cormuck;" in the map attached to the Wicklow "Survey," the place is marked "Kilcormuck." The site of this old cemetery is in a valley of the most picturesque character; the River Greise flows through it, separating at Killeen Cormac the counties of Kildare and Wicklow, and the dioceses of Leighlin and Glendalagh. In this valley also, are many isolated mounds or eskars, retaining names connected with the legends and history of the locality. On the left bank of the Greise, in the parish of Ballynure, is a long escar called "Bullock hill;" on the opposite bank of the stream, on the Kildare side, is another escar called "Cnocbunnian;" to the west of this is another elevation, the highest of the group; on its summit is a rath of large proportions, at its base flows a small rivulet known as the "Scrughán" i. e. *the streamlet*, which joins the Greise west of Killeen. This hill is called "Rathownbeg," *Raít abhain beg*, i. e. the Rath of the little river. Between this and Knockbunnian is another escar of oval shape, measuring in circumference 230 paces; its major axis lies nearly north and south; the southern end is the highest, and is fashioned into a tumulus, the sides of which show the remains of three terraces. The first terrace on the ground line was carried around the whole escar; the second and third can be traced on the south-western side of the mound; the whole enclosure is occupied with graves, and on the summit is an oblong depression, the site of the primitive church. A quantity of large stones lying scattered about plainly indicate the former existence of some structure of primitive design and architecture. This (see Plate facing this page) is Killeen Cormac.

¹ Cnoc bunnian, the hill of the cow or heifer (bo. gen. boin), has perhaps some reference to a lost portion of the legend.

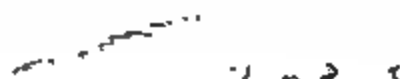
Compare the forty-first chapter of the life of St. Abban, Colgan's "Acta Sanctorum," p. 619.

The terraces are now in a very ruinous state, but sufficient indications remain to discover their original design and mode of construction. On the south-east side the middle terrace is better preserved; it is faced with cyclopian slabs set against the bank forming the terrace, so that before the effects of time, and the still more destructive agency of the grave-diggers effected their dilapidation, the entire structure, triple-terraced and crowned by a primitive church, must have presented an imposing appearance, an idea of which may be realized from the immense stones—fragments of ancient crosses—pillar-stones of ponderous size and appearance—placed around the lowest terrace, which, with the remains of the cyclopian walls of the terraces, give to Killeen Cormac an appearance of antiquity which it is very difficult to describe.

Between the cemetery and Cnocbunnian there are some indications of a square structure, in the centre of which are the remains of a circular building; there is no appearance of stones above the surface. A slight grassy elevation marks most distinctly the ground plan of the building. As the place is soft and boggy it is easy to account for the disappearance of the more solid parts of the structure, which were probably some domestic or conventual building connected with the church. Killeen Cormac was, before the introduction of Christianity, used as a place of Pagan sepulture, unmistakable signs of which are disclosed in the formation of the terraces. On the east side of the middle terrace a stone remains *in situ* (see woodcut, p. 343), it is about three feet high, and it appears to have been one of the jambs of a door or opening leading to a central cave under the tumulus. The side of the stone is grooved, and its opposite jamb was made in the same manner, so as to let in a thin slab to close the external entrance. The pillar-stones, some with Ogham inscriptions, placed at intervals around the base of the tumulus, and the subterranean chambers in the interior, present all the characteristics of the sepulchral tumuli on the Boyne, and in other well known localities. About 1830, Killeen Cormac was enclosed with a stone wall, and trees were planted about the mound—they add a phase of beauty peculiarly their own, their shadows cast a sombre shade quite in harmony with

the venerable relics of antiquity of which they are the guardians.

Within the enclosures lying on the terraces are some inscribed pillar-stones with Ogham inscriptions; one of these



Grooved Stone, Killeen Cormac.

is bilingual, with a Latin epigraph and an Ogham inscription. A companion pillar-stone has at its top extremity a very antique incised bust of the Redeemer. A third has a well defined Ogham inscription carried around its top and sides. There are also some other pillars with short cryptic Ogham inscriptions, and some of the slabs in the terraces have undefined Ogham scores on the edges. On the lowest side of the mound there is another pillar-stone, on its top surface there is a mark supposed to represent a hound's paw. Excavations were made around this stone to seek for Ogham digits, but none appear to have been inscribed in it. As this stone is the subject of a very curious legend, it deserves some recognition. Local tradition, with a view

perhaps to account for the name of this cemetery, tells that this stone marks the grave of "Cormac King of Munster." He was borne to this cemetery by a team of bullocks which were allowed to follow their own instincts in bearing to his grave the body of Cormac, for the possession of which rival claims were made. Ancient Irish hagiology records, many instances of this kind as a mode of settling disputes regarding sepulture; stratagems of this nature are to be found related even in Continental hagiography. This tradition, though it does not state the period or circumstances of Cormac's death, avers that he was carried from a long distant place to Ballynure from the direction of Timolin; and that when the team reached the "Doon" of Ballynure the bullocks were overcome by thirst, they "pawed" the ground, from which issued a spring of water. Another version states that the teamster struck his goad into the earth, whereupon a stream of water gushed up, which flows on the side of the road, and is still used as a drinking place for the herds depastured on the Doon of Ballynure. The bullocks, having drunk the water thus provided, travelled on till they came to "Bullock-hill" opposite the cemetery; at this place they stood, and refused to proceed farther. From this it was apparent that Killeen was to be the last resting place of Cormac. The team of bullocks having crossed the stream and left the body for burial in the cemetery, they returned homewards across the marsh between the cemetery and Bullock-hill, and while crossing over the Greise they were engulfed in the water of the river, and were never afterwards discovered. Another, the more confused version of the legend, places a hound on the team with the corpse; when it stoped at Bullock-hill the hound jumped accross the river to the cemetery, and alighting on the top of the pillar-stone, impressed the mark of his paw, thus indicating the precise spot where Cormac was to be laid. A third version gives an additional embellishment, and makes the hound to jump for the top of "Cnocadhow," a hill more than a mile south-west of Killeen Cormac.

This curious legend of the bullocks coincides with a imilar story in the life of St. Abban Mac Ua Cormac in the "Acta Sanctorum" of Colgan, March 16, Cap. xli., p.

619. It is there related that a heifer which had been hopelessly sterile, had through the blessing of St. Abban, two bull calves, concerning which the Saint made some predictions.

In Chapter XLV. p. 620, the writer of St. Abban's Life having spoken of the numerous miracles which he performed, says, "Nevertheless, we desire to write some brief details of his decease, and how his holy remains were deposited in the earth. Wherefore on a certain day, when the time of his passage to the Heavenly Kingdom was at hand, calling together some of his brethren he mentioned to them the day of his departure. The Præpositus [Provost] of his monastery, who was also the procurator of every requisite in-doors and outside, was born in the town of Ceall Abain which is the territory of the North Leinstermen, and which was the first place St. Abban founded in the land of the Leinstermen; to this Præpositus alone he disclosed the precise hour of his dissolution. That very same moment the Provost determined to steal away the blessed body of the holy man, and to bring it, if he possibly could, to his own town; he sent messengers to his native place, in order that his own people should collect together the North Leinstermen to come to meet him at the appointed day, and by the road on which these messengers would determine. These orders they obeyed with alacrity, but as the Provost had the oxen, which we mentioned before, in his charge, because these were for the use of the monastery, as the Saint prophesied of them before they were born, they were like monks, nor was any necessity to urge them to work, as they themselves willingly and meekly obeyed, so that the Holy Father and the brethren loved them much. The Provost placed these oxen beside the wagon in the assigned place on the night on which the Holy Father foretold his departure for Heaven; and the Angels on that night were seen visiting the man of God. The Provost, knowing from the lips of the Saint the precise hour of his departure, ordered all the brethren to retire to rest for some time, except his own accomplices who were cognisant of his plans, awaiting a while quietly till the holy brotherhood had retired. The soul of the Holy Father immediately ascended among the

angelic quoirs to the Heavenly Kingdom. The Provost forthwith, with his friends, carried away from the monastery the sacred body, and placed it on the wagon with the aforesaid oxen yoked thereto, which, aware of the precious burthen they carried, began their journey with the attendants. Then the angelic array descended from Heaven, singing sweetly around the corpse ; and lights like the rays of the orient sun, or when he sets in serenity, shining from them, illuminated the whole way. They continued thus until the venerable remains were placed in the grave, while the leaders of the procession walked with quickened paces under the influence of the Angelic light.

Cap. XLVI. " When the brotherhood arose after some repose they went to the place where they left the wily Provost ; not having found him there, they then placed guards on all the gates of the cloisters, and it was only then that they learned that the Provost had carried away, by stealth, the remains of the Abbot to his own town. With weeping and wailing, and violent ringing of bells the townsmen were gathered together ; and when the sad intelligence of their Abbot was known to them the whole city was plunged in grief. The people and the clergy were the more distressed because *his body* was stolen away from them, than that he departed from this world, as they doubted not that they should be delivered from every evil, and that they should be enriched with every good, and that they should obtain the wished for favours before the relics of so great a man, as they were delivered by him while he lived among them. Taking counsel together, they disperse a number of couriers in different directions to South Leinster, to induce them to follow their patron, and to strive for the recovery of his remains. Forthwith the populace, taking up their arms, go with the brethren to fight for their Saint, and each in his own locality, on learning the dreadful deed, goes forth without delay after their countrymen. A great crowd being thus collected from every side, they formed a large army, and went with avidity to bring back the remains to the place whence they had been removed. At the same time the people of the other city, with the army of North Leinster, gather together ; they were more in numbers, and better armed than the men of South

Leinster. The holy monks, the clerics, and the good and wise men on both sides seeing that great danger was imminent, ordered both parties to remain quiet, and the corpse to be detained and placed between them, to effect, if possible, some means of reconciliation ; disputing one with the other, it was impossible to bring them into terms. The North Leinster army asserted ' This Saint erected our city, took us, his first people in this territory, under his protection, and we have accepted him for ever as our patron ; and our wives, our sons, and our daughters, our slaves, and our handmaids, even to our children, hope in him in every necessity, and we are determined to die before we deliver him.' The people of the town of Magharnoidhe, with the South Leinstermen, spoke thus :—' This holy man was sent to us by God, he lived many years amongst us, and founded many monasteries and churches in our country. He is our Saint and venerated father ; he built our town, and after many miracles wrought among us he was taken away to the Lord. We hope to be always assisted through him ; and know ye that we shall rather consign ourselves to death before we shall return without him.' At this speech the wrath of the leaders and armies on both sides was inflamed, and lashed into fury ; they commenced to vituperate and contend against each other. Then the monks and clerics, to whom armed contention was unlawful, went apart, weeping and wailing ; they cried aloud, ' Alas ! Alas ! O Lord God, why dost Thou permit this wretched slaughter of so many noble souls on account of the corpse of thy servant, who, while alive, was the means of preventing much bloodshed and wars.' The armed ranks were about to engage each other, urged on by dire hostility, going with impetuosity to enter into deadly strife to fight for the corpse. O ! wonderful and exceedingly great miracle worked by God through the merits of the saint. Behold ! in the twinkling of an eye, two oxen with a wain and corpse went to the North Leinstermen, and two oxen of the same appearance and size, with a similar wagon and corpse, went towards the men of South Leinster. Then the holy men on both sides, and all the others, seeing this wonder so quickly wrought, were appeased ; and full of joy, they cried out ' Behold how great,

how excellent are the merits of the Saint Abban before the Lord.' The people indeed rejoiced exceedingly, and giving glory and thanks to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, praising His Saint, returned with great joy and honour to their own cities; and those who were ailing with various diseases were brought before the relics, and all were made whole. And the relics themselves with due honour, with canticles and hymns of praise, after solemn mass and obsequies were consigned with honour to the tomb. Cap. XLVII. But the oxen which carried the remains of their master to the sepulchre went away through the crowd, and three times they made a circuit around the grave, and then bellowing through the town rushed on to the neighbouring rivulets; many persons followed them, anxious to see what they were going to do, but the oxen arriving before the people came down, went into the ford at the stream, and henceforth they never were seen by mortal eyes; and that ford was called in the Scottic tongue *Ōt Ōam cheilt*, i. e. 'The ford of the lost oxen.' Then it was perceived what the Saint while living said of them, 'that they shall not long remain with you after my decease.' "

This wild legend¹ of St. Abban's burial curiously coincides with that still told by the Shanachies of Killeen Cormac; they evidently come from a common original, one version preserved in musty tomes, and in still older parchment MSS., the other living and preserved in the memory of men of the present generation. This legend may serve to dissipate the difficulties and confusion of events noticeable in the acts of St. Abban, or, to speak more correctly, the acts of two personages of the same name. The Bollandists in their dissertation on "St. Abban," October 27th, p. 274, show that there were two Abbans—that one of them flourished in the middle of the fifth, and the other towards the close of the following century. The Senior St. Abban was descended from the Dal Cormaic, or the Fine Cormaic. He was seventh in descent from Cormac Caech (*luscus*) son of Cu Corb, King of Leinster, who was

¹ Compare the account of St. Patrick's burial &c., Dr. Todd's "Life of St. Patrick," pp. 491, 492, &c. "Trias Thaum."

Vita Tertia Cap. 91. Vita Quarta, Cap. 97, &c. Also the "Bollandists," Vita St. Gall, and St. Genebern.

slain by Feidlinidh-Rectmar, King of Ireland, A. D. 111—119. The descendants of Cormac Caech occupied the territory about Killeen. They are known in history as the Dal- or Fine-Cormaic, i. e. the territory or tribes of the Ui Cormaic; from this tribe comes the appellation of this old cemetery—Cill-Fine-Cormaic, phonetically Killeen Cormac, i. e. the Church of the Tribes of the Ui Cormaic. St. Abban, Senior, is supposed, by the Bollandists, to have been born circa A. D. 430. His mother's name was Miola, or Brionn-fhinn-brecc, i. e. "the Bright Speckled Raven." She was the sister of St. Ibhair, of Beg Eire, who died April 23, A. D. 500 ("Mart. Dungal."). St. Abban, Junior, was born circa 520; his mother was also called Miola, or Melda. She was sister of St. Coemghin, or Kevin of Glendalach; he died June 3rd, A. D. 617, in the 120th year of his age. The Junior St. Abban might also be called Ua Cormaic, as Caemell, his maternal grandmother was a daughter of Cennendan, or Cenfinnan, descended from Cormac Caech, son of Cu Corb.

The similarity of the name of the mothers of both these Saints, and both being of the Dal-Cormaic family, led very naturally to the almost inextricable confusion in their *Acta* or legends; so that it is difficult to assign severally to each what is in their *Acta*, or to determine to which of them the various monasteries called Killabban, one of them in Ui Muidhe (Tullomoy, Queen's County), and another Killavan, in M'Muiredeagh, are to be assigned; Magharnoidhe was also a foundation of St. Abban. O'Donovan supposes it to be Adamstown, near New Ross, the Life of St. Abban just quoted, states that it was in the south of Leinster. According to the writer of a Paper in Vol. I., 1st series, p. 134, of the "Journal" of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, there was a place called Mag apan-buidhe in the territory of Tullomoy, just where one would expect to find a Church of St. Abban. If the writer of that Paper had any good authority for that assertion it would, I think, settle the true location of Magharnoidhe. Another of St. Abban's churches was Fionnmagh; St. Mosacra was Abbot of this monastery about the year 679, he was also the founder of a monastery at Saggard, County Dublin, Tas-sagard, or Tigh Sacra, of which the modern name is a corruption. The Church of Fionnmagh, or Cill Fionn Magh,

is stated to have been in the Forthuatha¹ of Leinster. Archdall places it near Wexford, led astray by the similarity of the names Fothartha and Forthuatha in connexion with the locality. A note in the "Martyrology of Donegal" at April 29, p. 113, helps to dissipate the uncertainty of its location. It gives "Cill Fionn Magh in the Ui Eeneglais in Forthuatha Laighen." Of this church was the Virgin Cuach, or Coinnengean; according to the Felire of Engus (Lebor Brec and the Neamshancus of M'Firbis), she was buried in the Dionnlatha of Cinel Lugair, which, as we proceed, shall be identified with Killeen Cormac. The Ui Eneglais descended of Earnmal, son of Bresil Eneglais son of Cathair Mor, King of Ireland, settled in the Sil Lughair Dall, where their descendants were known as the Ui Muiredeagh, who in subsequent times having become the dominant race gave their name to the territory, superseding the more ancient denomination (M'Firbis, p. 227). This branch was known as the Ui Eneglais Muighi, or of the plain, to distinguish them from other tribes of the same name and descent settled on the East of Wicklow, at Arklow and elsewhere.

Before the 10th century the south-eastern part of Kildare was identified with the territory of the Ui Muiredaigh, which at a subsequent period comprised the ecclesiastical Deanery of O'Murethi ("Book of Rights," p. 210, note 1, &c.) The ancient legend of Killeen makes it very probable that St. Abban, Senior, was buried there, for which supposition there is yet more cumulative evidence to be adduced. He was, as we have seen, a mem-

¹ Forthuatha and Fothartha. The former means a territory the inhabitants of which were not of the Royal race, but immigrants or strangers. "Book of Rights," p. 120, &c. These Forthuatha or strangers' territories were in various parts of Ireland. In Munster. *Id.* p. 78. In Ulster, *Id.* p. 169, 172, &c. The Leinster Forthuatha were in the mountainous regions of Wicklow and the bordering territories.

Fothartha or Forths appear to have been confined to Leinster; they are usually mentioned as the "Seven Fothartha Laighen" in connexion with the "Seven

Laeighsecha." The former were in Carlow and Wexford, and after which the Barony of Forth in both counties is named. Another Fothartha was in Ui Failghe, the North West part of Kildare.—"Book of Rights," pp. 211, 221, &c., &c. These territories were given by Cu Corb, King of Leinster, to Eochaid Finn Fothart, brother of Con Ced-Cathach, King of Ireland, as a reward for expelling the Munster men from Leinster. At the same period Lagaidh Kenmor Laeigsech, grandson of Conal Cernach, received the "Seven Laeighsecha as his reward," vide "Keating," p. 234, &c.

ber of the Dal Cormaic tribe, and it is not at all improbable that his kinsmen made strenuous efforts to retain among themselves the remains of an illustrious clansman. The Killeen Cormac legend belongs to a class of very ancient stories; it does not seem to have lost much in its tradition to the present time. The writer of the Acts of St. Abban gives a fair idea of its antiquity when he writes in the 24th chapter of the life "Ego autem qui vitam S. Abbani collegi sum nepos ipsius filii quem S. Abbanus baptizavit et de quo prophetavit."

The other versions, or rather embellishments of this legend are mixed up with more ancient Pagan stories. The Dinn Sennchus of Baltinglass accounts for the interpolation of the hound. Cuglos, son of Donn Desa, King of Leinster, was foster-son and master of the hounds to Eterscoel, son of Conaire Mor, King of Ireland. He, as the legend states, hunted a wild boar from the hill of Tara into the heart of Leinster, and passed over the hill of Uske near Killeen; on the summit of the hill is a circle of stones called "The Pipers' Stones," a generic name for similar structures in Kildare and Wicklow; indentations supposed to be tracks of hounds' feet are marked on these boulders; the same marks are found on rocks at Manger, near Rathbran, in the vicinity of Baltinglass. The story having traced Cuglos and his dogs to this locality tells us that he followed the boar up the hill over Beallach Duthaire, the primitive name of Baltinglass; that when enveloped in the mountain mist and fog, he and his dog chased their game into a cave from which they never returned. The memory of this event was perpetuated by giving the name of its principal actor¹ to the scene of his untimely fate.

The Killeen legend curiously indeed introduces, instead of Abban Mac Ua Cormaic, "A King of Munster" named Cormac; that interpolation must be very ancient. The con-

¹ Uaim-Belaigh Conglais, the "Cave of the pass of Cuglais." In Medieval documents the name was modified to Balkyn-glas, and now corruptly Baltinglass, about which modern Fire-worshippers have written a great deal of nonsense. A curious

legend of King Arthur's hound, &c., may be read in "Nennius, Historia Brittonum," I. A. S., p. 117. A legend of somewhat similar nature is to be found in the "Acta SS."—See Life of St. Colman Mc Duach, p. 246, sec. xi.

fusion and jumbling of the Acts of the two SS. Abban led to its introduction as the easiest way to account for the name *Cormac* when its true history was lost, and the old Shanachies had no difficulty in finding a real King of Munster either in the persons of Cormac Mc Cullinan, or Cormac, the son of Mothla, the King of the Desies, who fell with the King of Cashel in the fatal battle of Ballachmoon, A. D. 903. In "Keating's History of Ireland," O'Mahony's translation, p. 526, *et seq.*, there is a very interesting and graphic description of this battle of Ballachmoon, in Magh-Ailbhi. Cormac M^c Cullinan, having a presentiment of his impending fate, directed that his body should be buried in the Church of Disert Diarmid (Castle Dermott), with the Abbot Snegdus who died A. D. 888. Cormac was the Daltha, or pupil, of this Abbot, and in the same grave as his old master and amid the scenes of his early youth he willed that he should rest in case his remains were not interred in the Church of Cluain Umha (Cloyne, Co. Cork), to which he gave the preference: he was, however, buried in Disert Diarmid, and his head, which had been cruelly hacked off from his body and carried as a trophy of victory into Ossory, was sent back with honour and respect to be placed in his grave in Disert Diarmid (*vide* "Fragments of Annals of Ireland," I. A. S., p. 213). Cormac Mac Mothla, the regulus of the Desies, fell also at Ballachmoon; where he was buried these Annals do not record. It is not likely, however, that he was carried to Killeen Cormac, which is much more remotely situated from Ballachmoon than is Castle Dermott; the name, however, suited the legend, and was consequently utilized when the true story of St. Abban Mac Ua Cormaic was lost and forgotten. Whatever importance or weight may be accorded to these stories to account for the affix *Cormac* to this locality and cemetery, the next section of these Essays will introduce independent and ancient historical authorities to account for its history antecedent to the oldest date that may be assigned to any of these legends.

LOCA PATRICIANA.—No. II. THE FINE OR TRIBES OF LEINSTER.

BY THE REV. JOHN FRANCIS SHEARMAN.

Ite panda h. ngabla 7 h Copmaic la laígnib .i. na ngebthe h. nGhabla Fine uili, 7 Cuthraighi, 7 h. Ghabla raipend, oca Ath culchingeo co dub athaib Maisten, ocha Glair Chrichi 1 Cluanaib co uado fpi laighi, co clandair, co hath leathnocht oc Sleibhtib, co teic in Usci fpi huib mbaipchi, 7 anangebthe .h. Threna 7 .h. Chuirc 7 la .h. Chopmaic uili. Ip dib Abban mac .h. Copmaic. Ip uadib mathair Cholaim mic Crimthann .i. Mincloth ingen Cenandain, mic Cei, mic Lugdach, mic Labrada. Ip dib Copmaic in da Sinell .i. Sinell mac Cenandain, mic Macha, mic Chpuach, mic Duilgi, mic Imchada, mic bpolaig, mic Lugdach, mic Labrada; ocur Sinell pean mac Corcpain, mic Epc, mic Chpuach, mic Duilgi, 7 upaile.—Book of Lecan, fol. 95, a.

“These are the divisions of Ui Gabhla and Ui-Cormaic in Leinster, viz., where the Ui Gabha Fine (or tribe) all are found, and Cuthraighi and Ui Gabhla of Rairend (Mullach Reelion); from Ath-Culchinged to the Black Fords of Maisten (Mullachmast); from Glas Crichi¹ in Cluana to Uada toward Laighis (Leix), to Clanties, to Ath-Leathnocht at Sleibhti (Sletty), until it goes into Usci (hill of Usk), towards Ui Bairchi; and wherever are found Ui Threna and Ui Chuirc, all belongs to Ui Cormaic. Of them is Abban Mac Ui Cormaic. From them was the mother of Colum mac Crimthann, viz., Mincloth, daughter of Cenanan Of the Ui Cormaic are the two Sinells, viz., Sinell son of Cenanan and old Sinell, son of Corcran, &c.”¹

THIS extract from the Book of Lecain, with others of the same import in the M^o Firbis Genealogies (Marquis of Drogheda's Copy), pp. 208, 209, and in the Felire of Engus, Leabhar Brecc, show that the name of Cormac was identified with this locality centuries before the occurrence of any of the events alluded to in the legendary history of

¹ Glas Chrichi, “the Bounding Stream”—the present river Griese of many ancient memories. It rises in Moin-avodh, in the parish of Tober, County Wicklow, flows below Dunlavin at Miltown, where it separates Kildare and Wicklow, passes by Killeen to Ballytore, Oaile an Toch-air (another name for the Blackford), beside Mullamast to Timolin, by Kilkee Castle. Near Mullachreelion it joins the Barrow at Mageney. Cluana, the valleys at Killeen. Clanties, Clooney bog near Athy. Ui Trena, now Treanor, &c., descended of Duilghi-Trena of the Ui Cormaic, or of

Trian, son of Dubhtach, the Druid; Ui Chuire, now Quirk or Mac Guirke, a name which is very common in Wicklow and Kildare. Cuthraghi are now probably represented by the name “Carey:” members of this name are to be found in the old tribe land; a sept of the same name, but of different race, in Antrim, the *Cathairgha Cathrigia* of the “Trias Thaumaturga,” gave their name to the Barony of Carey (Reeves’ “Down and Connor,” p. 281): for the Cutraighe of the quotation, *vide* “Goidileca,” p. 103, sect. 8, from the Book of Armagh.

Killeen Cormac. The Ui Cormaic and the Ui Gabhla derive from a common ancestor, Cormac Caech, son of Cucorb, King of Leinster, who was slain under Mount Leinster by Fedhlimih Rectmar, King of Ireland, A. D. 111–119. The Gabhla Fine derive their origin from a daughter of Cormac-Caech, Eithne Gabhal Fada¹ “of the Long Legs.” She married Ailill Mac Conraidh of Kilmore Duitreb (Barony of N. Ballintober, County Roscommon), of the Firbolgs of Connaught. Tini Mac Conraidh, the brother of Ailill, was the husband of Meabh, Queen of Connaught. Her father was Eochaid Fedloch King of Ireland, A. M. 5058. O’Mahoney’s “Keating,” p. 265 ; M^c Firbis, p. 203.

M^c Firbis’s notice of those transactions informs us that some families of the posterity of Eithne and Ailill returned to their paternal country in Kilmore. Those who remained in Leinster were identified with a very extensive tract in the south of the county Kildare, going considerably west of the Barrow into the Queen’s County, extending on the east from the River Slaney, at the Glen of Imail, into Hy Cin-selagh, on the south from the Hill of Uske, opposite Dunlavin, to the Slieve Loogh² hills in Leix, thence southwards to the northern end of the Ridge of Leinster (Slieve Mairghe) at Sletty, near the town of Carlow. The mountain at this place was designated Droma Gabhla, which was an alias for Sletty (Slebbe, i. e. the mountains).

• Eithne was the mother of two sons by Ailill, Dubhtac and Fiec (M^c F., p. 203). The posterity of Dubhtac occupied the south-east part of Kildare in the hilly country, known

¹ There are other instances of ancient territorial denominations derived from females, viz., Uaithne, Owney, in the Co. Limerick, Eile, a quâ Eli O Carball, Eli Ogerty, &c. Uaithne and Eile were daughters of Eochaid Mac Luchta, King of Thuathmuin (Thomond) in the first century of the Christian Era. “Mis. Celtic Soc.,” p. 61, “Nennius,” p. 255, note b. I. A. S.

² Sliebhe Loogh.—Another name for that range was Duma Gabhla, the humps of Gabhla, a most descriptive appellation. These hills were the western boundary of Magh Druchtan, which was the region called “Uada,” near Leix; Farran O’Kelly was its later name. The O’Kellys or Kealys of this locality belong to the Fine of Leinster; they descend from Cealluig,

fourth in descent from Feg or Fiac, son of Ailill Mac Conra.—M^c Firbis, p. 482, “Annals of the Four Masters,” 1394.—“O’Herrin’s Topographical Poems.”

Query Sliebhe Loogh, the “Mountain of Lughaidh” Mac-na-tri Con, son of Curoi Mac Daire; he killed Cuchullin, at the battle of Muirthemne (County Louth), and returning to Munster by Ballach Feda mor, beside Slieve Loogh, through the valley of the River Dineen to Argatros, he met there Conal Cernach, who slew him at *Cairthe Lughaidh*, which was probably on the escarp at the junction of the Dineen with the Nore, at the place now called Ardelowe: possibly Ard Lughaid; “Lewy’s height,”—*vide* O’Curry’s “Lectures,” p. 479, and the “Book of Rights,” Introduction, p. lx.

as Sliebe Cuilinn¹ on the right bank of the Slaney, which extended towards Rairend (Mullagh Reelion at Mageney). These tribes were the Ui Gabhla of Sleibe Cuilinn and Rairend. The descendants of Fiec settled among the Ui Cormaic in their maternal territory, and were known as the Ui Gabhla Fine, or "the tribes." The Cormac Fine, or tribe, was nearly conterminous with the Barony of E. Narragh to Reban. It is mentioned in the Felire of Engus as Crioich Ua Cormaic, Dal Cormaic, &c., &c.; after his period this designation fell into desuetude when the Ui Gabhla became the dominant family. A tribe known in the ninth century as the Hy Erchon were also settled in this territory west of Narraghmore. They were a branch of the Hy Barrche, who were dispossessed of their ancestral lands by Crimthann, son of Enna Cennselagh about the middle of the fifth century. They seem to have been allowed, perhaps invited, to settle among the Hy Lugair, a sub-tribe of the Fine Cormac; where they grew into power and importance before the ninth century, when the writer of the glosses and additions in the Tripartite life of St. Patrick ("Trias Th.," p. 154, cap. xix) records some transactions which occurred in the territory to which they subsequently gave their name. The following notices of the Ui Gabhla are to be found in the annexed dates:—

A. D. 497. The battle of Indemor, in Crich Ui Gabhla, gained over the Leinster men and Illan Mac Dunlaing by Murchertach Mac Erc. "Annals of the Four Masters."

A. D. 1097. Cu-Ulladh Ua Flaithri, i. e. Gabhadhan King of Ulladh, and Mac Aisitha King of Gabhla, were burned in a house set on fire by the men of Meath. "Cron. Scot."

A. D. 1103. Muirchertach, son of Giolla Cheile, son of Giolla Mocholmoe, prince of Ui Dunchada, obtained from Dermot, King of Leinster, and the foreigners, an exemption from furnishing either horse-boys, horses, provisions, food, or soldiers to the king of the foreigners at

¹ In the uplands east of Moon, County Kildare, there is a locality called Cullen,

i. e. the "Holly-tree Wood," in which the ancient denomination is preserved.

Ath Cliath in favour of the Ui Gabhla.—Book of Leinster, fol. 245. On the north-west in Magh Liffe the Crioch Cormaic joined the Ui Loscan¹ territory; this tribe descend from Fergus Loscan, son of Cathair Mor. On the east they joined the Forthuatha Laighen, in which locality the Hy Garrchon were settled; their territory extended from the central range of the Wicklow Mountains to the sea on the eastern shore. Between them and the Ui Cormaic, the Ui Mail intervened. Their territory embraced the extensive and picturesque valley now called the Glen of Imaal, extending into Glen Malure, and beyond the Abhan Righ, or King's river, to Glendalach, which lay in the Ui Mail. "Book of Rights," p. 207, n. d. Its western boundary, adjoining the Dal Cormaic, was the River Griese, *Slar Crici*, i. e. the "Boundary Stream."

It is evident from the passages referred to in the Book of Lecain, M^o Firbis, &c., that there was in mid-Leinster an extensive tract known from a very remote period as the Fine or "tribes." The earliest notice of the Fine occurs in the Book of Leinster, fol. 201, b 1. This passage mentions a territory extending from Comar-tri-n-uisce (i. e. the confluence of the Nore, Suire, and Barrow at Cheek Point in Ossory) to the Buais, the River Bush (not identified), which was probably some tributary of either the Barrow or Slaney in the north-east of Kildare. This tract of territory "was the inheritance of the Feine in the province of Cairbre Nia-Fer," King of Leinster. Of this tribe came the Muscraighe; from whom are named the Muskerry territories in Munster; the Corco Diubhne, Corcaguinny, in the County Kerry; and the Dal Matti,² which was then the name of the inhabitants of the Feine of Leinster.

¹ Ui Luasgan-Midbine. Those were situated south of Moon Columcille in Grealluig (the miry or boggy place), at Athbiothlan, now Belin. This settles the position of "Ath Midhbhinne," not identified by O'Curry ("Lectures," p. 487). The Leinster men were defeated here by the Danes in A. D. 978. Another branch of the Ui Losgan were located west of Kilcullen. A place now called Hackla ("Belac Eacla," M^o Firbis, p. 483), it was situated in their territory, and means "the

Road or Pass of Hackla," leading from Dun Aillen, one of the principal strongholds of Mid-Leinster.

² Dal Matti.—"The three sons of Conaire the 2nd, King of Ireland, A. D. 157-165, were at Tara in inheritance of Feine in the province of Cairbre Nia-Fer. For the Feine then were the Muscraighe, Dal Matti, and Corco Duibne, &c., (they held) Leinster from Buais to Comar-tri-n-uisce. Of these the Dal Matti are still recorded." Book of Leinster, fol. 208, b. 1.

In the reign of Cormac Mac Art, A. D. 227–266, the Desi were driven from their tribe lands south of Tara (The Barony of Deece, in Meath) into Leinster. They remained there but one year, when they were expelled and driven into Munster (the County Waterford). In the account of their expulsion the people of the Fine are named among the defenders of their native territory. The Desi went along the Bealach Gabran, the Fine followed them by the “Bealach Fidhmore” across Slieve Mairghe,¹ by a shorter route into Ossory. Another reference to the Fene occurs in the Book of Armagh, 18 a. 1, Sec. 9; “Goidileca,” p. 99, 103; and in Betham’s “Irish Antiquarian Researches,” p. 399, and xli. Where the conversion of the sons of Cathbadh is recorded, and on account of it their expulsion by Crimthann, son of Enna Cinnselagh; his own subsequent conversion by St. Patrick, who on that occasion asked Crimthann to “cherish” the sons of Cathbadh and Esserninus, “after that Cathbu’s sons went to their dwelling, they are the Fena on the Fidh;” a locality now represented by Fidhmore, in the parish of Old Leighlin, through which the Ballach Feda more passed into Ossory. A neighbouring locality, Bor-na-fea, i. e. the summit or top of the wood, preserves the memory of the ancient forests that once clothed the now bare and treeless summits of Slieve Mairghe. The next reference to the Fine territory occurs in the Boromha,—Book of Leinster, H 2, 18, T. C. D. It is recorded that Secnasaech King of Ireland, A. D. 665–670, son of Blathmac, was defeated by Faelan King of Leinster (628. 665), son of Colman, at “Lerg mna Fine in Leinster,” and that “the Boromha was kept by the Leinstermen.” The Book of Lecan calls the scene of this victory “Lerg-mna-Labrada,” indicating that the place was in the territory of the Ui Labrada, a tribe belonging to the Fine of Leinster (Book of Lecan, fol. 95, a). A quotation from a poem on the battle of Uchbadh (Ballysonan), A. D. 753, mentions the Fir Feini. “Nine thousand and three fell in the battle of Uchbadh with vengeance, of the army of

¹ Slieve Mairghe, the range of hills over the Barrow on the west, so named from Margha, the daughter of Rotmand, the son of Tache; she was the wife of Etar, son

of Etgaith of Ben Edar (Howth); she died of grief on Slieve Mairghe, whence its name. Dinnsenchus, and “Ogygia,” 271, Cap. XLIV.

Leinster, sharp wounding, great the carnage of the Fir Feini."—"Annals of the Four Masters," sub anno. In the fifth century, the Palladian and Patrician period, there was no other part of Leinster so designated; the territory subsequently known as Fine-Gaill (Fingal) did not exist under that denomination; it, moreover, belonged to Meath, which then extended to the River Tolka, which flows from Dunshaglin by Finglas and Glasnevin, and falls into the bay of Dublin, at Clontarf. The ancient name of Fingall was Magh-Muiredha ("Annals Four Masters," 4606—Reeves' "Adamnan," p. 108, n. d.). About the time of the Christian era it was separated from Leinster, and was ceded to Conor Mac Nessa, King of Ulster, by Cairbre Nia-Fer,¹ King of Leinster, when he wedded the daughter of Conor, the faithless Feidhlim "of the Bright form." Keating's "History," p. 278. In the ninth century the Danes settled in this territory, and from thence it received its designation of Fine-Gaill "the tribes of the strangers."

In the seventh and eighth centuries the families descended from Cathair Mor, growing into power and predominance, overshadowed the more ancient tribes; old boundaries and denominations were superseded and lost in the subsequent changes of families and dynasties. Though the Fine Cormaic and the Ui Gabhla have disappeared as distinct tribes, they may be traced in local denominations still extant; the Barony of Oughterany and Ikeathy, in Kildare, suggests how the descendants of Ailill-Cetaig, son of Cathair Mor, all but supplanted the older designation *Nuctep-Fine*, "the upper tribe." There was a place near Ballysonan² called Cush Gowley,³ a reminiscence of the

¹ Cairbre Nia-Fer, in consideration of getting the daughter of Conchobar in marriage, gave up to Ulster all the land that lies from Temhair, and from Lochan-Coigi, in Breagh, to the sea, a territory that contained three entire cantons or tricha-ceads of land, as the bard tells us in the following verses:—

"When Erin's Fifts were yielded up
From sea to sea, to Pentarch sway,
By treaty Conchobar then joined
Three Cantons wide to Uladh's bounds."
"Keating," p. 278.

² Ballyshannon or Ballysonan. Ucha, Uchadh or Uchbadh, was its oldest name. Another name was Ath-Seanan, from

which comes the present designation. A. D. 3579, a battle was fought here; also in 733, on the 14th of the Kalends of Sept. Aedh Allan, King of Ireland, defeated the Leinstermen. Aid son of Colgan King of Ui Censelagh, was slain in single combat by the King of Ireland, Branbeg, son of Murchard; the son of Train, El adach Ua Macluidhir (O'Moylur of Shelmalier), was also slain. A. D. 1308. [In May, the O'Tooles burned the town of "Courcouly" *recte* "Cushgowly," *en alias* for Ballysonan in the County Kildare. ("Grace's Annals," p. 58).

³ In a King's Letter, 6th James I. for a

Ui Gabhla. Clar-Goley, a locality probably on the southern boundaries of Leix adjoining Ui Duach, where Lysath O'Morda slew, at a parley, Redmound Ercdecene and his followers in 1335 ("Clyn's Annals"), has apparently some connexion with the Ui Gabhla—Clar-Goley, the "Plain or Table-land of the Ui Gabhla." Mageney, in the south of Kildare, is also an ancient name, Magh Fine, the plain of the Fine or tribe. There is a poem attributed to Dubhtach Mac Ua Lugair (O'Curry's "Lectures," App. III., p. 490), written in praise of his patron Enna Censelagh, the "Hero of Magh fine," as he styles him.

It may be objected that Killeen Cormac means no more than the *little* church of Cormac; that translation does not accord with correct grammar, as the *f* in composition is aspirated and lost, so that Cill-Fine-Cormaic, phonetically Killeen Cormac, means "the church of the tribe of Cormac," and preserves to the present time the only reminiscence that is extant of the ancient tribe of the Dal Cormac. Among the Fine of Leinster were sub-tribes known to historical and genealogical records as the Hy Lugair. In M^c Firbis, p. 206, is to be found the Ui Cail McLugair of the Dalmessincorb. In p. 212, the Sil Lugair dubh in the pedigree of the Ui Teig of Imail. The Cinel Lugair Fachta—the Cinel Lugair Nair (p. 228), located in the Ui Eneclais, and the Sil Lugair Daill in the Ui Muiredaigh¹ (p. 227). These names may be perhaps traced in the Clan Maoil-lughra, a tribe name of the O'Dempseys of Clanmalier, who were an offshoot of the Ui Failghe, and in Gleann-Maoil Lughra, now Glenmalure in the Ui Teig² territory, where also another tribe of the Hy Lugair were located. The Sil Lugair

grant to Sir James Fitzgerald of Ballysonan, County Kildare, is named *inter alia* "Coshogeowllie" at Ballysonan (Philadelphia State Papers, p. 300, Record office, Dublin).

¹ Ui Muiredaigh, the tribe name for the Ui Gabhla of Reirend; it is probably derived from Muiredaigh, the son of Dubtac, son of Aihill Mac Conrac and Eithne "Gabal fadha." In subsequent times this appellation was given indiscriminately to the S. Eastern portion of Kildare, which lay in the Diocese of Glendalagh, of which it formed a Deanery called O'Murthi, *vide*

"Book of Rights," p. 210; by other authorities the name is derived from Muredach, son of Murchad, son of Bran Mut, son of Failen, son of Colman, King of Leinster, A. D. 576.

² The O'Teigs or Tighes are extinct in Ui-maile. Query, are the Tighes of Rosanna, County Wicklow, descended from the old tribe? On the sea coast, between Dunganstown and Arklow, there is a hill called Glan Teig, which may be so named from the Ui Teigs of Imail, who had to remove and make room for the O'Tooles when De Riddlesford drove them into the

daill of Hy Muiredaigh are of all these the most interesting, as from that tribe was descended Dubhtach Mac Ua Lugair, the chief Druid of Laeghaire Mac Neill, King of Ireland 428—458. His descent from Lugaidh, or Lughair, grandson of Cormac Caech, son of Cucorb King of Leinster, can be deduced with probability, if not with absolute certainty, as converging and cumulative evidence, discovered in references to him in ancient authorities, make ample amends for the loss of some names in his descent from Lugaidh, or Lughair. The branch of the Hy Lugair from which Dubhtach descends was identified with the immediate neighbourhood of Killeen Cormac. The Felire of Engus in the Lebor Brecc, and the Neamshencus in the large MSS. of M^cFirbis, R. I. A. Library, have some very interesting and curious references to him and his sons. These are especially valuable and interesting as they verify and confirm the attribution of the bilingual monument at Killeen to the Druid Dubhtach ; they also establish most satisfactorily the reading of the Latin epigraph suggested by Dr. Ferguson. These references are reserved for further notice, when the monuments, &c. at Killeen Cormac come under consideration. Coming to the Anglo-Norman period in the history of this locality there are to be found references in the printed though suppressed “Chartæ Immunitates et Privilegia,” printed by the Record Commission of 1816. The first document which has reference to Killeen is a *concessio* made the 20th of Henry II., A. D. 1173, by Richard Earl of Pembroke, to the Abbey of Glendalach ; this document is taken from the Register of Archbishop Alan, folio 21 d. Among the churches named in this part of the Diocese of Glandelach is one called Cellenulugair. In a *concessio* of the 4th of Richard I., 1193, we find with the same surroundings Kellenulugair. (Register, folio 20 d.). A Charter of John, Dominus Hib., has Killinulugair.

These documents, I need not say, are most valuable

mountains of Imaile. M^cFirbis, p. 460, gives nine descents in their genealogy. M^cTighe or Tighe, in the Counties of Dub-

lin and Louth, is strangely metamorphosed into Montague, and by the illiterate pronounced as a dissyllable—Mon-tague.

as records of the transitional period of the ancient Irish churches and dioceses under a new regime consequent on the Anglo-Norman invasion. I have not been able to discover anything of the later history of this ancient church and territory subsequent to the dates of these documents. The Hy Lugair and their correlative families must have shared the common fate of the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes, the descendants of Cathair Mor; who had to retire into the mountains of Wicklow before the advances of the Anglo-Norman "Filibusters." Crioich Ua Cormaic was seized by the Eustaces. The old name of the territory was then changed to Crioich-na-n Urtarach, "Crioich or Crok Eustace." One of the strongholds of that once powerful race stood at Colbinstown until the year 1840; it was then thrown down to supply building material. Another family of the Eustaces lived at Grange Con, near Killeen. Their fertile lands passed away from their name and race more than a century ago; two tombs of the early part of the last century at Killeen Cormac, are, in this locality, the only reminiscence of that once powerful family.

A RAMBLE ROUND TRIM.

BY EUGENE ALFRED CONWELL, M. R. I. A., M. A. I., F. R. HIST. SOC., &c.

*"In the glimmer of the dawn
They stand the solemn silent witnesses
Of ancient days."*

ACCORDING to the Census of 1871, the population of the manor-land and town of Trim, the chief town of the county of Meath, amounted to 2143 individuals; which shows it to be at present a town of no great magnitude, and very dimly, indeed, reflects the important position it occupied in the affairs of Ireland a few centuries ago.

The ancient name of the place, from the latter half of which its present patronymic is derived, was *Ath-Truim*; so-called from *Ath*, a ford, and *Truim*, the genitive case of *Drom*

or *Drum* (*dorsum*), signifying a long, low hill.¹ Immediately above the town bridge, over the Boyne, are still very discernible both the ford or shallow, and the low hill stretching along its northern bank, the river being deep both above and below this point. Others translate *Ath-Truim* "the Ford of the Elders," or boortrees; but, even for a moment putting out of consideration the high linguistic authority of Dr. Todd, from the physical conformation of the place we think his derivation of the ancient name must be the correct one.

Trim being formerly a place of great strength and consequence was, at a very early period—some say in the 13th century—constituted a Borough, with a Corporation, and it sent Members to Parliament until the Union. The Corporation Records, up to the 14th September, 1659, have been lost; but, from an inspection of those remaining after that date, it is very evident that the Corporation of Trim was, at one period, one of the most respectable bodies of the kind in Ireland, and men of high position sought admission to its ranks. In proof of this we quote the following entry from the Records:—

"Borough of Trim. At an Assembly held before John Boulger, Esq., Portrieve of said Corporation, this 29th day of June, 1788: At the said Assembly, The Right Hon. John Fitzgibbon, Thomas Lyon, Esq., Rev. Patrick Vance, George Burleigh, Esq., John Page, Esq., Jun., Isaac Bomford, Laurence Steele, Esq., Robert Jephson, Esq., Right Hon. Lord Longford, Lord Viscount Delvin, Right Hon. James Cuffe, Right Hon. Thomas Conolly, Henry Stewart, Esq., Hon. Thomas Pakenham, Hon. Hercules Taylor, Colonel Richard St. George, Thomas Kettlewell, John Francis Craddock, Edward Cooke, Esq., Thomas James Fortescue, Samuel Winter, Esq., Lieutenant Philip Stapleton, Cornet Samuel Page, Captain John Bolton, Hon. George Pomeroy, Major Stephen Freemantle, Major Robert Hobart, Robert Gardiner, Esq., Councillor Henry Doyle, Right Hon. Denis Daly, Thomas Walker, Esq., Rev. Nat. Preston, Rev. Henry Preston, Rev. Arthur Preston, Hon. Robert Taylor, Rev. William Foster, Henry Garnett, Councillor William Rowley, Clotworthy Rowley, Lieutenant William Foster, Thomas Hart, and James Mockler, being formerly admitted Burgesses of the said Corporation, and having attended this day, were sworn Burgesses accordingly.

"At the said Assembly, Daniel Lennon and Samuel Hanberry, being formerly admitted Freemen of said Corporation, this day attended, and were sworn Freemen accordingly.

¹ Dr. Todd's "Life of St. Patrick," p. 150.

“ And at the said Assembly, held before the said John Boulger, Esq., Portrieve, the Corporation of Trim, on the aforesaid 29th day of June, 1788, proceeded to the election of Portrieve for the said Corporation for the ensuing year, commencing the 29th of September next. The candidates offered were Adam Carshore, gent., and Edward Mockler, gent., Burgesses residing in said Corporation, upon which a poll was demanded, and proceeded on; and upon casting up the number of voters at the close of the poll, it appearing that one hundred and six legal voters had voted for the said Adam Carshore, and thirty-three votes for the said Edward Mockler, and a majority of seventy-three appearing in favour of the said Adam Carshore, he was thereupon by the Portrieve declared duly elected Portrieve for the said year commencing as aforesaid: (*Signed by*) John Boulger, *Portrieve*; H. L. Rowley, Walter Evans, John Mockler, Harberton, Nath. Preston, H. L. Taylor, Chichester Fortescue, Samuel Garnett, William Carshore, James Allen, Charles Palmer, William Elliott, Henry Garnett, Edward Mockler, Richard Ladley, John Boyle, John Foster, Patrick Proudfoot, Christopher Hanberry, Mornington, John Parkinson, Langrishe Doyle, John Page, Junr., William Parsons, George Pomeroy, John Locker, William Hughes, Andrew Hartness.”

“ Entered, H. REYNOLDS, Town Clerk.”

From the *Trim Corporation Records*, p. 294, &c.

The first meeting of the Corporation of Trim, after the passing of the Municipal Act, took place on 10th October, 1840, and was presided over by Dr. Clifford, an eminent physician residing in the town. As at present constituted, the Corporation consists of nine Town Commissioners, elected by the ratepayers, three going out annually; and the Chairman is elected every year by the Commissioners from among themselves.

From whatever direction the visitor approaches Trim, he cannot fail to be struck with the great magnitude and architectural beauty of the military and ecclesiastical ruins which still attest the former importance of the locality. There is one point, however, on the Dublin road, a few perches south-east of St. Peter's-bridge at Newtown, from which a *coup d'œil* of the whole of the ruins about Trim is obtained, stretching out in one gorgeous panorama before the observer.

From this spot we propose to commence our “Ramble,” in which we purpose to notice only scenes and objects which have a special interest for the antiquary; the first of the ruins we meet being the Priory of St. John the Baptist.

The boundary wall of this Priory, the area of which

measures eighty yards in length and sixty in breadth, and incloses about one statute acre of land, can still be traced, except on the western side adjoining the public road. At the south-west angle stands the round tower, so conspicuous in the foreground of the accompanying illustration, which



1. The Prioery of St. John the Baptist, Newtown, near Trim.

was evidently intended as a watch-tower for the defence of the place. Adjoining its northern side is still to be seen a recess, 7 feet high and 3 feet wide, facing eastwards, where in all probability a sentinel kept watch over the premises. The tower itself, rising to a height of 30 feet, measures 42 feet externally round the base, but the circumference of the shaft proper is only 32 feet round the outside. It was divided into three rooms, or storeys; that on the ground-floor being entered through a door on the east wall, and having a window commanding a view northwards. The two upper storeys were reached by means of a spiral stone stair on the north side, of which nine steps still remain. The second storey commanded a view of the south; and the upper storey had, unlike the two below, two windows, one looking north-west and the other south-east.

The principal building in the foreground of the illustration consisted of a square castellated keep, 40 feet high, and 25 feet wide, divided into three compartments or storeys, the lower one, or kitchen, being a stone-vaulted room, having the funnel of its chimney running up the tower on the south-west corner ; into which also converged the fire-places of the two storeys above. These consisted of two rooms, measuring internally 20 feet by 18 feet, and each about 11 feet high. The two upper rooms were reached by a spiral stone staircase of 46 steps, still remaining perfect, in the tower on the north-east side of the quadrangle. The two towers, each about 8 feet square, rise 9 feet over the main building. The entrance to the premises was on the west side, through a semi-circular arched doorway, 5 feet 3 inches wide, and 9 feet 2 inches high ; while the entrance to the quadrangular building in front was from the courtyard inside, on the east side, and through a doorway, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. In the front of the buildings are what appear to be two semicircular arched gateways, $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 13 feet high, built up with stone ; but they never could have been used for such a purpose, as a transverse vault runs immediately behind them. This representation of gateways must have been given for the purpose of relieving the monotony of so much dead stone-work, and to give a lightness and variety to the appearance of the front. From this point a regular range of buildings, running parallel to the River Boyne, and only a few yards south of it, containing various vaults for domestic uses, extends eastwards for 70 yards, where it ends in another tower, in which is a spiral stone staircase of 42 steps, by which were approached the rooms of two storeys over these vaults, but which have now disappeared. On the south-east corner of this tower, which is 40 feet high, there is now in full and luxuriant growth the largest specimen of solid ivy we have ever seen. The stem at the base measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in girth ; and above this the various stems springing from the parent root have now grown into one solid mass of wood 6 feet in breadth.

The south-eastern portion of the inclosure is occupied by the remains of a chapel 119 feet in length, by 24 feet

in breadth internally ; the side wall on the south side, which is now the only one remaining, rising merely to the height of 10 feet. The east gable is still perfect, and contains the stone framework of a beautiful triple window, $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, and 19 feet high.

The Bishops of Meath appear to have been either the founders of, or great benefactors to, this Hospital or Monastery of St. John, which was erected in the thirteenth century for a fraternity who devoted themselves to the redemption of Christian captives,—viz., the Order of Crouched Friars, or Cross-bearers, so called from having a cross embroidered on their habit.

Edmund, fourth brother of Sir Bartholomew Dillon, who was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1513, was Prior of Newtown. Laurence White was the last Prior ; and on 16th July, 1539, being 31st Henry VIII., he surrendered the Priory and all its possessions—

“ Containing a church, two towers, an hall, storehouse, kitchen, brew-house, two granaries, a pigeon-house, and haggard ; also messuages, twenty acres of arable land, being part of their demesne on the south side of the Boyne ; seventy acres of arable land, twelve of pasture, being part of the said demesne on the north side of the Boyne ; and a close containing an acre of pasture, with three gardens in Newtown, annual value, besides reprises, 10*l*s. 4*d*. ; four messuages, six cottages, 120 acres of arable land, and twenty of pasture, with a mill on the river Blackwater, in the town of Clonguffyn, of annual value, besides reprises, £4 16*s*. ; a castle, six messuages, forty acres of arable land, and forty of pasture, moor, and underwood, in Longwood and Atomodarire, annual value, besides reprises, 52*s*. 4*d*. ; seven acres of arable land, and three of pasture, in Ballreyn, annual value, besides reprises, 4*s*. 8*d*. ; two acres of arable land, with the three Warrenstowns, in the parish of Knockmarke, annual value, besides reprises, 2*s*. ; two acres of arable land in the townland of Agher, in the aforesaid parish, annual value, besides reprises, 2*s*. ; twenty acres of arable land in the townland of Trim, annual value, besides reprises, 20*s*. 8*d*. ; five messuages, three cottages, 160 acres of arable land, three of meadow, and six of pasture, with the appurtenances in Downekennye, annual value, besides reprises, £19 5*s*. 6*d*. ; one messuage, forty-eight acres of arable land, two of meadow, and two of pasture, in St. John’s-town, annual value, besides reprises, 6*s*. 8*d*. ; sixteen acres of arable land in Moyhangaye, annual value, besides reprises, 16*s*. 6*d*. ; six acres of arable land in Coraghetown, and an annual rent of 7*s*. 4*d*. , payable out of the lands of Thomas Plunkett, of Rathmore, Christopher Plunkett, Jun., Richard Proudefote, Nicholas Ford, &c., annual value, besides reprises, 13*s*. 4*d*. ; twenty acres of arable land in Richardstown, annual value, besides reprises, 20*s*. ; also one messuage, with a garden in the town of Inche, annual value, besides reprises, 4*s*. ;

and thirty acres of arable land in Moher, near Kells, annual value, besides reprises, 20s.; with the following rectories appropriated to the said Prior and his successors:—Tillanoge, and the appurtenances, annual value, besides reprises, £10 13s. 4d.; and Fennor, with the appurtenances, annual value, besides reprises, £6 13s. 4d.

“July 18—31 Henry VIII.—Fiant for grant of the following yearly pensions:—£10 to Laurence Whyte, late Prior of St. John’s, of Newtown, near Trim; and 26s. 8d. to Patrick Dongan, issuing out of the profits of the rectories of Finnowr and Tollanaghoge.”—*Rot. Pat.*

The Priory, and its possessions, were granted to Robert Dillon, and afterwards became the property of the Ashe family, who inhabited it for many years, during which time probably the various changes, consisting of building up and altering doors and windows, now so perceptible in the ruins, may have taken place, giving the present appearance so little of that of the remains of a religious foundation.

Crossing St. Peter’s Bridge, which spans the Boyne in five arches, and proceeding a few perches westwards, we come to the present burying ground of Newtown, in which we first meet the ruins of the former parish chapel of Newtown-Clonbun, standing on the summit of the gently rising ground on the north bank of the river. Its external measurements are 64 feet in length, by 23 feet in breadth, and the portions of its southern side wall, which is 2 feet 9 inches thick, still standing, show the original height of the side walls to have been about 9 feet, not taking into account the slight filling up which has occurred since it became a ruin, both by internal and external interments.

The present condition of the east window, measuring 22 feet in height, is well represented in the accompanying

¹ The rectory of Tullaghanog, about four miles from Trim, and adjoining the road to Athboy, was appropriated to the Priory of St. John the Baptist, Newtown. The ruins of the old church, running east and west, are situated on the south side of a gently sloping hill; from which circumstance, no doubt, the name of Tullaghanog originated. The dimensions of the church are 56 feet in length, and 30 feet in width, measured externally; and two portions of the western gable, over 20 feet in height, and 2 feet 3 inches

thick, are still standing, as well as a small part of the south side wall, about 8 feet in height. In 1641, Tullaghanog was the property of Patrick Browne; but the lands were afterwards held by Plunkett, Lord Killeen, of the King, as of his manor of Trim, by the service of one-fourth part of a knight’s fee—*quando scutagium currit*. They subsequently passed to Lord Sherborne; and for some years past they have become, by purchase, part of the estate of George Augustus Rotheram, Esq., of Kilbride Castle.

woodcut. In the interior of the Church, at a distance of 9 feet from this window, and in front of where the altar stood, is still to be seen, in good preservation, the beautiful tomb of Sir Lucas Dillon, which measures 6 feet 9 inches in length, is 4 feet wide, and stands 4 feet in height.

2. The Tomb of Sir Lucas Dillon, at Newtown, near Trim.

The north and south sides of this inclosed tomb are each divided into three compartments by exquisitely wrought bas-reliefs; and these compartments contain the armorial bearings of the Dillon family, together with those of the families of Bath, Barnwall, and some of the other chief families with whom the Dillons were connected by marriage. On the west end, in relief, but now much defaced, is the representation of a marriage ceremony, in all likelihood intended to pourtray the nuptials of Sir Lucas himself, consisting of eight figures, with the words—DEUS—GOD—inscribed within a semi-circular aureola above them, and a shield over each of the two groups into which the company is divided, in all probability meant to represent the shields of the two families being then united. The two principal

kneeling figures represent a belted knight on left, and a lady on right, each with one hand extended towards what appears to be a lectern, and each having three attendants of receding height also kneeling in their rear, as their respective supporters on the eventful occasion.¹ On the top of the tomb, with a sword of state lying between them, rest two recumbent figures, Sir Lucas and his lady, Jane Bath, daughter of James Bath, of Athcarne and Drumconrath. The stone inclosing the east end of the tomb was sculptured with a raised tablet, apparently intended for an inscription, which, in Lodge's Peerage, Vol. I., p. 155, is given as—

“ Militis Hic Lucæ Dillonis ossa quiescunt,
 Conciliis Regni summus, Baroque supremus.
 Mense Februarii decimus cum septimus instat,
 Tempora lustrali profusus flumine clausit,
 Terrenos linquens cœlestes sumpsit honores.”

From a careful personal examination of the tablet we have found no indications of any inscription ever having been inserted upon it; but Dean Butler, several years ago, had the first two lines of the foregoing inscription cut into the stone, unfortunately not by a hand practised in the art of lettering. The inscription, if it ever existed, is defective in not giving the year in which Sir Lucas died; and of the purity of the language employed we say nothing further than that, with the exception of two false quantities, one in the first, and the other in the third line, it appears to have been a puerile attempt to record in Latin hexameter verse the high position held by, and the good qualities of, Sir Lucas Dillon, who was the builder of the House of Moymett, now a ruin, about two miles north of Trim, the dimensions of which are 122 feet in length, and 42 feet wide, the principal walls being $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. Seven large windows can still be counted in the southern portion of the ruins. The house was approached, on the east side, through a building of two storeys in height, now in a cracked and

¹ It has been suggested that this tableau may be intended to represent the parents and children, such groups being common on English monuments and brass-

es; but, as we shall see further on, at p. 372, that the family consisted of *seven* sons and *five* daughters, we are inclined to adhere to the opinion above expressed.

tottering condition, $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and 20 feet wide, containing in the centre an archway 11 feet 9 inches wide, and 16 feet high.

A few paces to the north of this entrance are still to be seen the dismantled remains of the ancient Parish Church of Moymett, also built by Sir Lucas Dillon, and which appears to have been intended and used as a family chapel for the House of Moymett, having a door entering the chancel on the west side, that nearest to the family residence. The entire length of the building, which runs nearly north and south, is 60 feet. Of this the chancel, on the southern end, occupies 22 feet 3 inches, and the remaining body of the church 37 feet 9 inches. The chancel is only $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, while the main body of the church is 19 feet 4 inches in width. A triple window in the southern gable, over the altar, measures 5 feet 3 inches in width and is 7 feet high, divided into three compartments, each 1 foot 5 inches in the opening. There are here the remains of a very remarkable arrangement as to the pulpit, which apparently stood on the eastern side of the church, exactly between the chancel and the main body of the church. It was reached by a circular stone staircase, 2 feet 3 inches wide and 5 feet in height, eight steps of which still remain inserted in the eastern side-wall. The doorway of the church is deserving of notice, being equilateral-pointed, formed out of two stones, the angle being ornamented by the simple bead and ogee moulding, the curves of which indicate the architecture of the sixteenth century.

We submit from Lodge's Peerage, Vol., I. p. 153, &c., the following account of the parentage and life of Sir Lucas Dillon :—

“Sir Robert Dillon, of Newtown, near Trym (third son of James of Riverston, and Elizabeth Bathe), in 1545 was Attorney-General to King Henry VIII.* and, 18th February, 1553, Queen Mary appointed him

* Which King gave him the lands of Newtown, and (20th March, 1545) granted to him and his heirs for ever the Monastery of Friars Preachers of Athnecarne, in Westmeath, with the appurtenances. Queen Elizabeth also rewarded his services, 2nd May, 1569, with a grant to him and his

heirs male of the Monastery of Srowell, with all its hereditaments; and by Privy Seal, dated 20th April, 1570, ordered him a grant of so much land in the province of Connaught, the Annaly, or in the Dillon's and Dalton's Countries, as should amount to the extended rent of £80 a year.

second Justice of the Queen's Bench and one of her Privy Council; in which post he was continued by Queen Elizabeth, 9th January, 1558; and thence advanced, 3rd September following, to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, as he was again by a new Patent, 19th November, 1562. He was joined in Commission, 28th August, 1561, with Hugh Archbishop of Dublin and others, to preserve the peace within the English Pale, during the absence of the L. L. Sussex in his expedition to the North against Shane O'Neile; and, 13th April, 1563, was in a like Commission for the counties of Meath and Drogheda while the L. D. was engaged in a second expedition against the said O'Neile. In this reign he was Speaker of the House of Commons, one of Her Majesty's Privy Council, appointed, with his son, Sir Lucas, and others, 21st February, 1579, to make the limits of certain territories into the county of Wicklow; and was joined in several other important Commissions. He married Genet, younger daughter to Edward Barnwall, of Crick's-town, Esq., by his wife Elizabeth, daughter to Sir Thomas Plunket, of Donsaughly (? Dunshaughlin), Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and had issue four sons and three daughters—viz., Sir Lucas Dillon, his heir, Roger, Thomas and John; Jeane, Elizabeth, and Alison.

"Sir Lucas Dillon, of Newtown, and of Moymett, was not only eminent in his profession of the law, but distinguished for his experience both in martial and civil affairs; insomuch as that wise Governor, Sir Henry Sidney, generally consulted him and Francis Agarde, Esq., in all matters of consequence; and found him so faithful and trusty that he used to call him *meus fidelis Lucas*. In 1567 he was Her Majesty's Attorney-General, and, in her reign, Speaker of the House of Commons, as his father had been; also, 13th October, 1572, was constituted Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and one of the Privy Council; was knighted by Sir Henry Sidney at Drogheda in 1576; and Sir John Plunket, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, dying in 1583, Her Majesty resolved to appoint for his successor her trusty and well-beloved servant, Sir Lucas Dillon, her Chief Baron, as a personage, whom for his very good and faithful service, and for his good deserts and sufficiency every way, she thought not only worthy of that place, but of a better; yet, upon good consideration had, and finding by himself that he was able to do her better service in the place he then had, than if he had the other, was pleased, upon his recommendation, to appoint James Dowdall, Second Justice of the said Bench, to discharge the place of Chief Justice; and as some recompense to him, did, by Privy seal, dated at Greenwich, 1st June, confer on him the office of Seneschal (which he then held), and to his heirs male, of the Hundred or Barony of Kilkenny-West, over the surname of the Dillons, and over the inhabitants there; as also a lease of such Crown lands as he should nominate, amounting to £70 a year for sixty years; in lieu whereof he surrendered to the Queen (30th October) all his right and title to the town and lands of Athlone, which he claimed to belong unto him, as Seneschal of the said barony, or as head of his nation.

* By Privy seal, dated at Havering, 16th July, 1563, he had a grant of the Abbey of the Virgin Mary, of Trim, with a lease of the Moiety of Castleknock, and other lands, of late belonging to John Burnell, attainted;

and, 10th August that year, received a grant to him and his heirs male, of the towns of Ladyrath, Grange of Trim, Canonstown, Rathnally, and others in the county of Meath.

"In 1584, the L. D. Perrott sent him to the Queen, to give account of his proceedings in Ireland from his first arrival, in the execution of his office; in doing which he gave Her Majesty such satisfaction that she made very honourable mention of him, and expressed the high esteem she had for him in the postscript of her letter to the Deputy, dated 20th January. On the 26th April, 1587, he was commissioned, with others, to distribute the forfeited estates in Munster, and joined in many other Commissions of public utility during the Queen's reign. He married Jane, daughter to James Bathe, of Athcarne and Drumconragh, Esq.

"He had issue by her, who died before 1581, seven sons and five daughters—viz., Sir James, created Earl of Roscommon; Henry, of whom presently; Christopher, Oliver, Alexander, and John, all died childless; Robert, who settled in the King's County, and left posterity in Munster, and in England; Genet, married to Christopher, the ninth Lord Killeen, and was mother of Lucas, created Earl of Fingall; Elinor, to Robert Rochfort, of Kilbride, in Meath, Esq.; Elizabeth; Margaret, to John Sarsfield, of Shurninges, in the county of Kildare, Esq.; and Ann, to Richard Plunket, of Rathmore, Esq.

"Henry Dillon (the second son), of Kentstown, in Meath, and of Strokestown and Ardnacrane, in Dillon's Country, married Elizabeth, daughter to the Lord Culpepper, and dying 18th April, 1609 (or 20th April, 1610), had four sons and three daughters, Henry, his heir; Theobald, Lucas, and James, who both settled in Munster; Thomasine,¹ married to — Plunket, of Loughcrew, in Meath, Esq.; Anne, married to George Russell, Esq., grandson of Sir William Russell, L. D. of Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; and Margaret, married in England."

The Dillon family have occupied such a conspicuous place in Irish history, that we think it might not be uninteresting to give here a succinct account of them, which we are enabled to do by the obliging kindness of the present Colonel Sir John Dillon, Baronet, of Lismullen, who has favoured us with the perusal of an old family record, entitled "Historical and Genealogical Account of the Dillons: compiled and extracted from the most authentic Archives, Annals, and Historians of Ireland: privately printed for family use in Dublin in the year 1791." It is very unfortunate that this record of so distinguished a family, while giving the descents of its various branches, is so singularly wanting in dates; but, for a moment overlooking this defect, we trust the particulars will be found interesting.

¹ She was the mother of Oliver Plunket, the celebrated Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, who, on the wicked testimony of two or three corrupt men, being

condemned for a plot as improbable in the contrivance as it was impossible in the execution, was hanged at Tyburn on 1st July, 1681.

Dr. Keating shows this family to be of very ancient Irish descent. According to his account, Lochan, son of Nial of the Nine Hostages, having, in some contest about the year 595 or 598, killed his father's nephew, Colman Riembriech, King of Temoria, he was thereupon surnamed *Dilune*, which signifies *valiant*. To avoid his father's displeasure for killing Coleman, Dilune, with a body of troops, repaired to France, and was employed by the Duke of Aquitaine, then at war with the King of France; but who, having lost his sons in the war, and being able to support his sovereignty of Guienne and Aquitaine with the aid of Dilune's auxiliary troops, he gave his daughter in marriage to Dilune, there called *Delion*, in whose right he and his posterity became princes of Aquitaine, and continued so until Henry II. of England intermarried with Elinor, descended from the eldest branch. In the year 1172, Henry II. obtained by superior force Aquitaine, &c., whereupon, to destroy the popularity of the lineal male descendants of the aforesaid Dilune, he carried Sir Henry Delion and his brother Thomas into England when infants, being the sons of Thomas the Great of Aquitaine, who was killed in the said war with Henry II.

In the year 1185, Sir Henry Delion, i. e. *De Lion*, a French translation of Dilune for *Valiant*, now called Dillon, was sent to Ireland with John, Earl of Morton, Chief Governor of Ireland, by whom he was granted the principality of Corkneagh, now the County of Longford, a large extent of country, bounded on the west by the River Shannon, together with divers islands in Loughree. Sir Henry Dillon, called also Premier Dillon, built his mansion house at Drumrany, about the centre of his territories, and a castle and hall in Doonamoany; and several castles and abbeys, monasteries and churches were built and endowed, in what was then called the Dillon country, by his descendants, viz. :—the abbey in Athlone, two in Kilkenny West, one in Ardnacraney, the abbeys of Shrute, Holy Island and Hare Island in Loughree, &c., as appears from the Benefaction Books of the said abbeys, and from "Sir James Ware's Collection of the Church History of Ireland." Sir Henry, Premier Dillon, married the daughter of John de Courcy, Governor, niece by marriage to Hugh the elder,

and John de Lacy, and was buried in the Abbey of Athlone, which he had founded. He left three sons, Sir Thomas, Sir Robert, and John, who became an ecclesiastic, and afterwards was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh, and a daughter, who was married to the eldest son of Sir William Petit, Lord of Mullingar. Sir Thomas married the daughter of Sir Edmund Butler, who, in 1215, was Lord Justice ; and Sir Robert married the daughter of Sir John Fitz Geoffry, also Lord Justice. Sir Henry gave his second son the seigniory of Doonamoany, with his territories in Annally, who, in right thereof, took his place among the Peers, the Lords, and Commons then sitting in one House. Sir Thomas was father to Henry and Dominick, Bishop of Ossory, and to James, a Canon regular. Lord Henry Dillon, son of Sir Thomas Dillon of Drumrany, married the daughter of Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Governor in 1232, and sister to Maurice Fitz-Maurice, Lord Justice in 1272, by whom he had three sons, Thomas, Henry, and Maurice, and two daughters, one, Mary, married to Sir John Dalton, Lord of Dalton's country, the other, Bridget, to O'Farrell, Prince of Annally.

Thomas, the eldest, became an ecclesiastic, endowed one of the abbeys in Kilkenny West, and was buried there. Sir Henry, the second son, married the daughter of Meyler de Bermingham, Lord of Athenry, and sister to Sir John de Bermingham, Baron of Ardee, in the County Louth, and sister also to William, Archbishop of Tuam, by whom he had issue Lord Robert of Drumrany, John, William, and Gerald. The two last became ecclesiastics. John was killed in battle, unmarried ; and William was afterwards consecrated Bishop of Derry. Maurice, the third son, married Sir Richard Tuite's daughter, and was the Knight killed by the rebels in the north of Ulster.

Robert, Lord of Drumrany and Dillon's country, married Anne, the second daughter of Sir Eustace Le Poer, now called Power, of Curraghmore, in the county of Waterford, whose descendants became Viscounts Valentia and Earls of Tyrone ; and had issue, Henry, Gerald, John, Thomas, and Edmund, and three daughters ; one, Bridget, married to Sir John Eustace ; the second, Mary, to M'Coghlan ; and the other, Jean, to M'Geoghegan. Henry died young ;

John settled and married in England ; Thomas became Bishop of Kildare ; Edmund was Abbot of St. Thomas's in Dublin ; and Gerald succeeded as Baron of Drumrany, and was made President of Meath, and afterwards Lord Chancellor. He married Lady Emelia Fitz Gerald, Lord Desmond's daughter, and by her he had Maurice, Henry, Sir James, John, and two daughters. The eldest daughter, Catherine, married Sir John Nugent, of Bracklin, whose descendants became Barons of Delvin, one of whom was Lord Deputy in 1452, and are now represented in the Marquisate of Westmeath ; the second daughter, Anne, married Baron Delamere. Lord Gerald married, secondly, the daughter of Baron Plunket, of Rathmore, whose issue were Christopher, Michael, and a daughter married to Plunket, of Killeen. Maurice became Baron of Drumrany, and continued the principal line of Premier Delion, whose descendants afterwards became Viscounts Costeloe and Gallen. The second son, Henry, became Prior¹ of St. Peter's, near Trim ; and Christopher, his half-brother, became Bishop of Waterford, and was afterwards translated to Dublin. The third son, James, was knighted in England by Edward III., and while his uncle, the Earl of Desmond, was Chief Governor, he was made Treasurer of Ireland, and acquired several seigniories and manors about Tara. He built Proudstown Castle and a parish church (now in ruins) in his manor of Skryne ; and having intermarried with Honorah, daughter of Sir John D'Arcy, Lord Justice, and sister to Roger, Lord D'Arcy, also Lord Justice, he left Sir Robert and several sons and daughters, whom he established in several estates and family houses in the counties of Meath and Dublin. John became Prior of Trim. The eldest daughter married Baron Plunket, of Rathmore and Loughcrew ; the second, Barnwall, of Creggstown, ancestor to Baron Trimblestown and Viscount Kingsland ; and the third daughter married O'Connor Phalee. Sir Robert succeeded in Proudstown and Skryne, and married the daughter of Sir James Birmingham, ancestor

¹ "1400. Henry, son of Gerald Dillon, of Drumrany, was Prior (of SS. Peter and

Paul). *Lodge, Dillon.*"—Dean Butler's "Notices of Trim," p. 210.

to William Birmingham, Lord Baron of Carberry, in the county of Kildare, by whom he had Richard, Gerald, James, Walter, Henry, and two daughters—one, Anne, married to John, eldest son of Sir James Morris; and the other, Elinor, to Chief O'Moor, of Lossmore or Lenamore. Richard, the eldest son of Sir Robert, succeeded in Proudstown and Skryne seigniories, and married the daughter of Sir John Bellew. The said Richard and his brothers, with six hundred select Irish troops, in the reign of Henry VI., behaved so valiantly at the battle of Knocknashea, fought near Verneuil in France, on 28th August, 1424, that a complete victory was obtained by the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France; and Richard and James were knighted on the field.¹ The lineal descendants of said Sir Richard, of Proudstown, continued in the possession of their large estates in and about Proudstown, Tara, and Skryne, as well as in the counties of Louth, Kildare, and Dublin; and matched among the greatest and noblest families, and were representatives for corporations and counties until stripped of their large estates by Oliver Cromwell in the general calamity of 1652. The second son, Gerald, brother to Sir Richard, of Proudstown, intermarried in Dublin with Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord Barry, by whom he had Richard, Gerald, Robert, and James, with three daughters. The eldest daughter, Alice, married Sir Thomas Fitz Gerald; the second, Mary, Bellew, of Rolinstown; and the third, Fitz Eustace, of Ballymore. Gerald and Robert became officers in the English army, and James a Canon regular. Richard, the eldest son of said Gerald, devised to his son Thomas his dwelling and estate in Dublin, and his various lands in Dillon's Country and Westmeath, with his library. Thomas was an eminent lawyer, became Judge of the Queen's Bench, purchased a large estate, and settled in Clonbrock, in the county Galway. He married the daughter of Allen, of Palmerstown, by whom he had one son, Thomas; the second of Clonbrock, who married Elline, sister to Sir

¹ It was on this occasion, and in token of so seasonable an exploit, that a *Falcon Volant* instead of a *Demi Lion* was given as crest, adding to the Coat Armour a

Fess, Azure, over the *Lion Rampant*, alluding to the command of the troops; generals, or chief commanders usually wearing belts or girdles of honour.

James Shane, by whom he had issue Thomas and Robert. On 6th October, 1603, he was made Chief Justice of Connaught, and he died in Dublin on 24th September, 1606. Thomas was killed unmarried, in the Castle of Curraghboy, by the Burkes and Keoghs, who assaulted the Castle; and Robert was married to Catherine Hussey, of Mullhussey, by whom he had nine sons, Richard, Lucas, Bartholomew, James, Thomas, Gerald, Edward, Bartholomew, and Christopher; and four daughters, Jane, Mary, Ellice, and Anne. He died 18th December, 1628, and was buried in the Church of Kilcloon. Jane married James Dillon, of Cannestown; Mary, John Bellew, of Wyllystown; Ellice, James D'Arcy, of Cloghenaver, in the county of Galway, and Anne became a nun. Richard, the eldest of said sons, married, first, the daughter of Alderman Malone, of Dublin, by whom he had Robert, and three daughters, Bridget, Margaret, and Jane. Bridget married Burke, of Burlos, in Tipperary; Margaret became a nun, and Jane was married to Cornelius O'Kelly. Richard's second wife was Sir Dominick Browne's daughter, Jenet; by her he left Thomas, Connor, and Lucas, who died in March, 1678, without issue. Robert, son to Richard, married Mary, only daughter to Geoffrey Browne, Esq., son to Sir Dominick, by whom he had Lucas, Henry, and three daughters, Margaret, Ellice (or Ellen), and Elizabeth; and, dying in October, 1707, was buried on 11th, at St. Audoen's, Dublin. The eldest married Cornelius Donnelan, of Ballydonnelan; Ellice, William O'Kelly, of Gallagher; and Elizabeth, Richard Blake, successor to Sir Richard Blake, of Ardfry. Lucas married first, in June, 1694, Honora, the eldest daughter of Sir John Burke, of Millford, Bart., by the Hon. Jane, daughter of Theobald Lord Viscount Dillon, by whom he had five sons and four daughters, who all died unmarried. He died 20th March, 1716.

But to return to Sir James Dillon, third son to Sir Robert, of Proudstown. The said Sir James married Jane Rivers, the only daughter and sole heir of the ancient Lord Rivers, Baron of Riverstown, by whom he had with his posterity the lordship of Riverstown, Tara, and Baron *in capite*. He had by said lady five sons; Bartholomew, his eldest, succeeded as Lord Baron of Riverstown; Gerald,

his second son; Robert, his third son; Thomas¹ became a Roman Catholic Bishop, and Edmond, Prior of the Abbey of Trim and Newtown, near Trim. Bartholomew, son to Sir James, and first of Riverstown, had issue James and Robert. James married Plunket, and having no family, his brother, Sir Robert, succeeded; and, marrying Catherine, who died 21st December, 1615, daughter of Sir William Sarsfield, of Lucan, Alderman of Dublin, he left five sons and nine daughters, viz., Bartholomew, of Riverston; William, of Fitz-Leons, or Flinston, in Meath; Thomas, Michael, and Christopher; Eleanor, married to Richard Aylmer, of Dullardstown, and died 22nd November, 1635; Anne, to — Bermingham, of the Carrick; Thomasine, to Christopher Evers, of Rathtain; Frances, to — Cusack, of Cushinstown; Genet, to Robert Leicester; Margaret, to John Baxter; Amy; Ismay, to Henry, second son of Sir John Elliott; and Cicely. Bartholomew, his eldest son, in 1585 married Catherine, daughter of Sir Alexander Fitton, of Bective, President of Munster, and, dying in Dublin on 6th March, 1633, was buried in the church of Tara, leaving five sons and two daughters, viz., Andrew, his heir, Thomas, James, Francis, and Peter; Jane, married in 1620 to Simon Barnwall, of Pinnerstown, son to Patrick of Kilbrew; and Mary, married to Thomas Barnwall, of Roskill, in the Queen's County. Andrew, born 1599, commanded a company of foot at the siege of Drogheda in 1641; and, marrying the daughter of Sir Christopher Plunket, of Kilshaghlin [? Dunshaughlin], he left two sons and two daughters, Edward and Thomas, who both died young; Catherine, married to — Archer, of Kilkenny; and Mary, to William Bath, of Colp. So the elder branch of Riverston became extinct, as James, the second son of Robert of Riverston, became a religious, and was Guardian of Kilkenny-west, and Provincial of his Order, the Grand Cordeliers.

In Lodge's "Peerage," Vol. I., pp. 156–7, it is stated that—

"Sir James Dillon, eldest son of Sir Lucas, who succeeded at Moymet,

¹ "1518. About this year Thomas Dillon was Prior of SS. Peter and Paul, but continued in office a very short time; he was

third brother to Sir Bartholomew Dillon, then Chief Baron of the Exchequer."—Dean Butler's "Notices of Trim," p. 211.

had a special livery of his inheritance, 8 April, 1595, received divers Grants of Lands from King James I.; by whom he was knighted, and in consideration of the many acceptable and faithful Services performed to his Crown; and for his other Virtues, which were eminent and worthy to be cherished; as also because his Son, Sir Robert Dillon, had relinquished the Errors of his Ancestors, and being guided by a better judgment, conformed himself to the Protestant Religion, was by Privy Seal, dated at Westminster, 13 November, and by Patent at Dublin 24 January, 1619, created Lord Dillon, Baron of Kilkenny-West, the Ceremony whereof was performed by the L. D. St. John, in the Presence-Chamber, on the 25th: And his Majesty, as a more ample Testimony of his Favour, was pleased to advance him to the Dignity of Earl of Roscommon, by Privy Seal, dated at Westminster 24 July, and by Patent 5 August, 1622. His Lordship was present in the Parliament of 1634, and commanded a Troop of Horse in the Reigns of James and Charles I., in which station he did many singular Services to his Country. He married Eleanor (or Hellen), second Daughter to Sir Christopher Barnwall, of Turvey, Knt., and dying in March, 1641, had Issue by her, who died 11 (or 12) October, 1628, seven Sons and six Daughters, viz., Robert, Lord Dillon, his successor; Lucas, Ancestor to the Present Earl of Roscommon; Thomas, Christopher, George, John, Patrick, who all died young, or unmarried; Jane, married to Sir Christopher Dillon, Heir-apparent of Theobald, the first Viscount Dillon; Elizabeth, to — Hussey, Baron of Galtrim; Frances, to Henry, Son and Heir to Christopher Burnell, of Castleknock, Esq.; Margaret, to — Nugent, of Drumcree, Esq.; Mary, to Sir John Bellew, of Ball-Robinstown, Knt.; and Alison, to Roger O'Farrell, of Mornin, Chief of his Name."

Queen Elizabeth granted to the Dillons all O'Connor Roe's territories in the county of Roscommon, which O'Connor, according to Dr. Keating, was the lineal descendant of Roderick O'Connor, the last monarch of Ireland. Space, however, will not permit us to follow up the history of a family who could boast of great and varied alliances; and many of whose members at different periods held high stations both in Church and State. Before the general calamity of 1652 the family of Dillon held possessions in twenty-six out of thirty-two counties in Ireland. In Meath the present head of this family is Colonel Sir John Dillon, Bart., Lismullen, a Baron of the Holy Roman Empire, and Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Royal Meath Militia.

From an inquisition¹ taken at Navan in 1693, being 5th William and Mary, we learn that Darcy Wentworth was

¹ Dean Butler's "Notices of Trim," p. 174.

then in possession of Ardgreagh and Newtown-Clonbun; Thomas Bellew, of Bellewstown; John Piercewall, of Carbristown and Fosterstowne; Stafford Lightburne, of Adamstown; all which, with many other townlands, had been the estate of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, who had married ——— Boynton, sister to the Countess of Roscommon, who remarried with Thomas Carter, Esq. Sir John Dillon, of Lismullen, in 1702, bought for £4907 10s. the attainted estate of Richard Earl of Tyrconnell, which had been granted by King William to Henry, Lord Sydney, and was by him conveyed to Sir John Dillon.

At a distance of about four yards from the south side-wall of the little parish church of Newtown Clonbun,



No. 3. Monument of Henry Browne.

before described, there is a flat tomb slab of Ardbraccan stone, measuring six feet two inches long, two feet six inches broad, and seven inches thick, which, in its present state, is faithfully delineated in the accompanying engraving. Over the shield containing the armorial bearings of the Brownes are three crosses, which are probably here intended to typify the Crucifixion between two thieves. This part of the stone is so much abraded that the entire of the first and half of the second word are now rubbed off; but they can be easily supplied, as the inscription evidently was originally [*Hic ja*] *cet: Henricus: Browne: qui: obiit: undecimo die: Maii: Anno: Domini: 1581. cujus animæ propicietur Deus.* It will be observed that the words are separated by two dots as far as the date; and after that, to the end, by a single dot. Inside the marginal inscription, on the

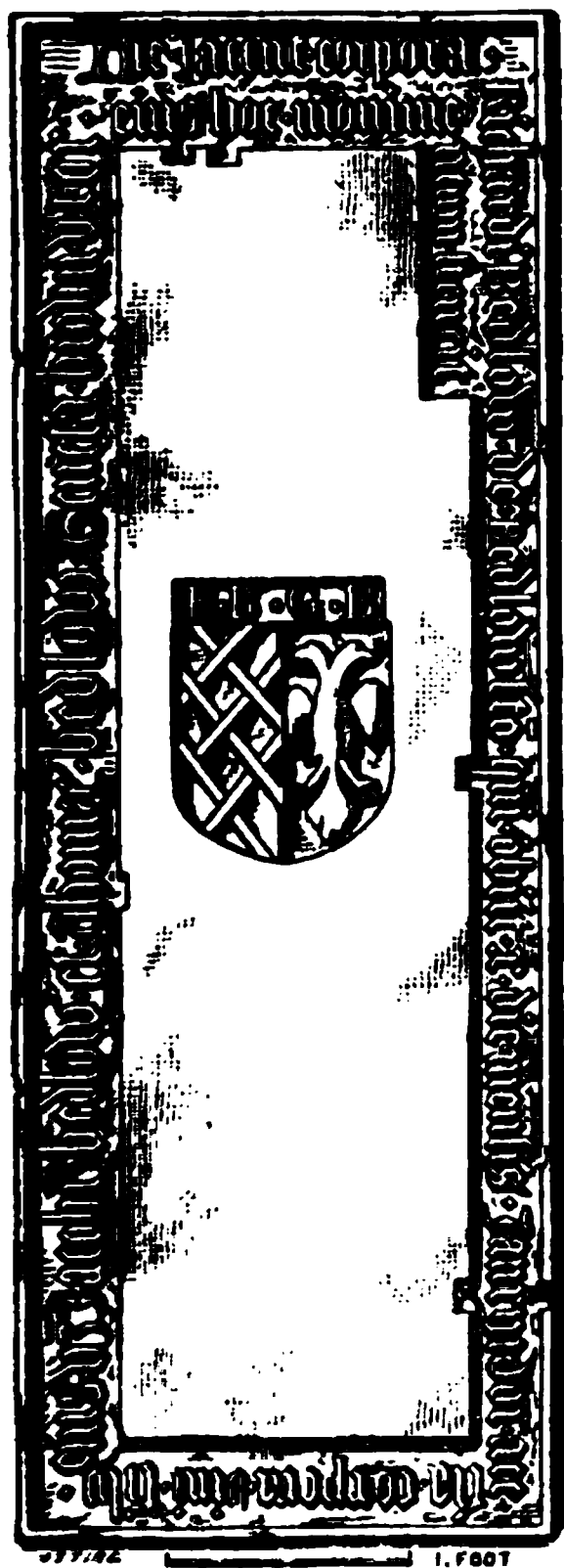
right side of the three crosses, some letters have been sunk

into the stone and there have been also three lines incised at the bottom, all which are now illegible ; but from the fact of their being cut into the stone it is certain that they are more modern than the inscription, which, together with the armorial bearings and the crosses, are in raised characters. The two holes on either side of the shield were evidently intended for fastening with lead a plate, probably of brass, through which the arms protruded.

Brownestown, near Newtown, was so called after a respectable family of the name of Browne, to which probably

this same Henry belonged, as well as Thomas Browne, who was Prior of the adjoining Abbey in 1528. They intermarried with the Bel-
 lews of Rathayne, about four miles north from Brownestown, as the accompanying inscription upon a monumental slab on the floor of the ruined church of Rathayne, or Rataine, will show. The inscription in a scroll of raised letters, with a point after each word, runs thus :—*Hic · jacent · corpora · Richardi · Bedlow · de · Bedlowstown · qui · obiit · x · die · mensis · Januarii · 1601 · ac · etiam · corpora · bini · filii · ejus · vz · Jacobi · bedlow · et · Thomæ · bedlow · Geneta · brown · uxor · ejus · hoc · monimentum · struxit.* It will be observed that in giving the date the figure 6 has been reversed on the stone.

In raised characters, on a shield, about the centre of the stone there is a fret for Bedlow, impaling an eagle displayed for Browne, with the initials R. B. and G. B. over the

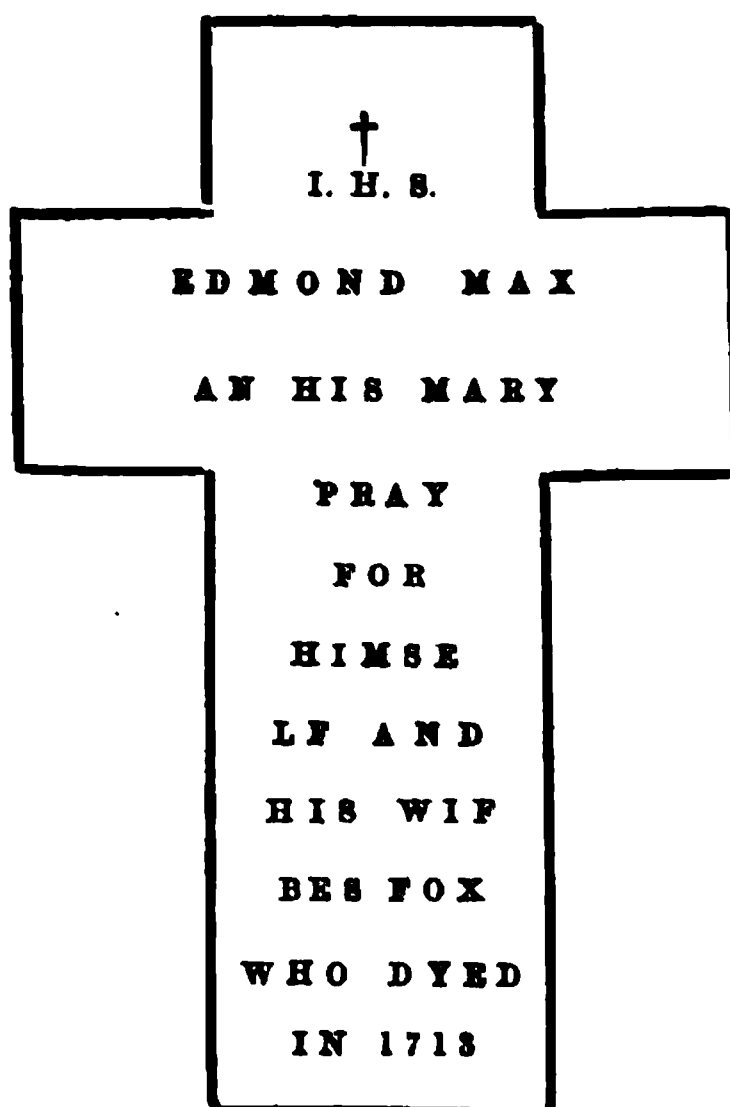


No. 4.—Monument of Richard Bedlow.

shield. It is a pity that our ancient monuments cannot be more respected ; and that this stone should have suffered from the intrusive hand of the brother of a herd who was

stationed a few years ago in the neighbourhood, by cutting deeply across the face of it his name "T. BOLAND, 1858."

At the head of a grave in the old burying ground at Newtown, and about 12 feet southwards from the Browne monument, above described, stands a rude stone cross, two feet over ground, and only ten inches wide, containing the following quaint inscription :—



Some remains of ancient sculptured stones have been built into the walls of the old church of Newtown for preservation, together with a small tablet, alas for vandalism! since slightly defaced, upon which is cut the following inscription :—

HAS ANTIQUÆ PIETATIS ET ARTIS RELIQUIAS
VICINI MONASTERII SS. PETRO ET PAULO DEDICATI
OLIM ORNAMENTA
PROSTRATAS DIU ET PENE DETRITAS
PARIETIBUS HUIUS ECCLESIAE
INFINGENDAS CURAVIT R. B. VICAR DE TRIM.
A.D. MDCCCLII.

There is still to be seen, inserted into the west gable of the old church, by the same careful hand, the figure of a bishop, now wanting the head, and 5 feet in length, which had been long trodden under foot. Of it Dean Butler remarks that, though traditionally called the daughter of King John, it is far more probably the figure of the founder of the adjoining Priory.



5.—Priory of Canons Regular, Newtown, near Trim.

The English Prelate, Simon de Rochfort, Bishop of Meath, founded this Priory in the year 1206, for Canons Regular of the congregation of St. Victor; and he also erected the adjoining church into a cathedral, which he dedicated to the honour of St. Peter and St. Paul. In 1216 the episcopal founder held a Synod here, the acts of which are printed in Wilkins' Concilia; and in 1224, Simon, the founder, was interred here.

By a charter dated Trim, 24th September, 1419,¹ King Henry V. granted to the Prior and Convent, for the better support of this Abbey, a license to acquire lands, &c., to the annual value of £40.

¹ Dean Butler's "Notices of Trim," p. 210.

In the year 1533-4, Parliament passed the following Act to appropriate the parsonage of Galtrim, about five miles distant, to this Priory :—

“ At the humble supplication of the prior and convent of the monastery or house of the apostles Peter and Paul, of Newtown, beside Trim : That where the advowson of the parish church of the blessed Virgin Mary of Galtrim, within the county and diocese of Meath, in the time of Prince Edward IV., late King of England, unto the monastery or house of the apostles Peter and Paul, of Newtown, beside Trim aforesaid, and to the prior and convent of the same, to hold, retain, and keep, to them and their successors, in proper use was appropriated, and so appropriated did continue unto the 24th year of the reign of our sovereign lord that now is, Henry VIII., King of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of this land of Ireland, that one Nicholas Hussey, Baron of Galtrim, aforesaid, in a *quare impedit*, recovered the aforesaid advowson against the prior that now is, of the said monastery or house, before the Justices of the King's common pleas in this land of Ireland. The said Nicholas, in his said action of *quare impedit*, alledging that the said advowson, long before the said appropriation thereof, was appendant to the manor of Galtrim aforesaid, which manor, the said advowson thereto then being appendant, was given by force of a remainder of a tail, to one Peter Hussey, ancestor to the said Nicholas, whose heir the said Nicholas is, and to the heirs male of his body begotten, as by the said recovery more plainly doth appear. And forasmuch as the tithes of the parsonage of Galtrim aforesaid, was that thing that the said house or monastery was most supported and kept up [by], and divine service and hospitality maintained, and that the same house or monastery, if it could not have the said parsonage thereto again appropriated, was, and is very like, to be clearly dissolved, for as much as a great deal of the possessions that was given thereto at the foundation thereof, lieth in the marches, and by reason of war and oppression there is much wasted, sore decayed, and diminished, and the premisses of pity moving Sir William Skeffington, then lord Deputy of this land, and the council of the same, at their desire, the said Nicholas Hussey, upon the said advowson, did submit himself to such end, award, and order, as the said lord Deputy, the most Rev. father in God, John, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland, and then Chancellor of Ireland, Sir John Barnewall, Knt., lord of Trimlettstown, and Thomas Luttrell, then the King's sergeant at his laws in Ireland, should take order and award therein ; and the said arbiters, by the assent of the said prior and Nicholas, thereupon did award, order, and deem, that there should be a vicar perpetual, and for ever in the same church made, established, and ordained, having perpetual succession, that shall have yearly to him and his successors, vicaries of the same church for the time being, the whole manse or glebe of the parsonage or church of Galtrim aforesaid, with four acres of arable land, being within the same town of Galtrim thereto pertaining, with all other lands and tenements pertaining to the same, being within the precinct, bounds, and mearings of the lands of the town of Galtrim aforesaid, the whole altarages, oblations, and offerings yearly, of the church and parish of Galtrim aforesaid, the third part of all the tithe torves of the said parish,

the whole tithes of corn and hay of all the lands, messuages, and tenements of Clonemeath, and such tithes yearly of corn, half wheat and bear, and the other half oats, as shall be to the yearly value of eight marks of lawful money of Ireland, of such corn as shall grow or be in the farthest part of the land of the town of Galtrim aforesaid, from the house or monastery of SS. Peter and Paul aforesaid, after the rate of fifteen shillings the couple of corn of the same tithe yearly : to have and to hold the same manor, glebe lands, altarages, oblations, offerings, tithes, and all other premises, with their appurtenances, to the said vicar, and to his successors for ever, that so shall be there made, established, or ordained. And that the advowson of the parsonage of Galtrim aforesaid, with all other manner of tithes, oblations, and altarages, chapels, and free chapels, that pertaineth to the same, except the premisses for the same vicar limited, at the cost of the said prior, or his successors, after he or his successors had obtained or gotten of our sovereign lord the King, his heirs or successors, a sufficient license to take, accept, and appropriate the same advowson to them and their successors, then shall be appropriated, united, and annexed to the said house or monastery of SS. Peter and Paul aforesaid, and to the prior and convent of the same, and their successors for ever. To have and to hold, keep, and retain the same to the said prior and convent, and to their successors for ever, in proper use, in pure and perpetual alms, to pray for the souls of the antecessors of the said Nicholas, and for the prosperity of the said Nicholas, and his heirs and sequel, for their souls after they pass this transitory life."—Dean Butler's "Notices of Trim," p. 212.

This Priory paid five marcs annually to the bishop ; and its Prior ranked third in dignity, and sat as a Baron in the House of Lords.

According to the Irish Statutes, this house was suppressed by Parliament on 1st May, 1536, and granted to King Henry VIII.

"29th King Henry VIII.—This monastery, with the lands of Killtombe, Cloynboynagh, Skirlokeston, and Rathnalle, was granted, for the term of twenty-one years, to Robert Dillon,¹ at the annual rent of £16 5s. 9d., Irish money. Also, 22 July, 32nd same King, the town of

¹ "According to Lodge, James Dillon, of Riverstown, had five sons, Sir Bartholomew Dillon, who, in 1516, was deputy-treasurer, and, in 1518, chief justice of the Common Pleas ; Gerrald, of Balgeeth ; Sir Robert, of Newtown, attorney-general in 1545, and chief justice of the Common Pleas in 1559 ; Thomas, Prior of St. Peter's, Trim ; and Edmond, Prior of Newtown.

The lay brothers seem to have succeeded to the property of their clerical brothers, and to that of their houses.

"On a stone in the porch of Trim church,* which evidently was attached to the piscina now used as a font, are three shields: 1. De Bath ; 2. Dillon, a lion rampant within a tressure, over all a fess ; 3. A fess between three crescents, for

* During some alterations in the Church in 1868, this porch was entirely removed ; and since that time the present vicar, Archdeacon Berry, has had this stone inserted into the north wall of the old chancel for preservation.

Dunkinnie, with five messuages, six cottages, 160 acres of arable, and 20 acres called Huntsland, parcel of the possessions of St. John the Baptist, of Newtown, with one messuage in the town of Navan, containing 60 acres, parcel of the possessions of the Abbey of St. Mary, in Navan, together with Branganstown, being part of the possessions of John Burnell, and Daltonston, part of the possessions of Christopher Eustace, both of whom were attainted of high treason, were granted for ever to the said Dillon, to hold in capite, at the rent of four marcs, Irish money. And 22nd July, 33rd same King, all the several possessions of this Abbey, situate in Newtown, Kiltombe, Cloynboynagh, Skirlokeston, and Rathnalle, the tithes of hay and corn in Newtown, Kiltombe, Cloynboynagh, and Skirlokeston excepted, were granted to the said Dillon for ever, at the yearly rent of four marcs, to commence at Michaelmas, 1558, at the expiration of the first lease for 21 years.

“4th and 5th of Philip and Mary, a mill on the river Blackwater, and 100 acres of land in Moyvally, in this county, part of the possessions of this priory, were granted to Gerald, Earl of Kildare, together with the priory of Lismullen.”—Dean Butler’s “Notices of Trim,” p. 215.

The present remains of this ancient Priory, which are seen on the left in the preceding engraving, consist of two blocks of building, exhibiting, even in their state of crumbling decay, a proof of the architectural taste of the Anglo-Normans in the beginning of the 13th century. The breadth of the building nearest to the river is 48 feet, measured externally, with a side-wall extending parallel with the river to the length of 95 feet, and, in some places, still 32 feet high. The adjoining structure, on higher ground, was originally 45½ feet in length, and 30 feet in width, containing, in one angle of the building, a circular stone staircase, portions of which are still remaining. The ruins of the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, once called “The Cathedral of Meath,” are seen on the right. It consisted of a simple nave, with-

Wile, or Wylde, of Riverstown. In the time of Edward IV., James Dillon, son of Sir Richard Dillon, of Proudstown, and heir of his mother Jeane, daughter and heiress of Wylde, of Riverstown, married Elizabeth, daughter of Bath, of Dollardstown, and bore these coats. The fess over the lion rampant is said to have been granted by John, Duke of Bedford, to Richard Dillon, as an augmentation to his arms, for his conduct at the battle of Verneuil, in 1424; and the Wylde crescents, instead of being quartered with the paternal coat, were afterwards incorporated into the Dillon arms, according to a mode not un-

usual in Irish heraldry.”—Dean Butler’s “Notices of Trim, p. 215.”

“On the 27th May, 1518, in the *Cathedral Church of Saint Peter, of Newtown*, beside Trim, in the synod held here before Hugh (Inge), Bishop of Meath, a transumpt of the old rolls of the proxima, synodals and taxations of Meath was read and compared with the ancient rolls, and confirmed by the bishop and the archdeacons, and the clergy.

“This transumpt is still preserved in the diocesan registry, together with some fragments of the original rolls.”—Dean Butler’s “Notices of Trim,” p. 217.

out aisles or transept, 136 feet in length, by 30 feet in breadth, internally, the side-walls being 40 feet in height and $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. There are two passages, or triforia, in the thickness of the walls at the west end, where also are to be seen the beautiful remains, in Caen stone, of the springing of a groined roof. The two sedilia, on the south side of the altar, with round-headed arches, measure $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, 6 feet 10 inches across, and are 2 feet 8 inches in receding depth. They are faced with red sandstone, probably from Moynalvey, Lismullen, or Donoughmore, being a stone precisely similar to the cut stone used in Trim Castle. The beautiful grey and sparkling limestone of Ardbraccan does not appear to have come into use before the 14th century, when it is found in the windows inserted in the old chancel of Trim church, and again in the insertions of the 15th or 16th century, in the Abbey of Bective.

During the night of the great hurricane, 6th January, 1839, a considerable portion of the south side-wall was blown down, but in the portions of the church still standing there are seven windows; of which two in the north and one in the south side-wall are still perfect in form. Each is 6 feet wide on the outside, splaying to $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet on the inside. They are about 24 feet in height, commencing about 12 feet above the floor, and reaching to within 3 or 4 feet of the top of the side-wall. The large window, now open to the bottom, in the east gable, is 10 feet wide, and about 3 feet higher than those in the side-walls. While the windows facing the north, from being partially built up, would indicate the decay of this house previous to its dissolution, the state of the west gable, on the other hand, shows that, at that very period, a new western front must have been actually in course of erection. The joining of the old masonry of the southern side-wall, with the more recent masonry of the west gable, is very distinct; and the putlock holes, for the purposes of scaffolding, have never been filled up. Indeed, the gable itself, 55 feet high, with its square-headed window, looks as if it had not been thoroughly completed when the work was abandoned.

Dean Butler, in 1854, finishes his account of this Priory with the following remarks :—

"Many romantic stories of the treasure buried in these ruins were current a few years ago, and it is not long since hundreds of people, some of them from a considerable distance, assembled here by night, and made great excavations, in the hope of reaching the under-ground passage leading to the high altar, with the golden candlesticks, not to be touched under pain of death, by which lie two sleeping bishops, who, when awakened, will give the keys of two small chambers, one full of silver and the other full of gold, which may be taken away by the bold and pious finders. The police, however, who doubted the purpose of the assembly, interrupted the excavations, and the treasure was not disturbed."

Approaching Trim along the road from Newtown we come to a small green field immediately adjoining the town, and on the left-hand side of the public way, still known as the Greek Park. Here, it is conjectured, was situated what was known as the Greek Church; but all remains of the building have long since disappeared. Archbishop Ussher¹ (*Sylloge*, 132) states that "there was in the county of Meath, at Trim, a church, which retained to this day (1632) the name of the Greek Church;" and in the Visitation Book, Marsh's Library, it is said that this church was called the Greek School.

Nearly all traces of the once celebrated monastic house, the Dominican, or, as it is commonly called, the Black Friary, have disappeared. It was situated near the gate leading to Athboy, on the north side of the town, where a few fragments of fallen walls on the surface of its turf-grown site are all that now remain to give evidence of its former existence. Bishop Burke, writing in 1756, says that a few years before that time the walls of the house and chapel gave evidence of their original magnificence, but that, shortly before he wrote, the stones were sold and carried away to other buildings, so that on visiting the place he found scarcely any ruins.

This house of the "Black Friars Preachers" was founded by Geoffrey de Geneville, Lord of Meath, and his wife, in 1263, under the patronage of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary ("Allemande;" Harris's Tab.; "King," p. 87; "Hibernia Dominicana," p. 263); and it soon obtained such celebrity and distinction that a general chapter

¹ Dean Butler's "Notices of Trim," p. 141.

of the Order was held here on three different occasions, viz., in the years 1285, 1300, and 1315 (King, p. 87).

“1291. On the Sunday next after the feast of St. Matthew, the archbishops, bishops, deans, &c., of the kingdom held a meeting in this convent, under the presidency of Nicholas Mac Molissa, Archbishop of Armagh, when they entered into a remarkable association for promoting and strengthening the powers of the church.”—Archdall’s “*Monasticon*.” [The following resolutions, embodying the substance of their deliberations, are given in Harris’s Ware’s Bishops, p. 70].

“First, they swore that if they, or any of them, their churches, rights, jurisdictions, liberties, or customs, should, by any lay power or jurisdiction *whatsoever*, be impeded, resisted, or grieved, that they would, at the common expense, in proportion to their respective incomes, support, maintain, and defend each other in all courts, and before all judges, either ecclesiastical or secular.

“Second, if any of their messengers, proctors, or the executors of their orders should suffer any loss or damage in the execution of their business, by any lay power or jurisdiction, that in such case they would amply, and without delay, make up to them all such losses and damages out of their own fortunes, according to a rateable proportion of their revenues.

“Third, if any ordinary should pronounce sentence of excommunication against a delinquent, that all the other bishops should promulge, and, with effect, prosecute such sentence in their respective dioceses; so that if a person excommunicated in one place should fly to another, the place he continued in should be put under an interdict, as also wherever he had his habitation, or the greater part of his fortune, provided notice thereof be given in writing by the bishop, publishing such sentence.

“Fourth, if any of the archbishops should prove cool or negligent in the execution of the said agreement, then they bound themselves, by virtue of the oath they had taken, in 500 marks to the Pope, and as many to their brethren who should observe it; and each bishop, under the like circumstances, in £200 to the Pope, and as much to their brethren, who should keep up to the terms prescribed.

“And, lastly, they agreed, that if any archbishop, bishop, etc., absent at the time of the agreement, should, upon request, refuse to comply with the terms stipulated; then they engaged and promised to complain of him to the Pope, and to prosecute such complaint with effect at their common charges; and not only so, but that they would not afford him any aid, counsel, or assistance in any other affairs relating to him or his Church.”

The founder of this house was a native of Champagne, of illustrious birth, and brother to the famous Jean de Joinville, the companion and historian of St. Louis. This great statesman, who was the confidential friend of Edward I., married, in 1250, the co-heiress of Walter de Lacy, Maud de Lacy, Lady of Corvesdale, of Ludlow, and of Meath. About the middle of the thirteenth century he

joined the Crusaders, and after his return in 1273, he was appointed Lord Justice of Ireland; and, in virtue of his wife, Maud de Lacy, he became possessed of a large portion of the great Palatinate of Meath. The Irish Annals inform us that the said Maud de Lacy, wife of Sir Geoffrey de Geneville, died in 1302. On 17th November, 1308,¹ forty-five years after its establishment by himself and his wife, we find the founder of this religious house entering it as a simple friar, where he died in 1314:—

“1308.—Geoffrey de Geneville resigning the possession of the Lordship of Meath to the Lord Roger de Mortimer, and his wife, the rightful heir, daughter of Sir Peter, son of Geoffrey de Geneville, he entered himself a friar in this Monastery on the morrow after the feast of St. Edward the Archbishop.”

“1314.—The Lord Geoffrey de Geneville died on the 21st of October, and was interred here in his order of Friars Preachers.”—*Pembridge*.

The Genevilles, or Joinvilles, were celebrated founders of religious houses, as the inscription on their monument in old French, at Clairvaux, plainly shows:—*Tout cils qui sont issus di li doibvent avoir esperance qui Diez la mis en sa compagnie, Quar les Sains tes moignent, qui faie maison Diez en terre il acquier propre maison en cil.*

On 25th January, 1867, Mrs. Kevin, widow of Major Edward Kevin, sent us from Cheltenham an impression of a seal labelled “Arms of Geneville of Ludlow and Trim Castle, Ireland;” and on application to the owner, Rev. Edwin G. Jarvis, Hackthorn, Lincoln, he very obligingly favoured us, on 7th November, 1872, with a second impression from the brass matrix of the seal in his collection, a *fac simile* of which we here present, believing that it bears internal evidence of having been the seal of this monastic

No. 8.—Supposed Seal of Dominican Priory, Trim.

house. The surrounding raised border, here represented, does not really belong to the seal, the engraver having worked from a wax impression, which this border is simply

¹ Dean Butler's “Notices of Trim,” pp. 31 and 199.

intended to show. From its pointed form and the cross at top it is evidently an ecclesiastical seal ; and, being still sharp and clear, having never suffered from serious oxidation, it is quite evident that it has never been *lost*, or rather out of safe keeping ; but how it came to have found a resting place in Lincolnshire it is impossible to discover.

On the continent it is customary with members of various religious orders, when their house is founded under her patronage, to drape the figure of the Virgin in the special habiliments of the order. Here, on the field of the seal, we have the crowned (representing the Assumption) figure of the Virgin, attired in the Dominican habit, and standing upon the crossed branch of a tree, holding out chaplets of roses to reward the piety of the founders, Geoffrey and his wife, represented below. It will be observed that the left hand of the female figure carries a "well-trimmed lamp," while her right hand has already reached *her* crown ; and that the hands of the hooded Friar are raised in supplication for the attainment of his, apparently not far off. From this allegorical representation it appears manifest that the seal was designed and adopted during the monastic life of Geoffrey ; that is, some time between the years 1308 and 1314. The legend [RECIPIENS · SALVE · CREDE · SECRETA TEGE] is a singularly happy old motto for the sealing of letters or other official or confidential documents.

The Geneville arms are at the lower point of the seal—azure, three barnacles¹ in pale or ; on a chief ermine a demi lion rampant gules.

Dean Butler,² in a note, thus graphically alludes to the distinguished founder of this house:—

"It is to be lamented that our notices of the varied life of this great man are so meagre, that we cannot fill up the outline of the young noble of Champagne wooing his wealthy bride in the Court of England, retiring with her to her great Seignories in Ireland, and joining with her in found-

¹ These were instruments of torture used by the Saracens, somewhat resembling the implements formerly employed for bruising hemp. The Genevilles, being celebrated Crusaders, no doubt had

these barnacles impaled in their armorial bearings in memory of some feat of prowess performed in the East, probably the deliverance of some tortured captives.

² "Notices of Trim," p. 32.

ing a religious house : taking the cross for the Holy Land; administering for a short time the government of his adopted country; busy for years in the councils and campaigns of the bold and politic Edward I.; and closing his career by the resignation of his Lordship of Meath to his youthful grand-daughter and her ambitious husband, and ending his days in the habit of a Dominican, in the cloister which he and his wife had built fifty years before. The following verses are from "Thesaurus Martene Nov. Anecdot.," vol. iii. The person to whom they relate had, like Geoffrey, been a Crusader; and they give a beautiful picture of such a life as Geoffrey de Geneville may have led in our Black Abbey :—

' Ipse post militiæ cursum temporalis,
Illustratus gratia doni spiritualis,
Esse Christi cupiens miles specialis,
In hac domo monachus factus est claustralis.

' Ultra modum placidus, dulcis et benignus,
Ob ætatis senium candidus ut cygnus,
Blandus et affabilis, ac amari dignus,
In se Sancti Spiritus possidebat pignus.

' Nam sanctam ecclesiam sæpe frequentabat,
Missarum mysteria lætus auscultabat,
Et quas scire poterat laudes personabat,
Ac cœlestem gloriam mente ruminabat.

' Ejus conversatio dulcis et jocosa
Valde commendabilis et religiosa,
Ita cunctis fratribus fuit gratiosa,
Quod nec gravis extitit nec fastidiosa.'

"We may easily suppose that the old Crusader, who had been employed in the wars and embassies of the time, had tales of travel and of danger, which would make him a very acceptable companion in a monastery; and we may imagine, as he roamed about it—

' Hic per claustrum quoties transiens meavit,
Hinc et hinc ad monachos caput inclinavit,
Et sic nutu capitis eos salutavit,
Quos affectu intimo plurimum amavit.'"

It is shown in the learned researches of Dean Butler, p. 200, &c., that in 1324 Nicholas, the son and heir of Sir Simon de Geneville, was interred in this friary; and that Lady Joan Fitz Leons, widow of Sir Simon de Geneville, was interred here on 12th April, 1347, and also Matthew Hussey, Baron of Galtrim, who died on 4th August, 1418, a near connexion of the De Genevilles. John Hussey, Baron of Galtrim, married the eldest of the five daughters of Sir Simon de Geneville, who, upon death, without issue,

of Joan, daughter and heiress of their brother Nicholas, became his representative.

This house ceased to exist shortly before the middle of the sixteenth century, as appears from the *Pat. Roll.* 33, 7 *Hen. VIII.*, where it is stated that "a grant was made on 24 May, 1540, to Sir Thomas Cusacke, of Cushinstown, Knight, of the house, site, precinct, &c., of the late house of Friars Preachers of Trim, and the church of the said house, all messuages, castles, &c., in or near to the precinct of said house, 3 messuages, 66 acres of land, 3 acres of meadow, and one park in Trim aforesaid, and all other messuages, lands, &c., in Trim or elsewhere in Meath County, which were ever reputed parcel of said manor."

The date of the foundation of St. Patrick's Church, Trim, which next claims our notice, is a very early one. In the ecclesiastical annals of Ireland the spot on which the present parish church of Trim stands dates far back as the site of a very early Christian church. Tirechan, who lived in the seventh century, and wrote his life of St. Patrick from the mouth of his master, Bishop Ultan, of Ardbraccan, states, A. D. 433, that "Patrick came to Trim, and built a church XXII years before the foundation of the church of Armagh."—Ussher, "Prim.," 853.

Geraldus Cambrensis ("Top. Hib.," 2, 45), says that in his time the Irish had no castles, and that they took refuge in their churches from the robbers, with whom the country abounded. The tower of the church is well fitted and seems, with its crenellated and battlemented belfry, to have been intended for a place of defence. It is a solid castle-like building, 75 feet in height, and has been divided into six storeys, two of which are vaulted. In 1798, the year of the Irish Rebellion, a sentinel was stationed on the top of this tower, for whose use the additional structure on its north-western angle is said to have been erected. In 1449, Richard, Duke of York, afterwards King Richard III., whilst in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, resided some time in Trim; and he is supposed to have built this tower about that period. From the outline of the great west window the body of the church would seem to be of the fourteenth century; and the square window still remaining in the south wall of the

old chancel is evidently of the time of Edward II. The present church, standing from west to east, with the ancient tower on its north-western extremity, occupies the site of what had formerly been the pre-Reformation parish church of Trim, which, from the evidences still remaining, was undoubtedly a building of a far more imposing character than its modern representative. The old chancel, the two side-walls of which are still standing, enables us to estimate the length of the church as 149 feet; and, taking its breadth as that indicated by the appearances of where the north side-wall abutted on the eastern side of the old tower, it must have measured 54 feet in breadth. The length of the old chancel cannot now be ascertained, but its breadth externally is 27 feet 6 inches, and the walls are 3 feet in thickness.

The external dimensions of the present church are 87 feet in length, and 33 feet in width. In the summer of 1867 the late Vicar, Rev. Charles J. Bayly, ably assisted by his curate, Rev. Alfred T. Harvey, organized a committee, consisting of the churchwardens and principal parishioners, for the purpose of improving the church. These improvements, which subsequently cost upwards of £1400, consisted in removing the old porch, and an unsightly gallery, substituting open pews for the antiquated ones in previous use, the insertion of new foliated windows set in cut stone, the erection of a vestry, a compartment for an organ, and a new chancel, forming an addition of 18 feet to the present church.

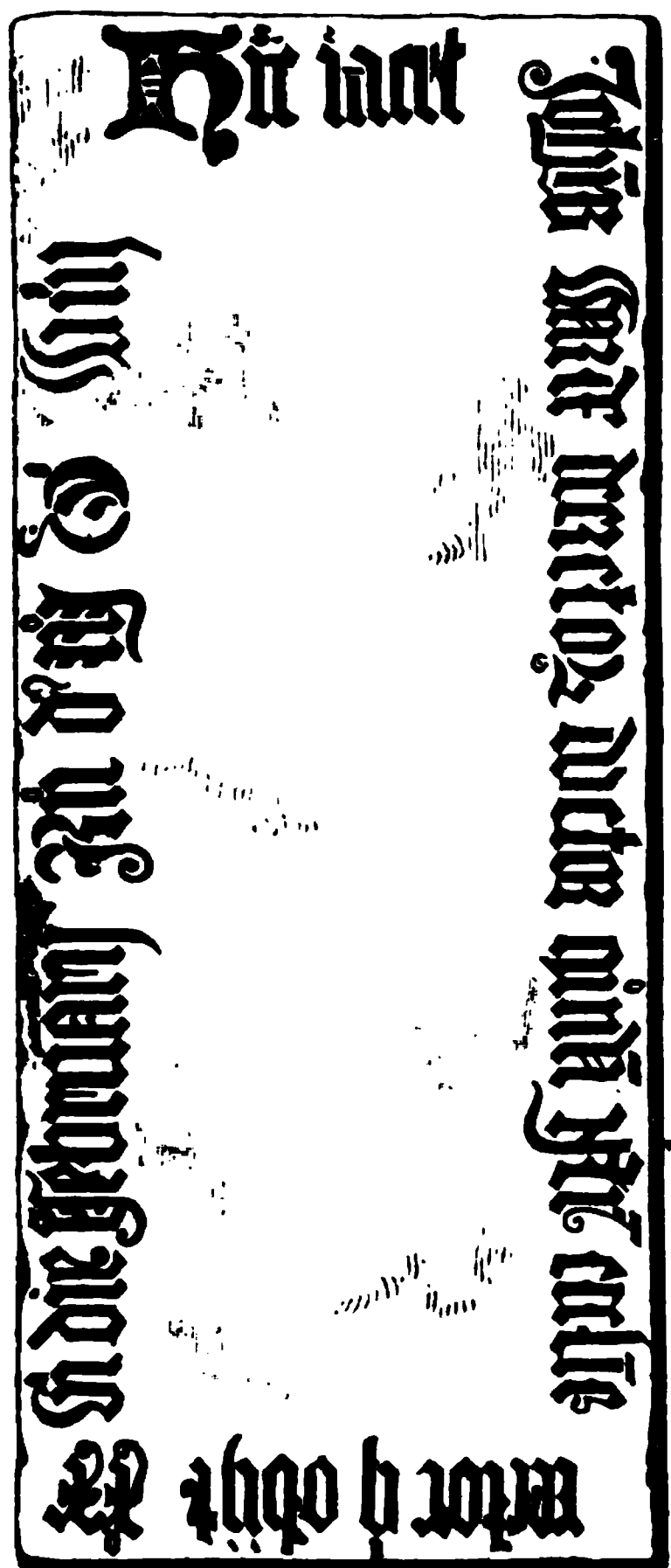
In digging the foundation for the new chancel, which extended out into the old chancel of the original St. Patrick's Church, at a depth of about 5 feet below the present surface level of the grave-yard, a tomb-slab, measuring 6 feet 2 inches long, 2 feet 7 inches broad, and 5 inches thick, of dark limestone, was found, with its lettered side turned downwards, which prone condition of the stone may, in some degree, account for the beautiful condition of the lettering, which varies from four to five inches in height, being almost as sharp and perfect as on the day the inscription was cut. This inscription, as will be seen from the accompanying engraving from a rubbing, runs in a scroll round the margin of the stone, in sunk letters, which have

all the appearance of having been originally filled with brass. In addition to having some of the words contracted, it will be observed that a portion of one letter is frequently taken as constituting a portion of the following one ; and

this, together with the fact of the characters being in old German or Gothic, rendered the reading difficult to be deciphered by an unpractised eye. The inscription is of a period only a few years later than the introduction of printing into England by Caxton, in 1471 ; and the lettering is a beautiful specimen of the typography—our *Old English*, or *Black Letter*, uniformly Gothic—which prevailed from 1457, when printing was invented, until 1465. It reads thus:—*Hic jacet Johannes Warde, Decretorum Doctor, quondam hujus ecclesie Rector, qui obiit xx° vi° die Februarii An° Di M° D° VIII°.*

This was the year, 1509, in which Henry VIII. ascended the throne of England. The name of Warde does not occur in the very carefully collected list of Rectors of Trim gathered from various sources by Dean Butler ; and on this account it gives

us pleasure to add a new name to his Roll by this accidental exhumation, and with a title too, “Decretorum Doctor,” which in this country, at least, is very rare. Never before having met with this ecclesiastical degree, we were anxious to know whether or not it meant simply “Doctor of Canon Law,” and how or by whom



No. 7.—Monument of John Warde, Rector of Trim.

such a distinction was conferred. Accordingly in December, 1869, we wrote to the Most Rev. Thomas Nulty, D. D., Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese, and also to Rev. W. Maziere Brady, D. D., who were both in Rome at the time, asking some explanation as to this title. We append their replies :—

“ *Rome, 8 January. 1870.*

“ DEAR MR. CONWELL,—‘ Decretorum Doctor,’ at the time it was inscribed on the tombstone in Trim, meant exactly the same as LL.D. does now, ‘ Doctor of Laws.’ The first collection of the documents that now form what we call ‘ Canon Law ’—*Corpus Juris Canonici*—was called ‘ The Decretals,’ or decisions of the Popes in reply to the inquiries and questions sent to them from all parts of the world. Their decisions on the doubtful points thus submitted to them were afterwards collected together, and these were called ‘ The Decretals,’ or Laws of the Church. These Decretals were studied with great care ; and the degree of Doctor was conferred on any one who, in a public or competitive examination, proved himself possessed of great knowledge in these Decretals. That I might not in any way be mistaken in the answer I now send to your inquiry, I consulted Dr. Moran (the Cardinal’s nephew), and Dr. Brady, the Protestant Clergyman and great Antiquary, who is here at present.

“ I remain, dear Mr. Conwell,

“ Ever respectfully yours,

“ ✝ THOMAS NULTY.”

“ *Roma, 81° Piazza di Spagna, 22nd January, 1870.*

“ MY DEAR SIR,—No duties—diocesan or other—belonged to the title of ‘ Decretorum Doctor,’ which was equivalent simply to a degree, as we would call it, of Doctor in Canon Law. I have met the title frequently in the consistorial entries in the Libraries here.

“ Nor is it decided by the use of the word ‘ quondam ’ that Warde had ceased to be Rector of Trim before his death. The tombstone may have been inscribed some months or years after his death, when another Rector was in office, and when the word ‘ quondam ’ would be strictly appropriate, answering to ‘ some time Rector of this Church.’

“ As the State Papers, which I looked over for the purpose, I think, some months ago, when in Ireland, make no mention of Warde, it is hopeless to expect to find the date of his accession to the rectory. No diocesan records concerning his institution are in existence, execept, indeed, Dr. Reeves of Armagh is able to furnish you with the information. He is the ablest of our Irish Ecclesiastical Archivists, and will, I am sure, assist your research, if you write to him.

“ Believe me, yours truly,

“ W. MAZIERE BRADY.”

We had previously consulted Rev. William Reeves, D.D., M.B., LL.D., M.R.I.A., &c, who very kindly favoured us with the following reply:—

“ Rectory, Tynan, 27th December, 1868.

“MY DEAR SIR,—I send you back by this post your copy of the Trim inscription.

“I take ‘Decretorum Doctor’ to be the same as Doctor of Canon Law. How or by whom the distinction was conferred I cannot say, probably by the Court of Rome. I am glad that Mr. Bayly’s improvements have brought to light this interesting tombstone, and I hope others may turn up.

“This ought to be set into the wall of the church, as the best way to secure it against the wantonness of our climate, or, what is worse, of the men who live under it.

“The *prone* condition of this stone reminds me of the discovery of the tombstone of Mowbray, Earl of Norfolk, which was lately recovered in St. Mark’s of Venice. How the late most worthy Vicar would have rejoiced to see this exhumation! I hope your Sliabh na-Caillighe explorations go on and prosper.

“Wishing you all the compliments of the season,

“I remain, faithfully yours,

“W^m. REEVES.”

This interesting relic of the past was placed, by the late Rev. Charles J. Bayly, in the tiled floor of the present porch or entrance to the church; from which position it is to be hoped that the Venerable Archdeacon Berry will considerately have it raised and inserted into the adjoining wall.

The public already owe their obligations to his conserving hand for fixing into and around the walls of the old chancel several fragments of sculptured stones which might otherwise soon be lost or destroyed. Recently he has inserted into the interior of the north wall of the new vestry a curious tomb-slab, measuring 6 feet long, 2 feet 4 inches wide, and 4 inches thick; and which, on entering upon his vicariate, he found in his coach-house broken into three pieces. It was dug up in the year 1844, in sinking a grave in the old chancel within two or three yards of where the Warde slab was found; and, for preservation, it was inserted by Dean Butler into the old porch,

in taking away which, in 1868, it was broken, and left in the coach-house for safety. Mr. Bayly having died soon

afterwards, nothing more was done about it, until it had become considerably defaced.

We here present an engraving of it from a rubbing we took in July, 1871. The inscription, in raised letters,

with a comma after each word, reads: *Hic, jacet, Walterus, Martinus, quondam, de, Trym,*

Burgensis, cum, parentibus, avis, et, proavis, suis, et, etiam, Jeneta, Delapatrik, uxor, ejus,

qui, obiit, mense, Junii, anno, salutis, 1541. Hic, quoque, jacet, Nicholaus, Martinus,

filius, dicti, Walteri, et, Jenete, cum, uxore, sua, Katherina Aspoll, qui, obiit, xxv°. die,

Junii, anno, domini, 1590, cujus, filius, Walterus, Martinus, et, Jeneta, Gerry, ejus,

uxor, hoc monumentum, fieri, fecerunt, &c.] By the breaking across of the stone at this point of the inscription, the last line is lost, which probably

gave the date of the erection of the monument. Commencing on the lower extremity of the cross, in raised letters, is the following curious legend, each word being separated from the next by a single point:—*Hoc . est . signum . humanæ . redemptionis . et . insigne . Christianum . baptismate . datum . quo . mors . Christi . recolitur . et . diabolus . fugatur.* Then follows a form of rose, which is frequently met with on monuments ; but the most remarkable feature in this part of the inscription is the Greco-Latin form of the words *Christianum* and *Christi* being used down to this period. There was also a raised inscription on the shaft of the cross, which is now

No. 5. Monument of Walter Martin.

of the monument. Commencing on the lower extremity of the cross, in raised letters, is the following curious legend, each word being separated from the next by a single point:—*Hoc . est . signum . humanæ . redemptionis . et . insigne . Christianum . baptismate . datum . quo . mors . Christi . recolitur . et . diabolus . fugatur.* Then follows a form of rose, which is frequently met with on monuments ; but the most remarkable feature in this part of the inscription is the Greco-Latin form of the words *Christianum* and *Christi* being used down to this period. There was also a raised inscription on the shaft of the cross, which is now

illegible ; and which may have only been, as was not unusual, the name of the sculptor.

On the right of the cross there have been two lines cut in sunk characters, thus indicating a different and later date for this part of the inscription. The first line, we fear, is hopelessly lost ; but, if it could be read as an hexameter, the following line, which is easily restored (*astra . colunt . animæ . corpor[a . terr]a . tenet*) being a pentameter, the two lines taken together would make Latin Elegiac verse. From the friable nature of the surface, which scales off almost with the slightest touch from the hard dark limestone slab beneath, we infer that the inscription, cross, &c., were originally formed by spreading a dark stone paste along the surface of the slab, on which a perforated brass plate, containing the inscription, &c., was pressed down, causing the letters, &c., to exude through it ; and, from having long lain buried, the metallic portion of the inscription became gradually eaten away and lost.

With the exceptions of the names of Martin and Garry, the descendants of the other names, Delapatrik and Aspoll, have long since disappeared from Trim and its neighbourhood. The cross here figured is evidently intended to be emblematic of the armorial bearings of the Martins, whose crest was a star, here represented by the blending of the St. Andrew's with the Roman cross. Sir Bernard Burke, Ulster King-of-Arms, shows that the Martins of Galway descend from one of the officers who accompanied De Burgh in the first invasion of Ireland, *temp.* Henry II. That he was a returned Crusader is manifest from the arms, which are stated ("Book of Pedigrees," Vol. X.) to have been granted to Oliver Martin by King Richard I. in the Holy Land.

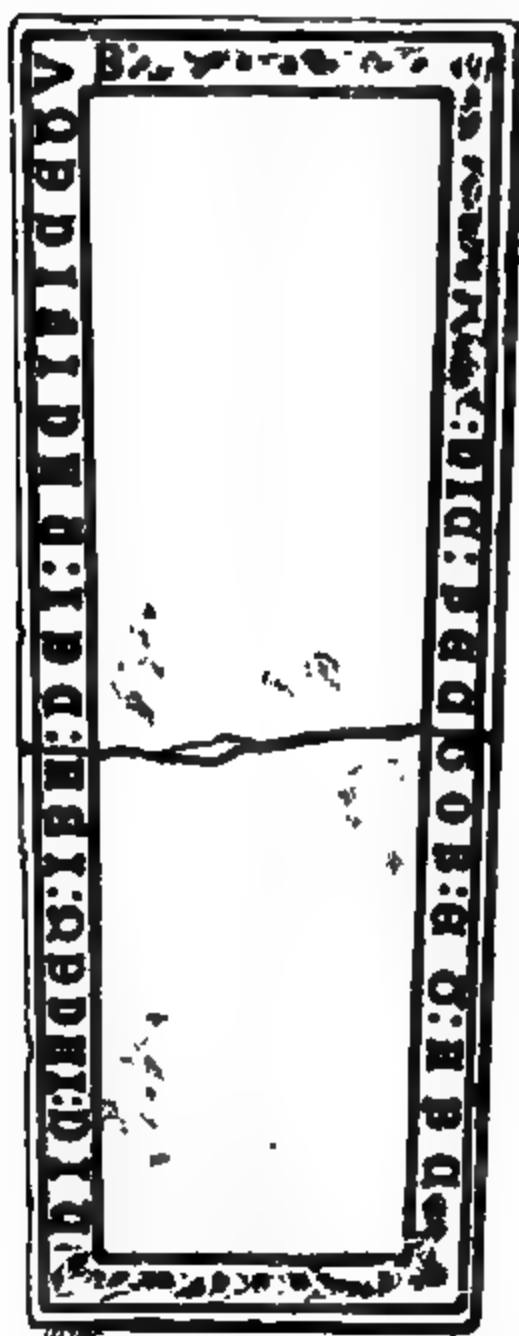
ARMS : Az. a Calvary cross on five degrees arg. between the sun in splendour on the dexter limb, and the moon in crescent on the sinister or.

CREST : An etoile wavy of six points.

MOTTO : Sic itur ad astra.

Into the interior of the north wall of the old chancel, and immediately over the space between the sites in which the two last stones were dug up, Dean Butler, some years

ago, inserted a very curious tomb slab, of which the accompanying engraving is an accurate representation. It



No. 8. Monument of an Archdeacon.

is broken across, near the centre, and measures 6 feet 10 inches in length, 2 feet 8 inches in breadth at top, and is 2 inches narrower at the bottom. From an examination of the material, it appears to be an artificially formed slab, consisting chiefly of concrete of lime, of a brown colour, thickly interspersed with wavy lines of some blue substance; and, when polished, of which in parts in the upper left-hand corner it still affords evidences, it must have presented a very beautiful speckled and mottled appearance. In this portion of the stone is to be seen a small speck of metal, exhibiting that shade of green peculiar to the so-called peacock ore of copper, from which we infer that the inscription may have been originally inlaid with that metal. Around the margin ran two parallel grooves, each half an inch wide, which were evidently in-

laid. Between these grooves, forming a fillet of about three inches wide, ran the inscription, now in sunk letters; but which, no doubt, were originally filled with metal, and in Lombardic characters of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

At the top of the slab will be observed a hollow representing an ecclesiastical figure, over which is another depression in the form of a canopy with crockets and pinnacles, both evidently, when the monument was erected, filled with some metallic substance. Of the name of the

ecclesiastic, which is hopelessly lost, there are faint traces of such letters as WID, preceded by a cross, and then space for about six other letters, after which follow—*Hic : Rector : et : Arc[hilevites] hic : jacet : Ira : Dei : pacificetur : [ei]*. In Dean Butler's time the words "Archilevites" and "ei" appear to have been complete and legible ; and, of the former, he says that he "can give no other meaning than that of Archdeacon to the word Archilevites."—(See Du Cange's "Latin Dictionary," ARCHILEVITA).

On the left-hand side of this monument, and in the same wall, has been inserted for preservation a stone slab 2 feet 10 inches high, and 4 feet 3 inches wide, containing under a canopy, in raised characters, the figure of a bishop with mitre and crozier, and in a square of about 2½ feet a very curious pattern of interlaced work, probably of the early part of the fifteenth century. Farther on in the same wall will be observed, among others, a sculptured stone, 2 feet high, and 1 foot 8 inches wide, containing emblems of seven loaves and three fishes.

In the north-eastern corner of the old chancel, level with the surrounding green sward, is a flat stone, measuring 6 feet long, 3 feet 3½ inches wide and 5 inches thick, and covering a vault beneath. The stone is from the quarry of

No. 10. Monument of Sir Thomas Ash.

Ardbraccan, about eight miles distant, and is apparently of about the date 1657. It has been broken into

pieces, as will be seen from the accompanying engraving, all of which have been placed in juxtaposition, with the exception of that forming the left-hand lower corner of the slab, with which fragment is lost the commencement of the last three lines of the epitaph, which we have here ventured, on supposition, to restore in brackets. The upper portion of the stone is devoted to armorial bearings. On a shield—a chief ermine, three pheons, impaling two chevronels for Ashe; with two crests—a griffin's head on a coronet, and a squirrel for Ashe. On the lower part of the stone, in raised letters about 2 inches high, was cut the inscription, which we propose to restore as follows:—

*Love and age have joynd in one
To lay th[ese] two under this stone
Sir Tho[mas] Ash his Lady Elizabeth
[Unite their] ashes in this house of death
[And n]ow both having run their glasses
[They hop]e to be reviv'd from ashes.*

The author, whoever he may have been, of these dog-grel lines, appears to have had no higher object than to make *wordy capital* out of the names of *Elizabeth* and *Ashe*.

We learn from Patent V., Treasurer's Office, that in 1617—

“James I. granted to Sir Thomas Ashe, of Trim, the rectories, churches, and chapels, of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Trim, and Kildalkey; and two parts of all the tithes and altarages of the town, rectory, or chapel of Clonard, parcel of the possessions of the late abbey or monastery of the Blessed Virgin of Trim.”

We learn from an Inquisition taken at Navan, 26th August, 1633, that—

“Henry VIII., by letters patent, dated 10th July, 34th year of his reign, granted for ever to Sir Anthony St. Leger, the site, circuit, and precincts of the monastery of St. Francis, called the ‘Observant, or Grey Friars of Trim,’ containing six messuages, with their gardens; and that these were afterwards conveyed to Sir Thomas Ashe, of Trim, who made them over, with the exception of the house called ‘the Shore House,’ and the Town House in Trim, to Francis (Aungier?), Baron Longford.”

Sir Thomas Ashe was returned as Member of Parlia-

ment for the borough of Trim in 1613 ; but we have been unable to ascertain the date of his death. The family of Ashe held property in different parts of the county, as will be seen from an inspection of the Meath Inquisitions. One branch of the family, from the neighbourhood of Old-bridge, migrated immediately after the Battle of the Boyne to the North, and settling in the vicinity of Magherafelt, in the County of Londonderry, soon became intermarried with the principal families in that locality.

In the interior of the Church, in the south wall, is a mural tablet to the memory of a member of this family, with the following quaint inscription :—

In y^e ould Chancell Vault of this Church
Is interd among his ancestors y^e Body
of y^e late Rev^d Dillon Ashe Doctor of
Divinity Rect^r of Galoon and Vicar
of Finglass.

To whose truly pious & Virtuous me-
mory his afflicted wife M^{rs} Elizabeth
Ashe alias S^t George has erected this
monument

He departed this life y^e 16th day of
May Anno Dom 1716 in y^e 48th year of
his age

Galloon is a Rectory and Vicarage in the diocese of Clogher, and Finglass is a Vicarage in the archdiocese of Dublin.

In the south-eastern corner of the old chancel there is a raised tomb of grey Ardbraccan limestone, measuring 6 feet 2 inches long, 3 feet 1 inch wide, and 5 inches thick, consisting of four fragments, the remaining piece, containing part of the name in the inscription, being lost. Dean Butler had this tomb restored by bringing together the present fragments, which he found scattered

in different places in the churchyard. As in some of the preceding instances, the inscription here runs in

a band all round the stone.

In this case a groove, 5 inches broad, was hollowed out, in which appears to have been laid a strip or sheet of brass, through which protruded from the solid stone the present raised letters, varying from 3 to 4 inches in height.

It runs thus :—*Here · lye · y^e · Bodies · of · John · Gre[gg] · Dea]n · of · Lismore · and · First · Vicar · of · Trym · Who · dyed · Jan · 21 · 1629 · and · William · Griffith · next · Vicar · of · Trym · Who dyed.*

In 1622 Gregg was Vicar of Rathmolyon, as well as Vicar of Trim. The inscription bears internal evidence that the monument was got up in the lifetime of, and very probably

No. 11. Monument of first and second
Vicars of Trim.

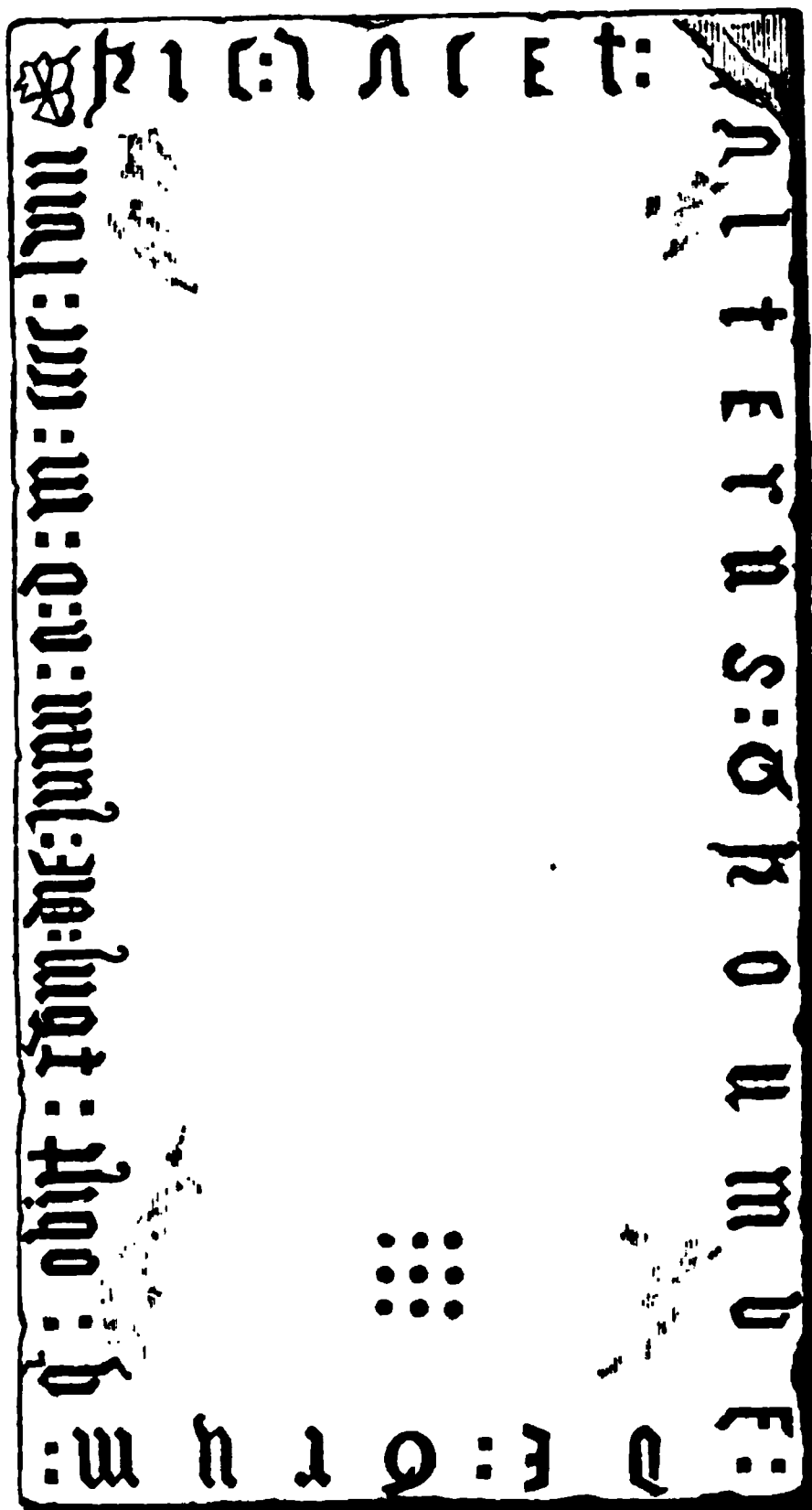
by, the second Vicar, wishing to be commemorated along with his predecessor. It will be seen, however, that there is no provision, or groove, on the stone for the continuation of the strip of brass, and the date of Griffith's death has never been added. He probably died during the troubles that succeeded 1641.

In the south-western corner of the old chancel there is a tomb-slab raised about a foot from the ground, of grey Ardbraccan limestone, measuring 6 feet 11 inches in length, 3 feet 7 inches broad, and 6 inches thick. The inscription is incised round the margin of the stone; and it is very probable that the letters, which vary from 3 to 4 inches in height, were originally inlaid with brass.

The style of the lettering is characteristic of the period to which the tomb belongs, and the inscription reads as follows:—*Hic : jacet : [W]alterus : Thoumbe : de : Trum : qⁱ : obiit : XVIII : die : Junii : A : D : M : CCCC : LVIII.* The initial letter [W] of the Christian-name is rubbed away ; and it is not to be forgotten that the original name of Trim (*Ath-Truim*) contained a U as well as an I. It will be observed that the letters on the first three sides of the inscription are rather widely set apart, which gives the concluding line a more crowded appearance. We may fairly conclude that this was the tomb of an ecclesiastic, as thirty-four years before the date on this stone, viz., in 1424, we find that —

“Walter Thaumbe, Clerk, had the custody of all the messuages, lands, &c., in Wodton, near Rathcaran, which were in the King's hands, by reason of the death of Edmond, Earl of March, and the minority of his heir, Richard, Duke of York. Thaumbe was to pay 10s. a year rent.

“In the same year, with Richard Sidegreve and Christopher Barnewall, he had a commission to inquire concerning wards, marriages, reliefs, escheats, and other royal profits, in the counties of Dublin, Louth, and Drogheda; and concerning forfeitures, and the goods of felons, and concerning intruders into the possessions of the King or his predecessors, and concerning those who broke the Statutes of Kilkenny, or other Statutes, whether made in England or in Ireland; and concerning mortmain, or alienations without license.”—*Rot. Can. Pat. 3 Hen. VI.*



No. 12.—Monument of Walter Thaumbe.

About the centre of the lower extremity of the slab will be observed nine circular cup-like depressions, which are ground into the stone, and are arranged in the form of a square. They are apparently coeval with the lettering of the inscription ; but of their use or meaning we are unable to afford any explanation, unless, indeed, they may be supposed to be emblematic of the Trinity, always counting *three*, no matter in what direction they may be reckoned.

The different forms of the letters used in the foregoing epitaphs are worthy of attention, evidencing as they do the distinct styles of typography prevailing at the respective periods of their execution ; and it is a curious fact that the *age* of the individual has in no instance been given, an item never omitted in our more recent sepulchral inscriptions.

According to the taxation in the King's Books, made in the reign of Henry VIII., the rectory of Trim was estimated at £65 6s. 8d., a larger sum than any other rectory in the kingdom. In 1826 the great tithes were compounded for £450 per annum ; and the vicarial tithes for £185. At the time of its greatest reputation the parish of Trim comprehended the present parish of Rathcore, long ago connected with a remarkable historic event, as being the place where ecclesiastics were first exempted from doing military duty, under the following circumstances, as recorded in O'Curry's "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History," pp. 363, 364, and 610 :—

"Aedh Oirdnithé¹ (Monarch of Erin from the year 793 to the year 817), in the year 799 (*recte* 804), raised a large army, with which he marched against the people of the province of Leinster, and proceeded as far as *Dun Cuar* (the ancient name of Rathcore) on the confines of that province and Meath, where he encamped. The Monarch, on this occasion, compelled the attendance of *Conmach*, the successor of St. Patrick, and Primate of Armagh, with all his clergy, to attend this expedition. When the army rested, however, the clergy complained to the King of the hardship and inconsistency of their being called upon to attend on such occasions. The King listened to their complaint, and offered to lay it before his own poet, tutor, and adviser, the learned Fothadh, and abide by his decision, which was accordingly done. The poet's views were favorable to

¹ Pronounced *Aey Ordney*.

the clergy, and he gave his decision in a short poem of four quatrains or stanzas, of which the following may be taken as a literal translation:—

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Eclair <i>de</i> bfi, Uric bfi, na énaí, bíó a cept fop leach, Feib ar beach no buí. | 1. The Church of the living God, Touch her not, nor waste, Let her rights be reserved, As best ever they were. |
| 2. Cech fip-manach fíl, Fop a chubur n- <i>glan</i> , Oo'n eclair dian dír, Ónó amail cech mó ^g . | 2. Every true monk who is Possessed of a pious conscience, To the Church to which it is due, Let him act as any servant. |
| 3. Cech dílmam íar fín Fíl cen peocht cen nér, Ceat cia éirí fíú baí ^g , Aeda maíú míc Neill. | 3. Every faithful subject from that out, Who is not bound by vows of obedience, Has liberty to join in the battles Of <i>Aedh</i> The Great, son of <i>Niall</i> . |
| 4. Ír h-í m nia ^g ast ohe ^g t, Sech ní mop, ní bec; Fog ^g nab cach a mó ^g , Cen on ír cen ec. ¹ | 4. This is the proper Rule, Certain it is not more, not less; Let every one serve his lot Without defect, and without refusal. |

And by this decision the clergy were exempted for ever after from attending military expeditions. This decision obtained the name of a Canon; and its author has ever since been known in Irish History by the name of *Fothadh na Canóiné*,² or Fothadh 'of the Canon.' "

In 1614 King Henry I. ordered the living of Trim to be annexed to the See of Meath, on account of its poverty. At this time George Montgomery, of the house of Braidstone, in Scotland, was the Bishop of Meath and Clogher; and he had been at the same time Bishop of Raphoe, Derry, and Clogher, and Dean of Norwich. The two former he resigned on being appointed to that of Meath in 1610; but he held his Deanery of Norwich until he obtained the living of Trim. He died in London, 1620; and, pursuant to his will, was buried at Ardbraccan, under a monument built by himself: in which tomb also repose the remains of his wife and daughter, the learned Bishop Pococke, and Bishop O'Beirne. Since the time of Bishop Montgomery the rectory of Trim has been held by the successive Bishops of Meath; although it was not finally appropriated by Letters Patent until 1684, when it was so granted to Bishop Dopping: and it was customary to enthrone the Bishops of Meath in this church. In 1716, Bishop Evans was enthroned in presence of Jonathan Swift and others.

¹ "Leabhar Breac"—R. I. A. Ed. p. 75, col. 1.

² Pronounced *Foha na Canoona*.

So far as we have been able to collect, we give the following list of the Bishops of Meath, with the dates of their respective successions, deaths, &c. :—

| | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|-------|
| Eugene, . . . succeeded, | 1174, | died, | 1194. |
| Simon Rochfort, do. | 1194, | do. | 1224. |
| Deodatus, . . . do. | August 29, 1224, | do. | 1226. |
| Ralph Petit, . . do. | March 30, 1227, | do. Michaelmas, . . . | 1230. |
| Richard de la Corner. do. | January 11, 1230, | do. | 1250. |
| Hugh de Tachmon, do. | 1250, | do. February, . . . | 1281. |
| Thomas St. Leger, do. | November 3, 1287, | do. December, . . . | 1320. |
| John O'Caroll, . do. | 1321, | resigned June, . . . | 1327. |
| William de Paul, do. | July 24, 1327, | died July, | 1349. |
| William St. Leger, do. | May 2, 1350, | do. St. Bartholomew's Day, 1352. | |
| Nicholas Allen, . do. | 1353, | do. January 15, . . . | 1367. |
| Stephen de Valle, do. | 1369, | do. November 10, . . . | 1379. |
| William Andrew, do. | 1380, | do. Eve St. Michael, . . . | 1385. |
| Alexander de Balcot, do. | Dec. 24, 1386, | do. November 10, . . . | 1400. |
| Robert Montain, do. | 1402, | do. May 24, | 1412. |
| Edward Dantsey, do. | May 8, 1413, | do. January 4, | 1430. |
| William Hadsor, do. | 1430, | do. Ascension Day, . . . | 1434. |
| William Silk, . . do. | August 8, 1434, | do. May 9, | 1450. |
| Edmund Ouldhal, do. | 1450, | do. August 29, | 1459. |
| William Shirwood, do. | 1460, | do. December 3, . . . | 1482. |
| John Pain, . . . do. | August 4, 1483, | do. March 6, | 1506. |
| William Rokeby, do. | 1507, | resigned January 28, . . . | 1511. |
| Hugh Inge, . . . do. | 1512, | do. | 1521. |
| Richard Wilson, do. | 1523, | died, | 1529. |
| Edward Staples, do. | 1530, | deprived June 29, . . . | 1554. |
| William Walsh, do. | October 18, 1554, | do. | 1560. |
| Hugh Brady, . . do. | October 21, 1563, | died February 13, . . . | 1583. |
| Thomas Jones, . . do. | May 12, 1584, | resigned November 8, . . . | 1605. |
| Roger Dod, . . . do. | Nov. 13, 1605, | died July 27, | 1608. |
| George Montgomery, do. | January 24, 1610, | do. January 15, | 1621. |
| James Ussher, . . do. | December 2, 1621, | resigned March 21, . . . | 1624. |
| Anthony Martin, do. | July 5, 1624, | died July, | 1650. |
| Henry Lesley, . . do. | January 18, 1661, | do. April 7, | 1661. |
| Henry Jones, . . do. | May 25, 1661, | do. January 5, | 1681. |
| Anthony Dopping, do. | January 14, 1681, | do. April 25, | 1697. |
| Richard Tennison, do. | June 25, 1697, | do. July 29, | 1705. |
| William Moreton, do. | Sept. 18, 1705, | do. November 21, . . . | 1715. |
| John Evans, . . . do. | January 19, 1715, | do. March 2, | 1724. |
| Henry Downes, . . do. | April 9, 1724, | resigned February 8, . . . | 1726. |
| Ralph Lambert, do. | February 10, 1726, | died February 6, | 1731. |
| Welbore Ellis, . . do. | March 13, 1731, | do. January 1, | 1734. |
| Arthur Price, . . do. | February 2, 1734, | resigned, | 1744. |
| Henry Maule, do. | May 24, 1744, | died April 18, | 1758. |
| William Carmichael, do. | June 8, 1758, | resigned, | 1765. |
| Richard Pococke, do. | July 16, 1765, | died September 15, . . . | 1765. |
| Arthur Smyth, do. | October 28, 1765, | resigned April, | 1766. |
| Henry Maxwell, do. | April 15, 1766, | died October, | 1798. |
| T. Lewis O'Beirne, do. | Dec. 18, 1798, | do. February 18, . . . | 1823. |
| Nathaniel Alexander, do. | March 21, 1823, | do. October 21, | 1840. |
| Charles Dickinson, do. | Dec. 27, 1840, | do. July 12, | 1842. |
| Edward Stopford, do. | November 6, 1842. | | |
| Thomas S. Townsend, do. | 1851. | | |
| J. Henderson Singer, do. | 1852. | | |
| Samuel Butcher, do. | October 14, 1866, | nunc vivens. | |

The following are the lists of the Rectors and Vicars of Trim, so far as they have been collected by the indus-

trious Dean Butler, and supplemented by the researches of Dr. Reeves :—

LIST OF RECTORS OF TRIM.

- In 1324, William de Clebury.
- „ 1381, Walter de Brugge.
- „ 1403, Richard Petyr.
- „ 1412, John Prene.
- „ 1412, John Tanner.
- „ 1432, Patrick Prene.
- „ 1435, John Ardagh (nominated and superseded by
a Royal Brief).
- „ 1435, Robert Dyke.
- „ 1454, Philip Norreys, S. T. P.
- „ 1483, Edward Wellysley, or Wellisle.
- „ 1483, Richard Walsh.
- „ 1501, Thomas D'Arcy.
- „ 15[], John Rycardes, or Rickhard, Dean of St.
Patrick's, Dublin, in 1522.
- „ 1509, John Warde.
- „ 1527, James Sheffelde.
- „ 1541, Francis Agard.
- „ 1546, William Nugent.
- „ [], John Petit.
- „ [], Henry Fitz Simon.
- „ 1581, John Draper.
- „ 1601, Robert Draper.
- „ 1612, Thomas Jones, *in commendam* with Arch-
bishoprick of Dublin.
- „ 1614, George Montgomery.
- „ 1621, James Ussher.
- „ 1661, Henry Lesley.
- „ 1661, Henry Jones.
- „ 1681, Anthony Dopping.
- „ 1697, Richard Tennison.
- „ 1715, John Evans.
- „ 1724, Henry Downes.
- „ 1726, Ralph Lambert.
- „ 1731, Welbore Ellis.
- „ 1734, Arthur Price.

In 1744, Henry Maule.
 „ 1758, Hon. William Carmichael.
 „ 1765, Richard Pococke.
 „ 1765, Arthur Smyth.
 „ 1766, Hon. Henry Maxwell.
 „ 1798, Thomas Lewis O'Beirne.
 „ 1823, Nathaniel Alexander.
 „ 1840, Charles Dickinson.
 „ 1842, Edward Stopford.
 „ 1850, Thomas Stuart Townsend.
 „ 1852, Joseph Henderson Singer.
 „ 1866, Samuel Butcher.

LIST OF VICARS OF TRIM.

In 162[], John Gregg, Dean of Lismore.
 „ 1629, William Griffith.
 „ 1660, John Cruikshank.
 „ 1671, Robert Erwin.
 „ 1681, George Prowd.
 „ 1698, John Sterne.
 „ 1702, Anthony Raymond.
 „ 1726, Caleb de Butts, Vicar-General of Meath.
 „ 1732, Adam Lyndon, Vicar-General of Meath.
 „ 1753, Guy Atkinson.
 „ 1767, William Evelyn (Dean of Emly, connected
 with the Sylva Evelyn).
 „ 1769, William Foster (from 1770 to 1780, Rector
 of Ardracran ; died Bishop of Clogher).
 „ 1780, William Elliott.
 „ 1818, Richard Butler, D. D.
 „ 1819, Richard Butler, A. B.
 „ 1862, Charles J. Bayly.
 „ 1869, Edward F. Berry, Archdeacon of Meath.

In Harris' Ware's "Bishops" we learn that the famous Ussher, then rector of Assye, about four miles east of Trim, was presented to the rectory of Trim on 17th April, 1620 ; but was never instituted or inducted to it ; his letters-patent to the Bishoprick of Meath bearing date the 16th January following.

Many interesting particulars in reference to St. Patrick's will be found in Dean Butler's "Notices of the Castle and of the Ecclesiastical Buildings of Trim ;" instead of quoting which we propose to give some account of "The Good Dean" himself, as he was commonly and familiarly called. In the year after his death, 1863, his widow printed for private circulation, but unfortunately did not publish, a Memoir of his life. In order to be able to present accurate and trustworthy particulars we made application to Mrs. Butler for permission to use this volume ; and, after some characteristically modest hesitation, we were at length graciously permitted to do so. In availing ourselves of this very kind concession we have as far as possible in condensing adhered to the very words of the narrative, believing that in point of phraseology it would be difficult to improve anything coming from the pen of an Edgeworth.

Richard, afterwards Dean, Butler was born on 14th October, 1794, near Granard, where his father was Vicar of Street, in the county of Longford, and was the second son of Rev. Richard Butler, and Martha, daughter of Richard Rothwell, Esq., of Burford, in the county of Meath. His father was of the Dunboyne branch of the Butlers, which has possessed the property of Priesttown, near Dunboyne, in the county of Meath, since the time of Edward II. After being several years in the Church, the Vicar of Street, with the permission of his bishop, went to Edinburgh to study medicine, paying a curate to do his duty until he had taken his degree, when he returned to Ireland, and practised gratuitously among his parishioners, where medical advice in country places was then hardly to be had. In 1795, he was appointed by his friend Dr. O'Beirne, then Bishop of Ossory, to the living of Burnchurch in that diocese ; and, while residing for some years in the city of Kilkenny, until a glebe house was erected at Burnchurch, young Richard attended the College, of which Dr. Pack was then the Master. In 1809 he went, with his elder brother James, to Reading School, then under the care of Dr. Valpy, of whom he always spoke as a model schoolmaster, who had not only the power of teaching admirably, but of inspiring his pupils with love for himself and for what he taught. His studious habits and correct conduct

made him a favourite with his master, and he was also very happy with his comrades. Among his chief associates was Thomas Noon Talfourd, afterwards so distinguished as a writer and a judge.

In January, 1814, he entered Balliol College, Oxford, where he spent five happy years. Sir William Hamilton and Mr. Lockhart were his contemporaries, but senior to him ; and Dr. Ogilvie continued to be, to the end of his life, one of his dearest and most intimate friends. Dr. Arnold, and Dr. Williams, afterwards Archdeacon of Cardigan, were also among Mr. Butler's contemporaries at Oxford ; and also Cosmo Innes, who was his junior by some years, but whose tastes and character were so particularly congenial, that they formed at Balliol a friendship which continued to be, during his whole life, a source of the greatest happiness and advantage to him.

During his vacations when in Oxford, Mr. Butler was accustomed to spend some time with his uncle, Mr. Rothwell, at Barnstaple, who was much attached to him, and who asked him to give up his intention of studying for the Church, and come to reside with him, and be heir to his fortune, which was considerable. This he refused to do, but his preference for an independent profession did not injure him in his uncle's regard ; for he continued to treat him with unabated kindness during his life, and at his death bequeathed to him a small estate.

In the year 1798, Bishop O'Beirne was promoted to the See of Meath, and Dr. Butler and his family paid frequent visits to the Bishop at Ardraccan, who had early distinguished Richard, and had him often to stay with him, and treated him with a kindness which continued undiminished and unclouded to the end of the Bishop's life. In the autumn vacation of 1814, Mr. Butler met at Ardraccan Mr., Mrs., and Miss Edgeworth. His father had been acquainted with Mr. Edgeworth when residing in the county of Longford, and the acquaintance was renewed in 1808, at the time of the Kilkenny theatricals. Mr. Edgeworth, his future father-in-law, had now much conversation with young Mr. Butler, and was struck with his scholarship and high-principled character.

In 1818, Mr. Butler having passed through the schools

with distinction, and taken a first-class in Classics, took his degree, and in the same year received Deacon's Orders from the Bishop of Meath; but he continued to reside at Oxford, and in that year stood for a Fellowship, in which he failed, which was at the time a disappointment and mortification to him. He remained, however, at Oxford, and took pupils, from some of whom he afterwards received most gratifying letters, and proofs occurred long years after of the impression his care and kindness had made on these young men. His work, though laborious, was not disagreeable to him, and with enough and not too much to do, and having excellent society, he was quite happy, when the following letter from his father changed the tenor of his life, and fixed him for the remainder of his days in a different sphere of action.

The Bishop of Meath had so much regretted the loss of his friend, Dr. Butler's society, on his removal from Ossory to Meath, that, on the parish of Trim, scarcely nine miles distant from Ardracran, becoming vacant in 1818, he presented it to Dr. Butler; but he having now built a house, and settled at Burnchurch, in the county of Kilkenny, did not wish finally to remove, and he wrote to his son :—

“ Burnchurch Glebe, 23rd March, 1819.

“ MY DEAR RICHARD,—My health is so precarious that I really cannot, with justice to the parishioners of Trim, hold the living any longer. I feel quite unhappy at not being able to attend to its duties, and I have to entreat that you will lose no time in immediately going to the Bishop, and stating this matter to him, and solicit him to accept you in my room. I have written to Ball to remit you £50, and I will write to the Bishop directly. Now let no false delicacy prevent your implicitly following my directions, as if you do, you will make me more miserable than I now am.

“ God bless you, my dear boy.

“ RICH^d. BUTLER.”

Such a letter could only be obeyed; and Mr. Butler wrote to his father that he would leave Oxford, and take the living of Trim. He and his friends parted with mutual regret; and he always looked back fondly to his Balliol life, which was not useless, as the affectionate letters of some of his pupils show.

On 13th June, 1819, he received Priest's orders from the Bishop of Kilmore, and on 17th July, 1819, was inducted Vicar of Trim. The very remarkable ruins in and immediately around Trim became objects of the greatest interest to him from the time of his arrival; and in 1823 he began, on the model of his favourite *White's History of Selborne*, to make notes and to collect all the notices he could find about the antiquities of Trim. Collecting these notes, though often unsatisfactory, formed an agreeable and useful occupation for the rest of his life, while the gradual formation of a small library of his own on Irish history, and his constant gathering of coins and curiosities, which he encouraged all the people to bring to him by paying for everything they brought, was the means of bringing him into correspondence with many of the best antiquaries and numismatists of the day, and made neither the present nor the past "ignorant" to him.

In 1823 he made a composition for his tithes, took out a Commission of the Peace as a Magistrate for the county of Meath, and, on 24th November of same year, was sworn in Deputy-Portrieve of Trim. In this year also he lost, by death, his great friend, the Bishop of Meath, Dr. O'Beirne, whose memory he continued to revere with the fondest gratitude to the end of his life. He continued to be a Magistrate till the year 1837. In the beginning of 1825 he was offered, in exchange for the living of Trim, that of Ardinglie in Sussex, thirty miles from London, on the longer Brighton road; but on 12th May, 1825, he wrote to Mr. Innes :—

"I acknowledge the truth of much that you said about the exchange; yet Trim is, and is to be my home, and Trim churchyard will be my burying place. I like the place and the people, and I could not be insensible to the regard of the people for me; and, in short, I have resolved to stay; and since my resolution has been formed, I have had much more comfort than while the matter was in suspense."

His wish was gratified; for his ashes repose in the old churchyard he loved so well. He felt keenly, and long continued to feel, the loss of the society he had been accustomed to at Oxford; but his real taste for classical learning, and for every variety of reading, was kept up to the end of his life. He had, too, the advantage of many culti-

vated friends. At Mr. Ruxton's, of Blackcastle, and at Ardbraccan, he had renewed his acquaintance with Mrs. and Miss Edgeworth ; and, on Sir Walter Scott's coming to Ireland in 1825, he was invited to meet him at Edgeworthstown. He arrived before breakfast ; and, as the weather was beautiful, he found Sir Walter and several of the party on the lawn. Sir Walter began instantly to speak to him on their mutual interest in the De Lacys—the Barons of Meath, and possessors of Trim Castle, whose history Sir Walter had just been studying for *The Betrothed*. This was the first and last time Mr. Butler saw him.

On 14th August, 1826, Mr. Butler was married at Edgeworthstown to Miss Harriet Edgeworth ; and on his return to Trim, in September, he sustained a severe affliction in the death of his uncle, Mr. John Rothwell, at Barnstaple, where he had passed many of his holidays ; and who left him, as before mentioned, a small estate. The day after Christmas-day, in this year, Mr. and Mrs. Butler went to Edgeworthstown ; and this after-Christmas visit was, with two exceptions, continued for the thirty-five following years.

The summer of 1826 had been so unusually hot and dry that many of the crops failed ; and in the early part of 1827, there was some distress, which Mr. Butler was for several weeks assisting to relieve in his double capacity of Vicar of the parish and Portrieve of the town, to which he had been this year elected. Through his exertions employment was found for the poor, and the distress did not come to anything formidable. In February, 1831, Mr. Butler had a long and dangerous fever, from which he recovered his strength very slowly. It was in this year that the plan of the Irish Archæological Society was first started, in which he took the greatest interest ; but it was long before it assumed a working form, or began to publish. He was placed upon the Council ; and eventually he contributed much to the Transactions, his researches for the works which he undertook to edit exhibiting the great familiarity which he had acquired with such subjects.

In the year 1835 a printer (W. H. Griffith) settled at Trim ; and the possibility of getting his researches about the ruins printed at Trim gave an impetus to his inquiries.

His first use of the printer, however, was to make a little collection of poems. The Country Churchyard, and a few of the best usually given in such selections, was the first book ever printed—March, 1835—in the town of Trim. He accordingly sent a copy of it to Archdeacon Cotton, who had made a history of first printed books at different places. On 28th June, 1835,¹ he writes to his old College friend, Cosmo Innes, M.A., Professor of Universal History and Constitutional Law in the University of Edinburgh:—

“I am absolutely printing in *Trim* an account of the Castle thereof: how you would despise my duodecimo blue pages,² taken from abstracts and second-hand authorities; still the thing occupies and amuses me, and may lay the foundation for something better, either by myself or some other person. My present object is confined to the Castle, it may extend hereafter to the Church and Abbeys. I have thought so much of Geoffrey de Geneville and Janico d’Artois and others of my heroes—to others their names will be names only—that I have the most distinct conception of their persons and character, but I cannot personify my imaginings, and I shall leave the notices in their original dryness and meagreness.”

This resolution he unfortunately adhered to; for had his retiring modesty allowed this little volume, so full of facts, entitled, “Some Notices of the Castle and of the Ecclesiastical Buildings of Trim, compiled from various authorities,” to have been published in a popular form, with all his “imaginings,” there is little doubt that it would have continued to the present day, and for many a year to come, to be considered one of the most interesting contributions ever made to Irish topography. To his laborious researches we wish to express our indebtedness for many of the details given in these pages respecting a town and neighbourhood so rich in historical reminiscences.

During the progress of the Ordnance Survey Captain James, now Major-General Sir Henry James, Director of the Survey, was stationed at Trim early in 1836, and to him Mr. Butler was greatly indebted for the interest he took in his work on the Castle, and for the measurements and accurate descriptions, with which, as an Officer of the

¹ Unpublished Memoir of the Very Rev. Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnois, and Vicar of Trim, by his widow, p. 84.

² The first edition, by Griffith, a thin duodecimo, was brought out on inferior paper.

Royal Engineers, he furnished him. The small volume on the Castle of Trim was completed and printed at Trim in 1836; and he then began to print what he could collect about the Church and Abbeys.

Mr. Butler was a most industrious collector of everything appertaining to the past. Every spring when the potatoes were being planted, and in the autumn when they were dug, something curious was found; and he bought everything the people brought in order to secure their coming. By this means he acquired everything of antiquarian interest picked up at Trim; and this collection, we learn from the following entry,¹ was presented after his death, on Monday, 10th November, 1862, to the Royal Irish Academy:—

“The following valuable collection of coins and other antiquities, from the cabinet of the late Very Rev. Richard Butler, was presented, through Dr. Aquilla Smith, by Mrs. Butler:—

“COINS.—5 Hiberno-Danish; 25 John; 8 Henry III.; 15 Edward I.; 65 Edward IV.; 4 Richard III.; 35 Henry VII.; 24 Henry VIII.; 8 Philip and Mary; 11 Elizabeth; 7 James I.; 2 Charles I. Total 209 silver coins.

“13 Elizabeth; 16 James I. and Charles I. (farthings); 4 Charles I. (Confederate money); 4 Charles II.; 35 James I. (gun-money); 4 James II. (halfpence); 2 George I.; 14 George II.; 8 tokens, “Vox Populi,” &c.; 49 traders’ tokens, seventeenth century, issued in Dublin; 52 tokens issued in Drogheda, &c.; 4 William and Mary halfpence; and 19 coins of great rarity, published by Dr. A. Smith in the “Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,” Vol. XIX., and in Sainthill’s “Olla Podrida,” Vol. II., p. 125. Total coins presented 433.

“SEALS.—No. 1, a large circular copper seal—legend, “S. Conversus [*sic*] de Benedictione Dei”, from Athlone; No. 2, brass circular seal—legend, “Scutum Stephani Episcopi Rossensis”; No. 3, a copper signet ring, with initials “J. M. D.”; No. 4, a circular leaden seal—legend, “S. Ricardi Alligani”; No. 5, Bulla of Pope Martin V.; No. 6, Bulla of Pope Pius II.; No. 7, Bulla of Benedict XIV.

“ELECTROTYPES.—No. 1, facsimile of an oval seal—legend, “Sigill. de Abbatis S. Marie de Truim”, and reverse of the same matrix—legend, “Si. M. Abb. S. Marie de Durmag”; No. 2, facsimile of a circular Irish seal; No. 3, facsimile of an episcopal seal—legend, “Sigill. Epale Jois Epi Fermeb”; No. 4, facsimile of a circular seal—legend, “Sigillum officii recepte Scaccarii regis iii. [*sic*] Anglia”, apparently of the reign of Edward III.; and a large number of impressions of seals in wax.

“ANTIQUITIES.—2 small circular brooches; 3 buttons; 1 large copper pin; 30 weights; 18 bronze and stone celts, &c.

“RESOLVED.—That the marked thanks of the Academy are due, and are hereby presented, to Mrs. Butler for her very valuable donation.”

¹ “Proceedings R. I. A.,” Vol. VIII. p. 219.

In 1837 Mr. Butler printed a small volume of his translation from O'Connor's Latin translation of the *Annals of the Four Masters*; but as this, like several of his other literary productions, was not published, the interest in it was shortly afterwards superseded by O'Donovan's great work. In this year also Sir William Hamilton, on being elected President of the Royal Irish Academy, wrote to him soliciting him to suggest some plan for the promotion of antiquarian knowledge; and, in reply, he strongly recommended the printing of our MS. "Monastic Annals and Registries," a course which the Council of the Academy has recently adopted in the most effective manner by producing transcriptions of our oldest MSS.

On 10th October, 1839, he writes to his old friend, Mr. Innes:—

" * * * I am printing an enlarged edition of the Castle of Trim. I saw the other day a most curious collection of things disinterred from a crannog at Lagore in this county; brass bowls like finger-glasses, very thin; bodkins innumerable; tweezers, all brass; iron knives, pincers, and shears, and things of which I cannot conceive the use; fine bone-tooth-combs, and some brass ornaments enamelled in different colours; abundance of skeins and swords and spear-heads, but no celts, and not a vestige of any written character. I have requested the gentleman on whose lands they were found not to disperse them. There was sent with them a groat of Robert III. (?) struck at Perth; how it came among its elders by a thousand years I cannot guess."

Writing again to his friend, Mr. Innes, on 16th November, 1839, he says:—

" We have now Maria Edgeworth with us—as cheerful and as fresh as ever—and neither sadness, nor ill-nature, nor anything very bad can stand long in her presence. Having her here is like having sunshine always about you, and I think that she is more in her element, and puts out all herself more in strictly domestic life than in any other.

"I heard from Ogilvie some weeks ago, announcing his appointment to the living of Ross, in Herefordshire—so he is now 'The Man of Ross.' Two-and-twenty years ago Richard Long, James Young, and I, went to Ross on our way down the Wye. They are both dead, and here am I sitting in Trim, writing to you in Edinburgh of the promotion of Ogilvie to that Church in which we had then no personal interest.

"I hope that the Lagore discovery will be fully investigated. Mr. Petrie brings the swords down to the time of the Danes, who, he says, first introduced iron amongst us; I do not know that this can be proved. One set of our antiquaries bring everything to about Queen Dido's time; and the other everything down to King Canute's. I wonder what became of the time between these worthies? Dr. Wilde, a comparative anatomist, declares that the bones belonged to varieties of species of animals now extinct in Ireland; the cows, short-horned Ayrshires. I wish you could see

my study which Maria has beautified with scarlet cloth to the shelves, and two standing book-cases instead of the screen."

During the previous summer, with a presentation of four prints, came the following characteristically cheerful letter¹ :—

" *To the Rev. R. Butler.*

" *Edgeworthstown, 6 June, 1839.*

"MY DEAR RICHARD,—Four royal personages, four crowned Kings, each with his head on his shoulders, and each with his crown on his head—much to be said of four sovereigns in these times—are now come a-begging to your door, begging to be admitted to dine with you to-day, and to dine with you, if you have no objection, every day of your life.

" "Every day! I had made up my mind to give them their dinner to-day; but every day do they expect'?"

"Make up your mind for every day, my dear Sir; princes and kings are encroaching, expecting people, and you can do no less than receive them graciously; and at Trim, for 'auld acquaintance' sake you can do no less.

"I see you open wide the dining-room door fit for their four majesties, and methinks, as they enter, each whispers, 'Not the first time we have been at Trim, but never in such good plight.' 'Not a prisoner now in that vile Castle,' quoth young Harry; and Henry II. bows to Harriet, 'Mrs. Butler, I presume.' 'Hang them up! hang them all up!' says Harriet. And I hope you will hang them, and so remain,

"Yours obliged and affectionately,

"MARIA EDGEWORTH."

These four framed prints (Virtue's) of Henry II., King John, Richard II., and Henry V., were immediately hung in the dining-room at Trim, and were Mr. Butler's companions at dinner for more than twenty years. Henry II. was never at Trim; but King John spent the second and third days of July, 1210, there, as appears from the itinerary of his reign.² Richard II. was more than once in Ireland. On the occasion of his last visit, which was for the purpose of revenging the death of his cousin, the Earl of March, he sailed from Milford Haven, bringing with him as hostages Humphrey, son of the late Duke of Gloucester, and Henry, son of the banished Duke of Lancaster, who afterwards, on 20th March, 1413, ascended the throne as Henry V. In

¹ Unpublished Memoir of Maria Edgeworth, vol. iii., p. 190.

² Dean Butler's "Notices of Trim," p. 236.

less than two days (on 1st June) they came in sight of the tower of Waterford ; and on 23rd June the king marched towards Mac Morrough's country, in the neighbourhood of Carlow, and while burnings and devastations were going on, he, "out of true and entire affection", sent for the son of the Duke of Lancaster, a fair, young, and handsome bachelor (not thirteen years old), and knighted him, saying, "My fair Cousin, henceforth be preux and valiant, for you have some valiant blood to conquer." ("Archæologia," vol. xx.). On hearing in Dublin (where he was on 26th June), of the landing of the Duke of Lancaster at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, Richard sailed for England, leaving in custody in the Castle of Trim the young sons of the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester. The south-eastern tower, standing between the barbican and the river, is pointed to by tradition as the place of their confinement, which could not have been of long duration, as Richard resigned the crown on Michaelmas Day, 29th September, 1399.

In the year 1840, The Irish Archæological Society was established, in which Mr. Butler took much interest ; and in this year also he was engaged in correcting a second edition of his book on the Castle of Trim, and in collecting information about the parish church and abbeys in and around Trim. In May, 1841, he went to Burnchurch for the last time to attend his dying father, a man of great abilities, and unbounded general benevolence.

On 22nd July, 1841, Mr. Butler took his little nieces, Mary Anne and Charlotte Fox, to the site fixed for the Trim Fever Hospital, of which they laid the first stone. After it was completed, and in use, he was accustomed to pay almost daily visits to it ; and he exerted all his powers of persuasion to induce the people to send all who were attacked with fever or any contagious disorder to this hospital, and in a great measure he succeeded in overcoming their disinclination to do so.

About September, 1841, he undertook to edit, for the Irish Archæological Society, Grace's¹ "Annals of Ireland ;" upon the preface to which he spent much time and re-

¹ Grace was a Kilkenny friar about the time of Henry VIII.

search. He worked at it in the time between breakfast and his going to his schools—the hour after he had finished the newspapers, which he studied diligently, and considered them as much a part of breakfast as the comestibles. He was generally at his school, or about the town, from twelve till three, and the afternoon of these autumn evenings he could, as the early darkness prevented his going out, give up to Grace's Annals. Sometimes he worked at his Preface after dinner; but this time he usually enjoyed reading, or hearing read out, some book of the day, or one of some very old day. In any difficulty he wrote for help to Mr. Innes, and he acknowledged also much valuable assistance in the preparation of the volume from his friend Dr. Aquilla Smith, of Dublin. At length, in 1842, Grace's Annals, Mr. Butler's first contribution to the Irish Archæological Society, was published.

In January, 1843, he undertook to edit the *Registrum Canobi OO. SS. juxta Dublin*, most of the charters being of the time of Henry III.; and in March, of the same year, he was elected a member of the Bannatyne Club. The marriage of Mrs. Butler's youngest sister to Dr. Robinson in this year was the occasion of forming a life-long friendship and intimacy with that great scientific scholar, and proved a source of invaluable happiness and advantage to him.

In October, 1843, he became busily engaged with a work for the Irish Archæological Society, the Norman French Laws of Dublin, which he considered to be not later than the time of Edward I. Dr. Aquilla Smith's copy of them, the perfection of beautiful writing and minute accuracy, had been long in his hands; but although his hunt through dictionaries and old French books of all sorts, to ascertain the meaning of some of the terms, was pursued with all his usual ardour in such chases, neither Dr. Smith nor he was able to make sense of some of them, although they seemed very curious and interesting in their patriarchal simplicity.

On 13th Feb., 1844, he playfully writes to Mr. Innes:—

“I am very busy preparing to edit Dowling's and Clyn's Chronicles: of the latter there is a MS. in the Bodleian, which Mr. Wilson of Trinity—

do you know him?—promises to collate for us. Clyn is really interesting; a living man of flesh and blood, who died of the plague at Kilkenny in 1348, having left parchment for the continuation of his Chronicles after his death. Dowling, I suppose, had flesh and blood, and was a Protestant parson in the time of Elizabeth; but what we have of him are merely abstracts inserted in extracts from Vowell and Stanyhurst," &c.

Maria Edgeworth, now in her 77th year, had during the spring of this year built a greenhouse for Mr. Butler in the lawn to the north of his house; and the pleasure in planning and executing it was increased every year that she lived by seeing the extreme enjoyment it gave him.

Of his progress in editing the Registry, he thus writes on 27th June, 1845, to his former College companion, Mr. Innes:—

"I am in great want of you every day, all my loiterings about my wearisome Registry must now come to an end, and I am obliged to write a preface, which will give some size to the book, and which, being English, will have some chance of being read. About the Priory itself I know very little, but about things in some degree connected with the Registry, i. e., the political and social state of Ireland from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, a great deal might be said by a practised writer, who could connect and arrange his thoughts and express them easily."

Mr. Worsae, the great Danish antiquary, accompanied by Dr. Todd, came to Trim in December, 1846, to pay a visit to Mr. Butler; and although there were no Danish monuments for him to inspect, he was much interested in the valuable collection of coins and other antiquities in the Museum of Sir Montagu Chapman, at Killua Castle, and in the curious "find" which had been recently made on the property of Mr. Barnewall in the crannog of Lagore, near Dunshaughlin.

On 31st December, 1847, a letter from the Bishop of Meath, Dr. Stopford, announced Mr. Butler's appointment by him to the Deanery of Clonmacnois, which was only a title, neither duty nor emolument being attached to it; and he was instituted at Navan on 24th January, 1848. In this year, 1848, the National Model School was founded at Trim, and, after its completion and opening, Dean Butler attended it almost every day that he was at home during the rest of his life. From the first The Very Rev. John O'Connell, P. P., V. G., and his Curates, were as much

interested in the Model School as Dean Butler was ; and the system was, therefore, really carried out according to the letter and the spirit ; and many of the children of families in humble circumstances in and about Trim, from the excellent education they received there, raised themselves in after years to positions of comfort and respectability.

The sudden death, on 22nd May, 1849, of Maria Edgeworth, in her 82nd year, fell heavily upon Dean Butler, as he so intensely delighted in her cheerful society. During the month of July, 1849, Rev. William Reeves, D. D., came to Trim ; and Dean Butler accompanied him in long drives throughout the neighbourhood, much enjoying his society, examining the churchyards, &c., as Dr. Reeves was then collecting materials for his great work on Ecclesiastical Antiquities.

Writing to Mr. Innes, on 20th December, 1849, he thus describes his progress with the Dublin Laws :—

“ Harriet and I spend our evenings in transcribing the Charter Book of Dublin, i. e., I read, she writes. We are thinking of printing the Laws of Dublin, which you noted ; and I should be very glad if I could get materials to illustrate them, and to give some notion of the history and habits of our Danish Dublin, with its motley population of Irish and Danes, Ostmen, Fingals and Dhuvgals, Traders, Pirates, Colonists and Natives ; but I lack matter.”

As New Year's Day was Maria Edgeworth's birth day, and for many years the great festival of the family, it was too painful to go to Edgeworthstown for the opening of the new year (1850), after so great a chasm made in their circle ; and, for the first time since 1826, Dean Butler spent the beginning of the year at Trim.

In the year 1852, his curate, Rev. James Hamilton, was promoted to the living of Loughcrew ; and from that time up to the year 1858, Dean Butler continued to do all the parish duty himself, which so fully occupied his time that he found little leisure to devote, during that interval, to his literary studies and antiquarian pursuits, which, however, were not neglected, whenever he found an unoccupied hour to bestow upon them.

Unlike “most men, whose youth is brighter than their middle and latter life,” his grew happier and more cheerful

as he advanced in years. In 1856 he printed a few of his sermons in a small volume entitled *Home Duties*, and gave them to his parishioners and friends; and in 1857 he printed another set on the Morning Service, which he distributed in the same manner. On 14th May, 1857, Dean Butler received a letter from His Excellency, The Right Hon. The Earl of Carlisle, offering to appoint him to be one of his chaplains. It gave the Dean real pain to feel obliged to refuse so gracious a request, expressed in the most flattering, kind, and gratifying terms; but he thought that, never having attended Lord Carlisle's levees, or those of any Lord Lieutenant, it would now be unsuitable to be the Lord Lieutenant's Chaplain. Lord Carlisle added to the obligation of his offer by speaking afterwards of the refusal in the most amiable and good-natured terms.

During the summer of 1857, Mr. Innes paid a visit to

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading 'R. Butler'.

No. 12. Portrait and Autograph of Dean Butler.

the Dean at Trim; and, the weather being fine, he drove out almost every day with him. Mr. Innes, having

brought his photographic apparatus with him, took many views of the vicarage, the church, and the ruins in and about Trim, of which he sent over specimens after his return to Scotland, which were ever afterwards much prized by the Dean.

On the occasion of one of his daily visits to the Trim Model School in 1857, while the senior boys happened to be under instruction in photography by Mr. Freehill, the Head Master, the Dean was asked to sit for his portrait. Mr. Freehill still retains with affectionate respect the photograph then taken on glass, of which the accompanying is a very excellent and faithful engraving. The signature has been engraved from that given under his portrait in the unpublished Memoir of his life by his widow.

In the spring of 1858 he was, while apparently quite well, suddenly seized with a violent spasm in his chest. It went off, but recurred again upon any exertion ; and the physicians whom he consulted recommended him to have a curate, to which arrangement he very reluctantly consented. The last letter written with his own hand to his nearly life-long friend, Mr. Innes, dated 28th November, 1859, contains the following passages :—

“ For months past any excitement or exertion of body or mind has brought on a feeling of suffocation, which demands immediate perfect stillness and cessation of all motion for a few moments, and then I am as before. I have, however, hitherto been able to walk slowly through the town, and to go daily to the school.

“ We were in hopes that you would have sent to us some Memoirs of your Italian, to match your Spanish Journey, which are greatly admired, and your Trim will be the Trim of future ages.”

In the autumn of 1859 he went to the sea-side, at Bettystown, near Drogheda, and derived much benefit from sea-air and sea baths, and the spasms in his chest ceased to affect him ; but a general weakness in his limbs came on gradually, and in April, 1860, paralysis deprived him of all power of standing or walking. However, in a Bath-chair he still continued his daily visit to the Model School ; and on Sundays was wheeled into the Workhouse and County Jail, where he read the service to the Protestant paupers and prisoners. In the summer of 1860 he again

went to Bettystown, there spending the greater part of the day on the beautiful strand ; but he derived no permanent benefit from the visit.

On 20th May, 1861, he again went to Bettystown, and after spending eight weeks there, which, as he says himself in a letter dictated to Mr. Innes, "were very agreeable," he returned to Trim, where he occupied and amused himself in bringing out a new (fourth and last) edition of his Book on Trim Castle, printed by Hodges, Smith, and Co., Grafton-street, Dublin. Unfortunately his peculiar modesty stood in the way of his *publishing* this revised and valuable collection of historical references to Trim ; and as he generously and good-naturedly distributed the printed copies among his friends and acquaintances this now rare book can only be found in private collections.

On 14th February, 1862, he paid a visit, accompanied by Mrs. Butler, who throughout his illness was his untiring solace and support, to his brother-in-law, Dr. Robinson, at the Armagh Observatory, where he was attended by Dr. Young, of Monaghan, and Dr. Robinson, of the Armagh Infirmary ; but in spite of all that genius on the part of his medical attendants, unwearied care on the part of his wife, and unceasing attention from Dr. and Mrs. Robinson, could do for him, nothing could arrest the progress of the disease. He and Mrs. Butler returned to Trim on 1st July, 1862, and on the 17th he breathed his last, *having on that day completed his forty-third year of residence at Trim.*

No more truthful picture could be drawn of the life and character of the good and excellent Dean Butler than is to be found in his Memoir, p. 191 :—

"Naturally not robust in health, Richard Butler was constitutionally indolent and shy. That shyness should diminish with age was natural, but to become more active as he grew older was unusual and characteristic. His powers of activity, mental and bodily, increased as his sphere of usefulness enlarged ; and though a great part of every day was spent in teaching at a country school, his zeal for knowledge and learning, of which he possessed so much of such varied kinds, never flagged, and the logical training of his mind was exerted constantly for the regulation of his own conduct, and for the assistance of the many who looked up to, and relied upon him for advice. Charity, in every form, and in its most

enlarged sense, was his distinguishing characteristic; charity which not only ministered to the wants and sympathized with the cares of all, but entered into and sympathized with all the details of sufferings, mental and bodily, allowing for the ill-temper and ill-feelings, the fancied and real wrongs, of which he was the depository—healing them, and making peace everywhere. He used to say people were afraid of him, but nobody really feared him, except so far as meanness and vice are rebuked by a blameless life. His dark complexion and near-sightedness gave him a grave expression of countenance, but he was constantly cheerful; and though he never at any time entered into or enjoyed what are called gaieties, he liked society, and was always ready to be amused, and to promote the amusement of others. His great powers of mind, and the ease with which he acquired and retained the most accurate knowledge, never made him impatient of the difficulty of comprehension in the young, or of the ignorance and dulness of many with whom he was thrown in contact. His leniency, and the mildness of his manners, were the effect, not only of natural kindness of heart, but of his steadfastness of mind. His own faith and his own principles were so fixed, dispassionate, and uncompromising, that they never needed the support of violent words or violent feeling against those who differed from him: an unexpressed manliness of mind which, from his youth, and throughout his life, commanded the respect and confidence of those who most differed from them.

“A profession, a taste, and a pursuit were, he used to say, essential to a man’s usefulness and happiness in life, and he, every year of his life, devoted himself more eagerly to his profession; while his taste for gardening and his pursuit of antiquities occupied and enlivened all the rest of his time. The strong attachment he inspired, and the charm of his intimacy, arose from the perfect honesty of his purposes, and the absence of all low thoughts or views; there was nothing to be hidden. His lofty faith, disinterestedness, and purity of mind governed even the minutest actions of his life, and acted upon all about him as far as such influence can reach. The expression of his countenance was that of his whole life—complete benevolence; the wish to make the happiness and exalt the character of all the world. Uniting with his peaceful disposition an enthusiastic admiration for heroic deeds; and with the love of exalted poetry, a thorough acquaintance with the practical details of life; his benevolence was as active as it was earnest, and entirely without ostentation.

“The friends which he made in his early youth continued to be his friends to the end of his life in undiminished intimacy; while his powers of conversation, and the ease with which he imparted his accurate information, added continually to his circle of friends and acquaintance: so that, though living very retired, he formed a sort of centre to a large circle of strongly attached relations and friends, broken and scattered by his loss.”

In the interior of the church is inserted into the south side wall, immediately over the late site of the pulpit, a white marble tablet with the following inscription, drawn up by the Dean’s old Oxford friend, Dr. Ogilvie, of Ross:—

M. S.
 VIRI REVERENDI
 RICARDI . BUTLER .
 DECANI . CLUANMACNOEENSIS
 NECNON
 HUIUS . ECCLESIE .
 PER ANNOS. XLIII. VICARII
 VIXIT ANNOS LXVII. MEN. IX. DIES III.
 ET DECESSIT XVII. KAL. SEXTIL.
 A. S. MDCCCLXII.

Immediately beneath this tablet, the present Archdeacon of Meath, The Venerable Edward Fleetwood Berry, has inserted the brass tablet put up by Dean Butler in 1861, in the former chancel of the church, and which contains the following inscription :—

In Memoriam Ricardi Butler, S.T.P., filii natu maximi Jacobi Butler e Priestown in Comitatu Medensi regni Hiberniæ et Dorotheæ uxoris, Ricardi Steele Baronetti filia.

Ricardus Butler Decanus Cluanmacnæensis atque ab anno MDCCXXX ad hodiernum usque diem Vicarius oppidi Trim, hoc monumentum ponendum curabit, anno MDCCCLXII.

Duxit autem in uxorem Ricardus Butler Martham filiam Ricardi Rothwell e Berford in eodem Comitatu Medensi armigeri, et ex ea suscepit filios sex, Jacobum, Ricardum monumenti huius auctorem, Thomam, Ludovicum, Whitwellum, Edwardum, Joannem, fillamque unicam Mariam.

Intra Diocesin Ossoriensem duos et viginti Annos Præbendarius Magnensis, tres quoque et quadraginta annos Rector loci quem Burnchurch appellant, per unius tantum anni spatium Vicarius Trim oppidi in Diocesi Medensi positi, tandem apud Burnchurch in Comitatu Kilkennensi diem supremum obiit sexto Kalendas Junias, A. D. MDCCCLXII, annum agens tertium et octogesimum.

Over a vault containing the remains of Dean Butler, a few yards south of the church, stands an elegant monument of Caen stone, resting upon granite plinths, and erected by public inscription in 1863. On a shield on the west end is a ducal coronet, issuing thereout a plume of five ostrich feathers, thereon a falcon rising of the last ; and on the east end is another shield containing a chief indented, charged with three escallops, impaling battle axes crossed between four crosses, with a scroll beneath, on which is inscribed—

✠ S. RICARD . BUTLER . DECAN . CLUANENS.

The south side of the monument contains this inscription :—

ERECTED BY HIS PARISHIONERS AND FRIENDS

TO THE MEMORY OF

THE VERY REVEREND RICHARD BUTLER,

DEAN OF CLONMACNOIS, FORTY THREE YEARS VICAR OF THIS PARISH,

WHERE HE WAS THE GENEROUS BENEFACTOR,

THE SYMPATHISING FRIEND AND FAITHFUL PASTOR :

BORN 13 OCTOBER 1794, DIED 17 JULY 1862.

On the north side are incised the following quotations :—

“ BLESSED ARE THE DEAD WHICH DIE IN THE LORD.” REVELATIONS, XIV. 13v.

“ THE PATH OF THE JUST IS AS THE SHINING LIGHT, THAT SHINETH MORE
AND MORE UNTO THE PERFECT DAY.” PROVERBS, IV. 18v.

“ HE BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH.” HEBREWS, XI. 4v.

At the suggestion of Harcourt Lightburne, Esq., with the money that remained on hands after the completion of the monument, a clock was inserted in the tower of the church, over which is seen in large gilt letters—

1863

THE DEAN'S CLOCK.

A warm-hearted friend and admirer put up in the

western face of the old tower, at a height of about twelve feet from the ground, a polished slab of red Peterhead granite from Aberdeenshire, encased in a frame of blue chiselled limestone, on which is cut the following inscription :—

A. D. MDCCCLXIII.
THE CLOCK PLACED IN THIS
TOWER WAS ERECTED IN
MEMORY OF THE LATE VERY
REVEREND RICHARD BUTLER,
DEAN OF CLONMACNOIS AND
VICAR OF THIS PARISH,
WHOSE MONUMENT STANDS
IN THIS CHURCH YARD.

(To be continued.)

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a GENERAL MEETING, held at the apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, July 2nd, 1873,

THE WORSHIPFUL THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY, in the Chair,

The following election to a Fellowship took place :—
Leonard Dobbin, Hollymount, Lee-road, Cork.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Right Hon. the Countess of Kingston, Mitchelstown Castle : proposed by Philip Raymond.

Charles Desmond MacCarthy, Bank of England, Plymouth : proposed by Daniel MacCarthy.

Thomas Galway, M. R. I. A., Killarney : proposed by Richard R. Brash.

Nicholas Furlong, M. D., Lymington-house, Ennis-corthy : proposed by R. H. Lett.

Dr. J. Tyndall, The Lodge, Gorey, Co. Wexford : proposed by the Rev. R. Deverell.

The Rev. J. Leslie Porter, D.D., LL. D., College Park, Belfast ; and W. J. Gillespie, Whitehall, Stillorgan : proposed by the Rev. J. Graves.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

“Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,” Vol. IX., Part 1 : presented by the Society.

“The Journal of the British Archæological Association,” for March, 1873: presented by the Association.

“Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall,” No. 14 : presented by the Institution.

A bronze hatchet-shaped celt, of large size, found at Crosspatrick, barony of Galmoy, Co. Kilkenny : presented by the Rev. Philip Moore, P.P.

Mr. Graves laid before the Meeting a paper cast, made by Mr. Richard Langrishe and himself, of the inscribed portion of the Ballyboodan¹ Ogham stone. This was one of the two Ogham inscriptions known to have existed in the county of Kilkenny before their Association had been formed, since which time several others had been discovered ; but the inscription on the stone at Ballyboodan had been long concealed in the ground, and the first cast obtained of it was now before the Meeting. It was on the property of Sir James Langrishe, Bart., who, at the instance of his brother, Mr. R. Langrishe, had lately arranged to have the large block turned over, so that the inscription might be brought to light again ; and he (Mr. Graves) had attended, by invitation from Sir James, on the occasion. It was a work of considerable difficulty, the stone being 9 feet long by 5 feet 11 inches wide, and averaging 15 inches in thickness. Sir James organised a strong party of labourers, and, under his personal direction and example, the great *leac* was safely turned over and the inscription made once more apparent. A paper cast, similar to that now before the Meeting, had been brought by Mr. Langrishe to Samuel Ferguson, Esq., LL. D., and Mr. Graves now read a letter from that gentleman, expressing his gratification at having an opportunity of investigating the inscription. He had no doubt, he said, that it was a genuine and easily read Ogham, containing at least one well-known old Irish name ; but the cast seemed doubtful as to one score, and he would require a second impression before he could give the reading with certainty. Mr. Graves went on to remark that they were much indebted to Sir James Langrishe for what he had done in exhuming this inscription, and the arrangements which he intended to make for the stone being set up in its original position, and carefully preserved. It was fortunate that it had not been long since destroyed, for

¹ Ballyboodan is a townland in the parish of Knocktopher, barony of the same name, and county of Kilkenny. The

Ogham stone is situated in a field by the road-side, about an English mile south of Knocktopher village.

when the farmer, on whose land it was, found it lying flat on the ground, as it was left on the occasion of its examination by the late Mr. Richard Hitchcock, and an impediment to tilling the field, he contented himself with having it turned on edge, so as not to interrupt the plough, instead of using the sledge to smash it up, as some men would most likely have done.

Mr. R. Langrishe said that Richard Holohan, the farmer who had turned the stone out of the way of the plough, would not think of injuring it, as he knew that the late Sir R. Langrishe took an interest in it, and would not permit it to be destroyed. But Holohan also personally had a regard for the antique, as also has his son, the present occupant of the farm, John Holohan, in whose custody it would be most carefully preserved. He (Mr. Langrishe) remembered when he was young having gone with his uncle, Dr. H. Monck Mason, to examine the monument—before the inscription had been turned underground. On that occasion, they were told a legend about it by an old man on the spot. The stone was, the old man averred, “thrown by the goi’nt of Slievenaman at the goi’nt of Kiltorcan, but fell short of the mark, on this spot”—thus, apparently connecting it with the traditional hostile feeling indulged in by Fin Mac Cool—whose seat is shown on the mountain of Slievenaman—against Diarmaid O’Dunne, whose grave is pointed out at Kiltorcan. The name by which the stone was generally and appropriately known was *Cloughleigh*, i. e. “the grey stone:” it was a block of greyish-red sandstone. It was sometimes called *Clough-a-temple*, the latter word of the designation apparently referring to the neighbouring old church of Kilcurl.

Mr. Graves said that, feeling how much they were indebted to Sir James and Mr. R. Langrishe for their exertions in connexion with this interesting monument, he would beg leave to propose that a special vote of thanks be given them. He would also propose that Sir James Langrishe be elected a Vice-President of the Association.

Mr. Prim seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Mr. R. Langrishe acknowledged the compliment, and said that Sir James would have attended their Meeting,

but for his being detained at the Court-house, where he was serving on the County Grand Jury.

Mr. Langrishe then mentioned that having commenced the "Ogham hunt," he had tried it further in the district, but the scent had failed. The name of a little old churchyard in the valley of the Argula, a couple of miles distant from Mullinakill, had suggested the idea that Oghams might be found there, it being called "Killeen Leachts." However, he found no inscription, but lighted there on a rough square stone with a bowl-shaped hollow scooped out of it; a drawing, with measurements, of which he now begged leave to present to the Association.

Mr. W. F. Wakeman sent the following notice of a chambered cairn at Cavancarrogh, County Fermanagh:—

"About one hundred years ago a man named Bannon became possessed of a farm in Cavancarrogh (the "Rough Hill"), a district situated about four miles from Enniskillen, and commenced the erection of a house which still remains. A grandson of this Bannon, who is a respectable farmer, is its present occupant, and I am informed by him that he was often told by his grandfather that the stones used in the building of the house had been taken from a neighbouring cairn, some remains of which may still be traced above ground. Some years ago, the present occupier of the farm was trenching potatoes on the site of the cairn, when he discovered a double cist, in each chamber of which was an urn. Unfortunately the urns were broken, but Mr. Bannon retained a couple of the pieces, which, at a later period, he presented to me. These, which I found to fit together, I fastened with glue, and placed, amongst other antiquities, as a deposit in our Museum.

"About a fortnight ago Mr. Bannon came upon a second, and much larger cist, which was found to enclose the lower portion of an urn, of very curious manufacture. Hearing of this second 'find,' I proceeded to the spot and made a careful examination of the ground. The cairn appears to have been very similar to that at the Barr of Fintona, described in a late number of the Journal of this Society. There are large stones placed at almost regular intervals round what was the base of the cairn. Two of these have been proved to be the covering stones of cists, and I believe that the remainder partake of the same character. Having received permission from Mr. Bannon to open the place as soon as the potatoes, which are set round the stones, shall have been dug, I hope ere long to be able to commence an exploration."

Mr. Graves said that he had been informed by Mr. Wakeman that some calamities having befallen the cattle of the farmer on whose land the Miracles cairn was situated, subsequently to a former partial examination, and which were believed to be not only *post hoc* but *propter*

hoc, it would, he feared, be impossible to make a further exploration of that cairn at present.

The following communication on Begerin, near Wexford, accompanied by rubbings and sketches, was contributed by George H. Kinahan, M. R. I. A. :—

“Begerin was formerly an island in the north portion of the Wexford estuary, but now it and the associated islands are surrounded by reclaimed land; of this island Dr. Joyce, in reply to a letter of inquiry, writes:—

“‘Begerin, or Beg-Eire, in the Latin life of St. Ibar, is translated *Parva Hibernia* (Little Ireland), and, according to O’Clery’s Irish Calendar, i. e., the Martyrology of Donegal, St. Ibar, who died in A. D. 500, erected a church in the island, where his patron or festival was kept on the 23rd April (O’Donovan, Note to “Four Masters”). According to the authorities quoted by Lanigan, St. Ibar was a native of Ulster, and resided chiefly in his Monastery of Beg-Eire. “Ecclesiastic schools, or seminaries, under the name of monasteries were established and governed by several Irish prelates at this period (5th century). . . . Another renowned school was that of Ibar in Begerin, which he established after having preached the gospel in various parts of Ireland, and in which he instructed a vast number of persons” (“Lanigan,” Vol. I., p. 402). The following is from Ussher :—“*Adultus sacerdos et multa sanctimonia vitæ pollens Ibarus missus est ad Evangelium prædicandum per Hiberniam in quâ innumeros ad fidem Christi convertit. Ad fines Lageniensium venit, et Australem ejus partem ubi est litoralis parva insula Begerin, id est, Parva Hibernia, dicta, ubi celebre condidit cœnobium, et sacras ibidem literas aliasque artes optimas docuit ad maximam multitudinem Hibernorum et aliorum.*” The “Four Masters” record, in A. D. 819, “The plundering of Beg-Eire and Dairinis Caemhain by the foreigners [Danes].” In A. D. 884, “died Diarmaid, Abbot of Beg-Eire.” In A. D. 964, “Crunn-mhael, Abbot of Beg-Eire, Bishop and Lector of Taimhlacht [Tallaght, near Dublin], was drowned at Tochar Eachdhach.””

“During the reclamation of the ‘North Estuary Lands’ it was found that in ancient times Begerin had been joined to the islands on the south-east by a narrow bridge or causeway. This way ran nearly due south from the S. E. end of Begerin, and the site of it was discovered in a straight line when opening three nearly E. and W. ditches. The remains consist of two rows of oak piles, 1 ft. 6 in. by 9 inches in section; the rows are 4 feet apart, with about 5 feet between each pair. On these piles there would seem to have originally been longitudinal and transverse beams; but no traces of them were found. To the west, north, and north-east of Begerin there was formerly a channel that tradition says was once the passage for ships going up to Wexford. This to the west is called on the Ordnance Map ‘Begerin Channel,’ and on the north, ‘Bunatroe Channel;’ but locally it is known as ‘The Pill;’ and at the north extremity of the island, on the margin of Bunatroe Channel, are the remains of a wharf, which consist of eight oak piles, while others are said to have drawn at the time the lands were reclaimed. Three-quarters of a mile north-east of Begerin, in a small bay off the estuary were two islands, on the most northern of which, now in the townland of Ballinamorrhagh, are the remains of a large circular mound, about 75 feet in diameter; this

seems to have been a *tuaim* or sepulchral mound; but no tradition in regard to it is now remembered; perhaps the word 'Morragh,' in the townland name, may have some connexion with the individual who was buried here. On the mainland due west of Begerin there seems to have been once a church, as the place is called Kilmisten, while in the townland on the north (Ardcolm) are a church and well, dedicated to St. Columb, and to the south are a well and a church, dedicated to St. Cavan. The ruins at Ardavan show that the last church erected there, although extensive, was not a very ancient building, it probably having been built between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. St. Columb's Church was not as extensive, but both seem to have been erected about the same period. On Begerin none of the old buildings remain; there are indeed the ruins of a church, but this evidently was erected subsequently to the time of the Monastery of St. Ibar, and probably at a very recent date. Immediately south of the ruin is a large disc of green slaty grit, about 7 feet in diameter, that tradition says 'marks St. Ibar's grave.' Years ago a hole was dug under the west side of this stone, looking for treasures, into which the stone has fallen, so that the original surface cannot be examined. In the graveyard to the south-east of the ruin are two ancient crosses cut in slate, one being red and the other green. The stone on which the first is cut is now 2 feet 6 inches long, the upper circular portion being a foot in diameter. The cross originally must have been very handsome, but it is now weathered and partially defaced. The second is more perfect, but not as elaborate. Its stone is about 3 feet long, the circular part being 14 inches in diameter. The raised cross is a little to the right on the slab. Besides these there are a very rude cross, 18 inches high by 11 inches wide; a flattish massive stone, 1 foot 10 inches by 1 foot 3 inches, having cut in it a rude rectangular figure, 9 inches by 7 inches, that encloses a plain equal-armed incised cross; and an oblong granite stone, on which is a plain cross; this stone is 18 inches by 11, perfectly flat on the back, and convex on the cross-inscribed face.

"No other undoubted antiquities could be found on the island, but there is an egg-shaped mass of granite, $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, that possibly may have been the grinder in a bullaun-shaped corn rubber, as it seems to have been artificially polished, and there is the lower stone of a large quern; the latter has nothing remarkable about it, and seems to have been very little used."


The following papers were contributed :—

COUNTY OF KILKENNY INSCRIBED PILLAR-STONES:
GOWRAN.

BY RICHARD ROLT BRASH, M. R. I. A.

GOWRAN is a post-town and parish in the barony of the same names (Ord. Sheet No. 22). It has an ancient parish church, the existing remains of which evidence that originally it was a structure of considerable pretensions to architectural beauty; it stands in the centre of an ancient cemetery which contains very many sepulchral slabs of Mediæval date, some of them richly carved. But the object of most interest in the graveyard of Gowran is the Ogham inscribed stone I am about to describe, and which lies prostrate in the grass at the north side of the church. Mr. John G. A. Prim has stated ("Journal," October, 1872), that this stone was discovered in the foundation of the chancel of the ancient church, which was taken down in the early part of the present century, and upon the site of which the present one was erected. The building so removed appears to have been a work of the thirteenth century.

The Ogham inscribed stone is a block of hard compact grit, of irregular form, rough and undressed, and having portions knocked off, evidently by violence; it measures 4 feet 10½ inches in length, 16 inches wide at centre, and from 9 to 11 inches thick; it bears on two angles of the same face the remains of one or more inscriptions. The line of characters on the left angle at present commences 2 feet 3 inches from the original bottom of the stone, continuing to the top and across the head; the inscription is much injured by flakes knocked off the angle, but the following characters are legible:—


 I E R A C O S [] A G [] G []

The angle, for some space before the first letter, has several spawls knocked off; there is, however, no appear-

ing letters. The name Dego has been found in legends from Dunlo, and St. Olan's Well ; and one of the Drumloghan find, in the county of Waterford, gives us " Deago Maqi Mucoi."

We now come to consider a very interesting feature in this example : upon the original base of this stone has been cut a cross of an ancient type ; it is formed of a broad band enclosed by an incised line ; the ends of the arms have rectangular cross-heads ; the same type is to be found on the Dromkeare stone, county of Kerry. One of the arms has been mutilated, a large piece having been knocked off the bottom. It is quite evident that the appropriation of this stone to Christian uses must have been long posterior to its use as a sepulchral memorial by a race who used the Ogham character. At a period when the knowledge of the Ogham had been lost, or when this memorial had ceased to command the veneration of succeeding generations, this pillar-stone had been appropriated by a Christian people ; a cross had been carved on the original bottom or uninscribed end of the stone, which was originally fastened in the earth ; it was turned upside down, the original top with its inscription being buried in the ground, placed probably as a monument over some deceased Christian. This is the story of this stone, as plain and palpable as if we were looking at the whole process. Subsequently we find that when the Mediæval church was building by the Anglo Norman settlers in Ossory, they found this block convenient for building purposes, and not having much respect for the monuments of the mere Irish, they worked it into the foundation of their church, mutilating it in the process. This stone was first noticed by Mr. Du Noyer, in the summer of 1849 (" Proceedings R. I. A.," Vol. VII., p. 252). A drawing of it will be seen in that gentleman's collection of sketches, Library Royal Irish Academy, Vol. I., No. 22 : the inscription there given is incorrect.

Dr. Samuel Ferguson considers this to be a Christian monument, and that the cross and inscription are coeval ; this of course is but a supposition, as the evidence of the stone itself is opposed to it. I have already shown that the cross is inscribed upon the original base, which was buried in the earth when the Oghams were first carved on

it. Dr. Ferguson is well aware that every pillar-stone of this class has an uninscribed end, of from 12 inches to 3 and 4 feet in length, according to the size of the stone, which went into the ground and was firmly secured there: in this case it was 20 inches, and as this was the only clear space available for the purpose upon the original base was the cross carved. Dr. Ferguson admits this, by his recognizing the reading of the right-hand angle from left to right, and from the bottom upwards. But this is not the only instance. The crosses on the Aglish, Ballinahunt, Mount Music, Trallong, and Tycoed stones, are all cut upon the original bases of the monuments: of this there can be no question, as the sequence of the reading of the inscriptions on all these is quite palpable. Dr. Ferguson has made a statement in our "Journal" that has taken me by surprise, as I am sure it will many students of archæology; it is as follows:—

"I do not know of any authority for the statement generally received with respect to crosses sculptured on Ogham inscribed stones,—that the early Christians were in the habit of marking inscribed Pagan monuments with the sign of the cross. The cross-signed Ogham monuments are very numerous. Mr. Hitchcock, in his list in the Library of the Academy, enumerates twenty-two instances." (p. 232, *supra*.)

The authority for such a statement is the well-known fact, authenticated by numberless examples, of the widespread custom adopted by the early Christians, of devoting monuments notoriously Pagan, such as pillar-stones, obelisks, temples, trees, wells, and other objects, to Christian uses. St. Patrick but followed the usual practice, when on his journey into Connaught he arrived at a place near Lough Hackett, in the present county of Galway, where he found three Pagan pillar-stones revered by the people:—"quæ gentilitas ibi in memoriam aliquorum facinorosorum vel gentilitium rituum posuit." ("Tripartite Life," ii., c. 52). On these stones our saint caused to be inscribed the names of the Redeemer—Jesus, Salvator, Soter. That this example was extensively followed, we have ample evidence in the rough monoliths so often met with, certainly never reared by Christians' hands, and upon which rude crosses are carved. That stones inscribed with Ogham characters should have been found on sites hallowed by Christianity is only reasonable to expect, as it is well known that very many of our early churches were erected

on sites professedly Pagan ; and that those inscribed memorials found on the spot should have been used as headstones to the graves of Christians, sanctified by the addition of the cross, is consistent with probability, and the practice of primitive Christianity.

The late Dr. Pettigrew, mentioning the appropriation of Pagan tombs and cemeteries at Cumæ, by the Christians, thus alludes to it as a very general custom :—

“ Fiorelli and others have cited many instances in which Christians have availed themselves of buildings and other various appliances which had belonged to Pagans, and been employed by them in purposes connected with their religion. Mabillon makes mention of the Christians having made use of the sarcophagus of P. Elio Sabino ; of Livia Primitiva ; of another of metallic porphyry, destined to contain the body of St. Helena, mother of Constantine ; of the urn of the young Tiberius Julius Valerianus, in which the remains of St. Andreola the martyr were placed ; and of others mentioned by Raoul Rochette, besides which, the Christians took also the sepulchral inscriptions of the idolators to ornament the tombs of the martyrs.” (“ Journal of the Archæological Association,” Vol. for 1858, p. 300).

In the letter of instructions given to St. Augustine for the conversion of England, by Pope Gregory, there is one very remarkable passage bearing on this subject. After instructing him that he was not to destroy the temples of the idols, but to consecrate them to the services of Christianity, he goes on to direct his action in other matters, as follows :—

“ It is said to be the custom of the men of this nation to sacrifice oxen. This custom must be changed into a Christian solemnity, and on the days of the dedication of their temples, turned into churches, as well as of the feasts of the saints, whose relics shall be there deposited, they shall be allowed as formerly to build their huts of boughs round these same churches, to assemble there, and to bring their animals which shall be killed by them, no longer as offerings to the devil, but as Christian banquets, in the name and to the praise of God, to whom they shall render thanks when they have satisfied their hunger. By reserving something for men’s outward joy, you will the more easily lead them to relish internal joy.” (Thierry “ Norman Conquest,” Book i., A. D. 601).

This system was extensively followed in Ireland in the primitive Christian times,—hence our pilgrimages to holy wells, to sacred places on mountain tops, to islands in lakes. Who can for a moment imagine that Christian hands ever raised the great stone monolith at Temple Brian, county of Cork, which stands near a stone circle, is eleven feet above ground, and has a Maltese cross inscribed on one of its faces,—not on the summit of the stone, but

about four and a half feet from the ground, within reach of the workman, evidently proving that this took place after the stone had been fixed in its birth. Fosbroke states that—“Stone Crosses owed their origin to marking the Druid stones with crosses, in order to change the worship without breaking the prejudice.” (“Fosbroke,” Vol. I., p. 109). The great obelisk in the Piazza di Minerva, which was formerly dedicated to the Grecian Goddess, was re-dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. (“Gent.’s Mag.,” Oct. 1854, p. 370). It is not necessary for me to quote other instances; hundreds of them are within my reach. I shall proceed to take some notice of the crosses found on Ogham inscribed stones; Dr. Ferguson states that twenty-two instances of such occur.

When we speak of crosses, so carved, we of course understand an emblem of such a form as expresses the age in which it was cut, and of such an execution as denotes care and thoughtfulness in the workman; a simple cross of two lines intersecting each other cannot be regarded as marking any age, or as laying claim to any antiquity; and further, when we find such rudely and superficially scratched, we cannot for a moment regard them as of any value in the controversy. Of the above number, eleven only bear crosses having such a distinctive type as I have described; these are Aglish, Ardovenagh, Ballintaggart, Brandon, Ballinahunt, Dromkeare, Gowran, Maumenorig, Mount Music, Trallong, and Tycoed; some of the above, as Brandon and Maumenorig, have two or more crosses cut on on them, evidently for their more effectual purgation from their original Paganism. Of the above eleven stones, seven of them have their crosses cut on their original bases, namely, Dromkeare, Ballinahunt, Aglish, Mount Music, Gowran, Trallong, and Tycoed.¹ Here are seven incontrovertible arguments in favour of the superior antiquity of the Oghams, and it happens with the other four, that the stones were of such a form as to permit the Christian artist to cut his cross where he pleased; with regard

¹ To which I would add an Ogham inscribed stone found at Keelogron, and which is now in the garden of the Convent of the Christian Brothers, at Chir-civeen; the cross is on the original base.

I could find nothing of a “singularly Christian purport” on it, as alluded to by Dr. Ferguson.—See his Paper printed in the October Number of our “Journal,” for 1872, p. 238.

to the other examples, Trabeg has an emblem of two plain incised lines, which may have been cut at any time within the last century, one arm of which interferes with a portion of the legend, which it would not have done had both been cut at the same time. The cross on that at Killenadreenagh is of the same form. I presume that Dr. Ferguson would consider the great monument at Ballintarmon as of Christian origin; this ponderous pillar-stone stands 12 feet 1 inch above ground, it is 3 feet 4 inches wide at the base, and 2 feet 5 inches thick; it bears a nearly defaced Ogham inscription on a left angle, evidently mutilated by the zealots who cut upon its lower part a rude cross. I wonder that it has never occurred to those gentlemen who have adopted the Christian theory of the origin of the Ogham to inquire, why it is that we have not found inscriptions of this class at all the great seats of primitive Christianity, and in association with Christian monuments, as for instance, Mungret, Emly, Cashel, Ardpatrick, Lismore, Clonmacnoise, Clonfert, Clonard, Downpatrick, Bangor, Louth, Monasterboice, Armagh, Kells, Glendaloch. At Ardmore, it is true, that three Ogham inscribed stones have been found, but no cross appears on them, and no word of Christian hope or benediction. Some hundreds of Christian grave-stones have been found in the above-mentioned localities, and are now being illustrated by our Association, in their yearly volumes, edited by Miss Stokes; these afford us a clear view of the sepulchral memorials of the early Gaedhelic Christians, upon which we find such pious formulæ as, "Oroit ar Máelbrite," i. e. "Pray for Máelbrite," occasionally varied by "Bendacht," i. e. "A blessing on," &c. In the Ogham inscriptions, on the contrary, we find, as I have before stated, no word of Christian hope or benediction, no allusion to any sacred name or circumstance, but the dry Pagan formula of "Cathal the son of Cormac." Much has been made out of one Ogham sentence stated to be found on a grave-stone at Clonmacnoise; as it no longer exists we must take it on trust; a representation of the fragment is to be found on Plate No. 2, Part I., of Miss Stokes' "Christian Inscriptions;" it shows a small cross with the name Colman in Irish letters, and the word *Bocht*, in Ogham characters, but written backwards; the letters are not formed in the same manner as on the

genuine monuments, but are arranged as in the example from the Books of Lecain and Ballymote, where the vowels are long scores vertical to the stem-line, and the consonantal scores oblique. If the above is a verified fact, it merely shows that some mediæval scribe familiar with the Ogham as preserved in MSS., out of a pedantic affectation carved this sentence backwards on Colman's grave-stone. The characters are cut on the face of the monument, on an incised stem-line.

- The crosses marked on the remaining nine are of the meanest type, most of them being mere scratches, and are not worthy of being noticed.

There is one fact, however, which in my opinion completely sets at rest this question, namely, that of the fifty-three Ogham inscribed stones known to be discovered in Rath-chambers, not one of which bears the sacred symbol: now, it is acknowledged that these stones were merely used as materials by the ancient Rath-builders, and that they had been removed from more ancient burial-places, and so used by a race who, contrary to the general character of the Gaedhil, felt no reverence for such memorials, though even of the dead. What inference can we draw from the above fact, but that these stones were so made use of before Christianity had made any progress in our isle? To my mind this fact has a significance that cannot be over-rated, and that invests them with an antiquity and an importance that will hereafter be recognized.

The subject has not been treated with the gravity it deserves; these venerable monuments, of which any other nation in Christendom would be proud, have been styled "tricks of the middle ages;" the inscriptions have been termed "phonetic puzzles," also, "inversions," also, "antitheticals," i. e., writing one thing and intending its opposite; while the inscribers of these monuments are represented as giving their deceased friends bad names—a habit the Gaedhil were certainly never given to, being rather inclined to sin in an opposite direction; and of inscribing their memorials in such a mysterious manner as to require a very ingenious expert to unravel. Since I commenced this article I have made a discovery of two new inscriptions, which afford additional proofs of the correctness of my views as already stated.

MEMOIR OF GABRIEL BERANGER, AND HIS LABOURS IN
THE CAUSE OF IRISH ART, LITERATURE, AND ANTI-
QUITIES FROM 1760 TO 1780, WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.¹

BY SIR W. R. WILDE, M. D.

(*Continued from Vol. I., fourth series, p. 260.*)

THE resumption of this valuable Memoir will, no doubt, be gladly received by the Association. Beranger's tour in Connaught was concluded in the "Journal" for 1870. His "Trips" in Leinster will, no doubt, prove equally interesting; and his biographer's notes and additional information will be welcomed. Half the expense of the illustrations is kindly defrayed by Sir William R. Wilde.—ED.

"TRIP TO GLANDALOUGH, OR SEVEN CHURCHES, COUNTY OF WICKLOW,
IN 1779.

"October 9th, having received our orders from Colonel Burton, I set out with Mr. Bigary² at 9 in the morning, being a rainy day; passed through Milltown, a village two miles from Dublin, and by the Castles of Dundrum, three and a-half miles; and Kilgobin, five and a-half miles from Dublin; passed through the Skalp, which is certainly a mountain split in two by some earthquake, or other revolution, time out of mind; the road is at the bottom of the split, and in each side rises to a great height; the parts of the mountain once joined being a composure of rock, in some places the convexes are visible on one side, and the concaves which contained them on the other; immense rocks, sticking out, supported by stones of smaller size, seem ready to tumble down and crush the amazed traveller; it gives an idea of the work of the giants heaping Ossa upon Pelion; the rain and wind prevented our stopping to draw a view of it, which we referred to our return. The Skalp is eight miles from Dublin. Arrived at Tinnahinch, small village ten miles from Dublin, almost drowned; went to the inn, where was neither fire nor a drop of spirits; got a fire made, but no spirits to be had; took each a pint of strong white wine, undressed and dried ourselves as well as we could at a fire which would not have broiled a sparrow; the horses having baited, set for-

¹ The time of the writer of Beranger's Memoir has been so much occupied with the compilation of the Irish Census of 1871, that he was unable to resume the continuation of these most valuable records. They will now be continued without much further interruption.

² Signor Bigari having become natural-

ized in this country, his name was pronounced Biggary. In the same way, when I asked an old lady not long since whether she remembered Monsieur Beranger, a French artist and antiquary, her answer was, "No, but I remember very well Mr. Burrenger, who, I suppose is the person you allude to."

wards; passed by Roundwood, a hamlet, and quitted the high road about eighteen miles from Dublin, turning to the right, which road is so bad and rocky that we were obliged to alight, the servant leading the horses. We arrived at a ford [probably Laragh], where we found several horsemen, the river, or rather torrent, running with such rapidity, that no one dared to cross it; we halted also, not knowing what to do; at last two countrymen mounted upon one horse took courage, and went in; but being just passed the middle, the force of the water threw down the horse, but keeping hold of him by the mane, he swam on shore, and they were saved; this was no encouragement for any of us to follow, but the servant insisted it could be done; he went in, crossed safely, and came back to bring us over, we mounted in the chaise, and he riding before, went in after him; when we were in the middle, our horse, frightened by the noise and waves of the torrent, refused to go on; the servant took hold of his head, and we gave him the whip, but notwithstanding he kept us some minutes in the greatest anxiety, and fear of being drowned; at last we conquered him, and went over, followed by a string of horsemen, who all came over safe. About half-a-mile further, in sight of Derrybane, the residence of James Chritchly, Esq.,¹ we met another of these torrents, over which a bridge is begun; but as the piers for the arches are only finished, the same obstacle kept us for some time consulting; and again, encouraged by our servant, followed him, and arrived safe at Derrybane, past five in the evening, where, by the care of the good family, we found ourselves so comfortably that Mr. Bigary said to me, he thought himself again in Connaught. As it was dark before dinner was over, did not do anything this day.

"October 10th, fair day, went with Mr. Chritchly to the Seven Churches, distant half-a-mile; drew and plan, and came home sooner as it began to rain.

"October 11th, storm and rain all day; could not stir out of doors, worked at our sketches.

"October 12th, showery day, set out with Mr. Chritchly, and worked at the monastery; and as the river, which surrounds part of the churches, was not then fordable, went to Prince's Church [the Reafert], near the Lake, drew and plan; digged under a stone with Greek characters, but found nothing; came back to a hill facing the churches [on the south side], where, on the declivity and shelter of a rock, we ate a good cold dinner which Mr. Chritchly had ordered to be brought there; the road to the Prince's Church, near the lake, is in rainy weather a continued bog, and one is obliged all the way to leap from stone to stone, which have been put there to prevent one sinking.

"October 13th, set out before breakfast, and finished at the monastery; after breakfast went to the Churches, the river being fordable on horseback; worked there the whole day, tho' often obliged by showers to shelter. Mr. Chritchly came for us in the evening; got home through a heavy shower, almost drowned.

¹ The Chritchly family of Derrybane are now extinct in that locality. The property and house belongs to Captain Bookey, who is connected with the Chritchlys through the female line. He owns the Abbey, or Monastery Church,

at Glendalough, upon the north side of the river. Properly speaking it is not one of the "Seven Churches," being some distance to the eastward of the enclosure known under that term, to be explained hereafter.

“October 14th, rain and wind all day, no stirring abroad, worked at our sketches.

“The Seven Churches, described by Sir James Ware, are situated in a small valley surrounded by high mountains, near a small lough, divided in two parts by a long flat slip of land; part of the churches, viz., Cathedral, Kevan’s House, Priest Church, and Lady’s Church, are in the valley, and surrounded by a river, which after rain is not fordable for a horseman. Prince’s Church, on this [south] side the river, is situate near the Lough at the foot of a hill; the Monastery, also on this side the river is nearer to Derrybane, in a field on the edge of the river; a few houses are scattered in this valley, but no accommodation can be got there.

“October 15th, cloudy day, set out for the Churches; worked, though interrupted by showers; a very heavy one obliged us to take shelter under the door of Lady’s Church, which being unroofed, had only the thickness of the wall (three feet) to cover us, here we had a fine view of the Lake, with the effect of the sun darting its rays through a cloud, and lighting only one side of the mountains, leaving the rest enveloped in darkness; which I drew.—See Plate. The shower being over, continued working and finished all, after which we adjourned to Kevan’s House, where we found a dinner which was sent us from Derrybane; dined on the stone altar, and when done left the servants to eat their dinner, and adjourned to a closet or chappel annexed, to drink our bottle; returned in the dusk to Derrybane. Storm and rain during the whole night.

“October 16th, fair, but the river not fordable until past 12. Took leave of Mr. Chritchly and family; went on slowly, past safe the two fords, and stopped to bait at Enniskerry, near Tinnehinch. Our servant here told us that he had made a recruit of Lord Powerscourt’s coachman, and that they would both keep close to the chaise, as it should be dark before we arrived in Dublin, and that road being frequented by robbers required us to be on our guard; accordingly we set out, but could not stop to draw a view of the Skalp; night overtook us at Miltown, where our servant discovered two suspicious fellows in the road, who would not stir, though called to, to go out of the way of the carriage; but on showing my pistols, they stepped aside, and we arrived safe in Dublin in the dark.”

The plate to which the above allusion was made is No. 8 in one of the small sketch-books now in my possession, and is thus described in the manuscript appended thereto:—

“Glen-da-lough, Co. of Wicklow, 22 miles from Dublin. This place is known also by the name of the 7 Churches, which appellation it has received from the remains of as many consecrated buildings in its neighbourhood, which are still visited and revered by Roman Catholics; the Churches have been described often, and views of them published. I here present only a view of the Lough; it is situated at the end of an extensive glen, surrounded by mountains, which gives it the appearance of the bottom of a well, where the rays of the sun penetrate some hours latter than in other parts of the country. This spot is uninhabited, wild and romantick; a long and narrow slip of ground seems to divide the

Lough in two parts, but I believe the separation to be only apparent, as the water on each side this slip of ground is equal in height, and the slip itself so soft and boggy that it could not bear my weight, as I sunk in it to the knee on the very first step I made, to try to cross it. This view was taken in October, on a stormy and rainy day; some rays of the sun, escaping thro' the black clouds and illuminating one side of the mountains, produced the fine effect here represented, and induced me to draw it whilst I was sheltering under a small door in a thick wall of one of the unroofed Churches."

It would thus appear that this view was taken from the doorway of the Lady's Church, a short distance to the south-west of the Cathedral, where it is said Sir Walter Scott long remained in meditation when visiting these ruins. The doorway is one of the most remarkable at Glendalough, and has been described by Petrie, who also figured the cross which is carved upon the under side of the lintel.—See Petrie's "Round Towers," p. 170.

In the "Notes and Anecdotes" appended upon the fly leaf opposite Beranger's description of Glendalough we find the following memoranda :—

"Glendalough,—formerly a Bishoprick, was annexed to the see of Dublin in 1214—*Ware*. The remains of all those churches and chapells and not the least trace to be seen here of any dwelling-house, seems to confirm the opinion of some authors, that the palaces and houses of the ancient Irish were made of wattles and plaister, and that churches and chappels only were made of stone and mortar, and those not until the 9th century. See Warner's introduction to his History of Ireland, page 128 to 130."

There are no remains of palaces or domestic dwellings of any account until the later days of Rome, Pompeii, and Herculaneum, except, perhaps, those in Moab, which are hewn out of the solid rock. I have often been struck with this circumstance, when pondering over the ruins of the fanes and temples of Greece, and in Asia and Africa. The people in those days must evidently have *lived* in small wattled huts or houses of diminutive proportions.

"Derrybane.—Remember Mr. Bigary, fond of the gisard of a fowl, made a devil; got one so seasoned as to be uneatable, consequence of it, and merriment it afforded. His fall in a bog; the figure he made; his observations: The sun not seen at the Churches, but 2 hours after the County had seen it. The Valley not unlike the bottom of a well. St. Kevin's bed, over the lake, where none of us dared to clamber up, tho' ladies do it every day to lie on the Saint's bed to avoid dying in childbed. The lake divided in

two parts by a long narrow slip of ground, is no real division. Experiment I made on this. The water equal in height. Sunk in it to the top of my boots, the slip being a bog, &c. Curious carved stone [St. Kevin's] I found at Priest Church, which escaped Mr. Burton and his company, when encamped there with some gentlemen and artists, as the stone had the carving downwards."

Thus far for Beranger's description, and his and Bigari's visit to Glendalough. In, however, one of his large books of illustrations there are some most valuable Indian-ink drawings, and also copious notes respecting some of the remains as they stood in 1779, which have been made use of by others. For many years I was in the habit of visiting "The Churches" on the eve of the *Pattern*, or patron Saint's day, and remaining until the faction fights were likely to commence, about 3 o'clock P. M., on 23 June, when it was rather an unsafe locality, unless a stipendiary magistrate and about 100 police could keep the combatants, the Byrnes, Tools, and Farrells, &c., separate. The scene was remarkable, and I and my friends often spent a large portion of the night walking among the ruins, where an immense crowd usually had bivouaced, or were putting up tents and booths, or cooking their evening meal, gipsy-wise, throughout the space of the sacred enclosure. As soon as daylight dawned, the tumbling torrent over the rocks and stones of the Glendasan river to the north of "The Churches" became crowded with penitents wading, walking, and kneeling up St. Kevin's Keeve, many of them holding little children in their arms.¹ "The Deer Stone" was visited by strangers and pilgrims, and always found to contain water! The guides arranged the penitential routes, or conducted tourists round the ruins with the usual forms of expression used by their class. Dancing, drinking, thimble-rigging, prick-o'-the-loop, and other amusements, even while the bare-headed venerable pilgrims, and bare-kneed voteens were going their prescribed rounds, continued. Towards evening the fun became "fast and furious;" the pilgrimages ceased, the dancing was arrested, the pipers and fiddlers escaped to places of security, the keepers of tents and booths looked to their gear—the crowd thickened, the

¹ One of Mr. Erskin Nicholl's early pictures painted about the time I have

above alluded to illustrates the scene here referred to.

brandishing of sticks, the "hoshings" and "wheelings," and "hieings" for their respective parties showed that the faction fight was about to commence among the tombstones and monuments, and that all religious observances, and even refreshments were at an end. Police and Magistrates were often required. What a change has taken place during the last twenty years! The present worthy parish priest, one Pattern day some twenty years ago, collected the sticks of the combatants, and by his mild but determined influence assuaged the angry feelings aroused simply by the contiguity of the combatants. The Patron Saint's day at Glendalough on 3rd June is no longer celebrated. The pilgrimages round the Cathedral and sacred enclosure are almost forgotten; even the present guides seldom bring the tourists to St. Kevin's Kieve. A bridge has been thrown across the brawling torrent; an admirable hotel, with greenhouses and shrubberies on the river's brink, invites the traveller; gravelled walks and plantations of young trees and shrubs conduct to the Round Tower and the Cathedral; loud-clothed young men from Dublin establishments play accordions; or brass bands proceed in procession with their respective crowds of admiring gossoons and colleens to make the usual circuit of the place. Even the surrounding scene has been changed; streams of grey material from the mines pour down the mountain sides, poisoning the lakes; increasing without fertilizing the slip of land that intervened between the upper and lower water; and pouring down along the river's brink, have rested wherever a bed lay for their deposit. Old Winder and the other guides who pressed their services upon you in former days, as—"I'm the rale guide, yer honor, that brought Sir Walther Scott into the Churches,—Howenever, I put Miss Edgeworth into St. Kevin's bed—I guided Lady Morgan and Mrs. Hall, and all the rest of yees; I can repate the poethry of Tommy Moore—

‘By that Lake, whose gloomy shore
Skylark ne’er hath warbled o’er,’—

I’ll show yees King O’Toole’s bed, and tell the height of the Round Tower, for I taught it all to the great Dr. Petrie,” &c. &c.—are of the past.

Well, some of this has been transmitted to a few old crones of Cathleens, but in a very degenerate form. The

gloom of the surrounding mountains, the wild desolation of the scene of the valley of Glendalough, of which so much has been already written, seems to be passing away. With it, unhappily, the ruins are becoming more and more dilapidated. Let us see how they now stand in the summer of 1873, as compared with their condition in 1779.

It is a mistake to suppose there were exactly seven churches originally in the valley of Glendalough. Beginning from the east, we first meet on the north side of the river the Abbey or Monastery or Church of St. Saviour, as it is indifferently called.¹ It is now almost a heap of stones, although surrounded by an oval enclosing fence, and is crowded with trees, briars, and bushes. Among its ruins may be found a large collection of highly sculptured stones, which chiefly formed the beautiful clustered pillars and highly ornamented semicircular choir arch, which, when in its prime, must have been one of the very finest specimens of architecture in Ireland. It was probably of the 12th or early part of the 13th century, and the stone of which this ornamentation was made appears to have been foreign. There was probably a primitive doorway in the western end of the nave. I do not think that the fact of a square-headed sloping-jamb doorway militates against the idea of a 12th century choir arch of the most elaborate character, for I hold that such arches may have been, and absolutely were, inserted into or added to some of our early churches long subsequent to their original foundation.

One of the more recent causes of the dilapidation of this, as indeed of most structures still existing at Glendalough, is owing to trees, some of which press upon or occasionally shake the walls from without, and, in times of storm, bring down portions of the ruins. But by far the most destructive influence, for some time past, has consisted in the wall

¹ When and why the ruined Abbey Church dedicated, as stated by Archdall, to St. Peter and St. Paul, was first called the "Priory of St. Saviour," as now marked on the Ordnance Map, is unknown to me. It would appear that this church, with its beautiful arch and pillars, had remained partially buried underneath the general mass of rubbish, probably for centuries; and this may account for the

preservation of so many sculptured stones. Upwards of a century ago, Mr. Evans of Avondale, M. P. for Wicklow, cleared this rubbish out and came upon the structure now under consideration.

The jumble of names of places and buildings made by writers respecting this part of Glendalough is really remarkable; many instances might be cited in proof of such.

trees—chiefly ash and thorn, that have grown on the tops or sides of the walls, and, spreading their roots through every crevice, have been for several years bringing down some of the most valuable portions of the ruins.

Besides what Beranger wrote in the foregoing, and those descriptions attached to his drawings relating to the ruins of the Abbey, to be referred to hereafter, I think the following, from the graphic pen of the Rev. Mervyn Archdall, published in 1786, in his valuable "*Monasticon Hibernicum*," requires insertion here.

"The ruins of this Abbey (being the first which a traveller perceives) are situated in the bottom of the vale, and consist of two buildings parallel to each other (the larger one in the south being the church). On the east end of the abbey is an arch, of extremely curious workmanship; the columns on the side recede one behind another, and are very short, but do not diminish; the capitals are ornamented in a singular manner, most of them with human heads at the angles, and dragons or other fabulous animals at the sides; the heads have much the appearance of those in Egyptian sculpture, with large ears, long eyes, and the tresses of the hair straight; the ring-stones of the arch are indented triangularly, in imitation of the Saxon architecture, and in some parts human heads and other ornaments are within the triangular mouldings. On the removal of some heaps of rubbish from under the ruins of this arch, a few stones beautifully carved were found, many of them belonging to the arches, and some to the architrave of the window; the architrave is twelve inches broad, and a panel is sunk, ornamented lozenge-wise, and an ovolo forms the lozenge with a bead running on each side; the centre of the lozenge is decorated on one side in bas-relief, with a knot delicately carved; the other with a flower in the centre, and mouldings corresponding to the shape of the lozenge. The half lozenge, at the bottom of the pilaster, in one is filled with a bas-relief of a human head, with a bird on each side pecking at the eye, and the other by a dragon, twisting its head round, and the tail turned up between its legs into the mouth. Here is another stone, apparently the capital of a column; two sides of it are visible, both are ornamented with patera, but each side in a different manner; one consists of a flower of sixteen large leaves and fifteen smaller ones, relieved the eighth of an inch, and the other, of six leaves branching from the centre, with another leaf extending between their points."¹

Petrie has given a lengthened description of this Church, and has figured many of the stones of the choir arch still remaining there, in his work on "*Ecclesiastical Architecture, &c.*;" in which will likewise be found a beautiful

¹ Dr. Petrie, when quoting this passage (see "*Ecc. Arch. and R. T.*"), says Archdall took it "from the notes written by the Artists for Colonel Conyngham."

There does not appear to be any authority for this statement; and if it had been a quotation, the author of the *Monasticon* would probably have given it as such.

illustration of the clustered pillars, including the base and capital, which supported the right or southern side of the structure from which the arch sprung. The left or northern group of pillars and pilasters is nearly as it was in the days of Beranger. It certainly is remarkable that there are no Christian emblems among these remains; nearly all the sculptures appear to be of Grecian origin.

Within the enclosure there are two or three tombstones, but at present no burials take place there. This ruin is on the property of Captain Bookey, of Derrybane, who has informed me that he intends clearing out the enclosure, repairing, and, as far as possible, restoring the chancel arch, and surrounding the place with a proper fence. At the time of the foreign artists' visit they made a ground plan of the interior, giving its dimensions with great accuracy. Within that sketch—which will be of importance in case any clearance or restoration is undertaken—I find the following in Beranger's handwriting, at the east end of the plan; "Altar or tomb, of one stone 5 feet by 2 feet 11 in." No traces of that are now visible, but it may be hidden by superincumbent stones and rubbish. He then goes on to write—

"Inside plan of the old building called the Monastery of Glendalough, as it was in October 1779. There are six pilasters, or rather half columns [three on each side], A. B. C. D. E. F. I measured one marked A, and found the following dimensions:—capital $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, column 4 feet, base 8 inches, pedestal 8, total height 6 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. I believe this whole building was arched, as the beginning of the arch is visible on the top of the side walls. I measured the height from the ground to spring of the arch, and found it 6 feet 4 inches."

At the bottom of the sketch, and relating to the western end of the nave, is marked in a number of loose stones, and he here adds,—

"All this are stones of a ruined wall, in which I suppose the windows were placed to light the building, but none others appear in what remains of the above plan, but only recesses in the wall. The whole is unroofed at present."

He likewise marks in the sketch the site of the southern doorway of the nave, which appears to have been a description of porch leading into the outward enclosure. On the ground plan are marked four recesses in the wall, three on the south, and one on the north, about 3 feet from the

bottom, but which do not go through, nor admit light. I tested them recently, and found their old measurements most correct.

Except Archdall, no authority has recorded the existence of an eastern window, so that probably this small chancel—only 13 feet 10 inches by 11 feet 5 inches—was illuminated by artificial light from the candles on the altar, which must have had a fine effect, while the beautiful arch was displayed to the congregation of worshippers by the natural light admitted through whatever windows originally existed in the nave. Beranger made fifteen Indian-ink drawings of the carved stones at the Monastery, and in the description thereto says :—

“ A parcel of carved stones lay about the ground of the Monastery, which I believed formed an arch from pillaster F. to pillaster C. [the outside ones]. There is a good number of them, some well preserved, some others defaced. I designed a few on the spot, of which here annexed is the plan, and five views of the carvings of six others.”

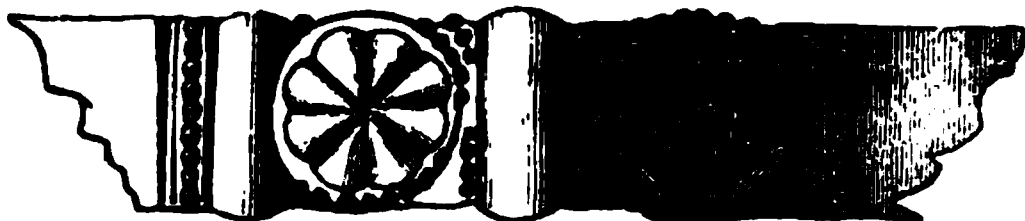
Beranger's drawings of the voussoirs of Chancel Arch, Monastery Church.

Within the outline of one of these ground plan sketches he has written—

“ Plan of one of the stones which I suppose to have formed the arch of y^e entrance under y^e arch.”

The foregoing illustration is copied with fidelity from Beranger's drawing as it stands in the book already referred to. The cat-headed figures on the right, however, should be

tete-a-tete at the angle. Of the remaining stones, they have been for the most part represented by Petrie, either from original drawings, or from copies of those made by Beranger and Bigari.



There is, however, Beranger's drawing of Voussoir, at Chancel Arch of Monastery.

one given by Petrie which I thought it necessary to reproduce from Beranger's drawing, as it exhibits a higher style of art than that figured at page 262 of the "Round Towers."

Within the confines of the pillars, or upon the remains of the eastern wall, are piled up a great number of these carved stones, and among them a large semicircular one, which may have been the key of the choir arch, as it is somewhat too large to have formed the head or top of an east window in so small a space.

No greater benefit could be conferred on the memory of early Irish Ecclesiastical Art, than the clearance, preservation, and, where possible, the restoration of this beauteous structure. Like other ruins at Glendalough, it is going hourly to decay, and the trees growing within and without are largely assisting to hasten that undesirable end. Had the Bill of my friend Sir John Lubbock, for the preservation of National Monuments in Great Britain and Ireland, passed into law; had the Treasury granted supplies, and proper skilled artists been employed thereon, a great boon would have been conferred upon the United Kingdom. As matters now stand, the Board of Public Works may, under the provisions of the Irish Church Act (with, I presume, the sanction of the proprietors), commence operations upon the Rock of Cashel, upon the preservation of the Seven Churches of Glendalough, the falling Round Tower of Kilmacduach, and the other Round Towers, Abbeys, Churches, and ecclesiastical ruins in Ireland; but when that body does so, I hope it will be with care, archæological as well as architectural skill, just reverence for the ground on which they tread, and a due appreciation of the feelings of an excitable people, who honour the shrines of their forefathers, and the graves of their immediate ancestors.

With respect to Ledwich's observations on Glenda-

lough, and his assertion that the architecture of the Monastery is "Danish," it has been so completely refuted by Petrie, that I do not think it necessary to discuss it here. I may, however, add from personal knowledge that there is no ancient Scandinavian architecture at all resembling that at the Monastery of Glendalough, a locality which Ledwich describes as having "from the earliest ages . . . been a favourite seat of superstition," &c. Books and pictures may enable the antiquary to draw up parallels or present similitudes, for or against his own particular impression or theory. But this will not always suffice. A true antiquary should possess an eyesight knowledge of the structures, outdoor monuments, and the weapons, tools, ornaments, and implements, of other countries beside his own ; his eyes should be accustomed to look on such structures, and his taste educated, before he can pronounce dogmatically upon subjects of this nature. Had the Rev. Dr. Ledwich been thus learned, it would not have required so much time, space, or learning, to have been expended upon the refutation of his theories.

In lieu of public Governmental care, individuals and associations of liberal-minded patriotic men have, from time to time, done something to preserve the monuments of our country. See what has been done at Roscommon Abbey, at Cong, at Kilkenny, Clonmacnoise, Adare, and other places, where individual or united exertion has succeeded in preserving from destruction ruins that were going to decay. In 1870 Dr. Purefoy Colles of the Indian Army,—my late most distinguished pupil and friend,—struck by the dilapidations and desecration of Glendalough, set on foot a subscription for its preservation, and procured a sum of money for that purpose, the disposal of which now rests with the Council of this Association. It is a matter of more than regret, it is one of sorrow to his friends as well as to his family, that the untimely death of this good Irishman should have left undone the work that he proposed to effect at Glendalough. The funds he collected may go to other, but I doubt to more worthy, purposes.

In connexion with this, the first of the most eastern structures in the Vale of Glendalough, it is right to

mention that the whole story of the life of St. Kevin, translated from both Latin and Irish, as well as collected from English sources, and the description of the ruins as they existed in 1839—the drawings made of the most remarkable edifices, and also transcripts of some of those by Beranger, can be found in John O'Donovan's Letters, in the great collection of the Ordnance Memoirs now in the possession of the Royal Irish Academy.

The rapid torrent that passes eastward within a few perches of the Monastery has largely helped to preserve that ruin from further spoliation. Proceeding westward along the river, we are now struck with the extraordinary change that has taken place, owing to the deposit of the lead material which has been washed down from the mines at the upper end of the valley, and has altered the streamway in many respects. Passing upwards on the south side of the river, we meet with St. Kevin's Well, a very beautiful limpid spring, renowned for its curative powers in various ways.

Following up the itinerary commenced at the eastern end of the valley, and before we come to "The Churches" proper, we meet upon a rising bank on the north side of the river, and immediately adjoining the main road, the ruins of "Trinity Church," or, as it was formerly called, "The Ivy Church," from the quantity of that glorious green decorator, and, occasionally, preserver, of our monuments that crowded over its ancient tower in former days. This building is on the joint property of Captain Hugo and Major Longfield, and, with characteristic taste and feeling, they have not only agreed to, but have assisted to preserve it, and have placed that preservation in the hands of the writer of this memoir, and the Rev. Eugene Clarke, the worthy Parish Priest of Derrylassery, the parish in which Glendalough is situated.

Before proceeding to describe in detail the characteristics of Trinity Church, we should see whether there is any drawing or other memorial of it which can give an idea of its character at the time of Beranger's visit in 1779. In the 2nd volume of his large book of drawings (now the property of Dr. Edmond Sharkey of Ballinasloe), we find, in Plate 24, a large coloured sketch of Glendalough and the surrounding scenery, taken from the immediate vicinity of Trinity Church, and copied from "the Earl of

Portarlinton's original drawing," and on which Beranger has written, "I compared this on the spot, and found it very exact." At first it would appear that the artist stood a little to the south-east of the church, but from that point one cannot obtain the view of the two lakes and the large cross in the Cathedral enclosure. On, however, passing up a few yards over the high bank on the north side of the adjoining road, the general view faithfully represented in the drawing can be obtained. I, therefore, suppose that when the artist had finished the general sketch, he came down to the place already indicated, and added in as a foreground the tower, and south-western end of the church, such

Beranger's drawing of the Round Tower, Trinity Church.

as is here faithfully represented, reduced one-fourth by Mr. G. A. Hanlon, and I believe it is the only truthful illustration of the condition of this ruin one hundred years ago, and that all others are spurious imitations. The perpendicular dotted line on the right marks the extent of the original drawing. The western gable has fallen, ex-

cept a small portion at the northern corner. Although the most accessible, being immediately adjoining the main road, Trinity Church has been—from its seclusion by the trees, and the fact that no burials occur there, and that it did not form part of the route of pilgrims—by far the best preserved structure remaining at Glendalough:¹ and in one of O'Donovan's Ordnance Letters (written in 1839) he says "it is the most curious, and of its age the most perfect specimen of an ancient Dainhliag that I have yet seen; and I have seen many."

In this present summer of 1873, it was rapidly going to destruction, chiefly from injury by the trees growing upon its walls, and which had in several places, but especially upon the southern side wall of the nave, thrown in their roots with such energy as to bulge outwards some of the largest stones, particularly beneath the small round-headed window; and in other places they have been shaking the ruin to its foundation. As I write, all these have been carefully cut away, and their roots and stumps can be destroyed,

¹ "On entering [the glen] from the east we first," says Ledwich, "reach the Ivy Church, so called from being enveloped in the umbrage of this plant. The belfry is circular, and shows one of the first attempts to unite the Round Tower with the body of the church." That author has likewise given two general views of Glendalough, from the fertile but rather imaginative pencil of Mr. W. Beauford, but both would appear to have been manufactured. In a supplemental Plate (opposite p. 161, not 155), Ledwich gives a view of Trinity Church and its tower, standing out somewhat distinct; however, in Grose's *Antiquities*, to which the same author wrote the description, there is an engraving of Glendalough, which he says was "taken from an original drawing by Dr. Wynne." It is a miserable and evident plagiarism from Lord Portarlington's picture, copied and compared by Beranger, as already stated at p. 458, *supra*. The artist, not understanding perspective and the original point of view from which the drawing was made, has placed the south doorway in the eastern gable of Trinity Church! The more one looks into Ledwich's writings, the more he must be convinced as to their inaccuracies as assertions of facts, and descriptions of localities. At p. 79 of

Grose, vol. ii., as well as in his "*Antiquities*," he described the Ivy Church and the Trinity Church as separate buildings, and *both* with Round Tower Belfries!

The incongruity of writers in naming the churches in the valley of Glendalough is remarkable. Even Archdall, usually very accurate, has fallen into this error, in giving a separate name and place to the "Priory of St. Saviour" (the Abbey or Monastery already described), although his description tallies with the Monastery only; and in addition to Trinity Church he recounts and describes the Ivy Church, and says, "nothing worthy of remark can be found in this building." One of the last writers upon Glendalough, who has illustrated his book on "*Cuthites*" with the beautiful woodcuts originally made for the second volume of Petrie's immortal work, calls Trinity Church "St. Mochua-rog's Temple," and describes "St. Saviour's Church" as the "Priest's House," and says that one pier of the chancel arch is still in its original position; so that I suppose the second was not pointed out to him at the time of his visit. I possess a beautiful water-coloured drawing of Glendalough, taken by the late John Connolly, during one of our trips to that locality thirty years ago.

to prevent further growth or sprouting. The church shows a nave and chancel running not quite due east, but a little to the south of east—a circumstance not quite uncommon in early Irish churches, and said to depend upon the season of the year when the foundations were laid. In the clear, the nave is 29 feet 6 inches, by 17 feet 6 inches, and was, in addition to its doors, lighted by a small round-headed window in the S. E. wall. It, and the chancel arch, have been figured by Petrie in the "Round Towers," and by Wakeman in his valuable "Handbook of Irish Antiquities," and the original sketches, some of which were, I believe, drawn by the late Mr. Du Noyer, may be seen in O'Donovan's Letters preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. With the exception of the outer key-stone, which has drooped a little, this arch is in most perfect preservation, and is certainly one of the finest of its kind in Ireland. The dressed stone arches are double, with a rubble masonry arch turned between; a portion of the gable remains. The chancel itself, much smaller than the nave, measures 13 feet 7 inches long, by 6 feet 3 inches broad, and was lighted by a very beautiful round-topped window, small, but deeply splayed internally on all sides, and with stanchion holes above and below: a small angle-headed window exists in the south wall. A wall of loose stones recently divided the chancel and nave—erected apparently for the purpose of a cattle shed or pigstye. That has likewise been removed, and the floor of both structures carefully cleared out—when a decorated mill-stone was discovered.

Of the southern doorway, within a few feet of the west end, nothing remains but the lower dressed jambs, but other stones, lately in the western doorway, have been replaced without much trouble. There is an entire breach in the wall here upwards, but the continuity of the side-line of the church is preserved above by the matted roots of the ancient thorns that were growing there, and they have been for the present preserved. Questions have arisen among describers as to whether this doorway was round or pointed, but from the illustration given at page 458, I incline to the former opinion, as the other drawings cannot be depended upon; moreover, we lately discovered some of the curved top stones of the circular arch. On the outside of all the ends

where the side-walls rise into the gables, we find those remarkable projecting stones (six in all), so commonly seen in ancient Irish churches, and which look like early attempts at gargoyls. Upon the stone which forms the semicircular head of the east window, there is a projection like a weather-moulding or string-course similar to what is seen above the western doorway of St. Kevin's House and elsewhere.

One of the most curious features of Trinity Church is the remains of the building at its western end. On entering the nave, and having observed the beautiful choir arch, attention is at once directed to the very perfect square-headed doorway with sloping jambs which occupies the centre of the western gable, and was lately filled with the stones of the southern doorway. Appended to this end of the church as a subsequent building, but evidently abutting upon, but not incorporated with it, are the ruins of a small quadrangular structure, now measuring in the clear 10 feet 3 inches by 10 feet, and only approachable by the ancient doorway already referred to. Its north and west walls are still tolerably perfect, and in the former is a small circular-headed light, deeply splayed internally, where it measures 3 feet 10 inches high, and 1 foot 11 inches across at the middle, but widens below like the ancient square doorways. Above it are the remains of the arch, which supported the Round Tower Belfry alluded to, and delineated in Beranger's illustrations, as shown by the accompanying illustration, drawn to scale, and recently taken, under my superintendence, by Mr. Wakeman, from the south-western angle of the building.

Here on the N. side we observe the remains of the arch, and the dotted outline above shows the probable site of the Round Tower Belfry like that at St. Kevin's House, and formerly at Nesson's Church on Ireland's Eye. The ancient doorway is 6 feet high, 2 feet 6 inches wide at top, and enlarges 3 inches at bottom, and its wall is 2 feet 10 inches thick. The gable above it now rises to a height of 7 feet from the side wall, and was evidently not in any way connected structurally with the Belfry. The southern dry wall, although composed of the original stones, is undoubtedly modern, and is thus accounted for:—Some forty

years ago, one of those travelling voteens or "Hermits," clad in the usual garb of such persons, with a long beard, bare



Interior of Sacristy, Trinity Church.

feet, ragged russet garment, a long stick, a cord round his waist, his exposed neck and breast hung over with amulets, &c., in fact, only wanting the scallop shell to picture him as a veritable pilgrim of the days of the Crusades,—arrived at Glendalough and took up his abode at Trinity Church. The good people of the neighbourhood cleared out the base of the belfry for the reception of this holy man, built up the south wall, and roofed it. He disappeared from the locality suddenly, and matters have remained so since. That the Tower was erected as a belfry long subsequent to the nave admits of no doubt; and it adds another proof to those already adduced as to the Christian origin, and one of the *later* uses of the Round Towers.

A little to the west of this church, and opposite a neighbouring cottage, stands a rough upright block very like a pillar-stone.

Proceeding down the road—with the tall grey spectre-like form of the Tower catching the eye at every turn—we pass the supposed site of the ancient city of Glendalough ; although some authorities assign the river's bank near the Abbey as its locality. There is here seen the rude shaft of the "market cross," of mica slate, 3ft. 8in. over ground, and a raised cross within it ; but it may have been only one of those marking the boundary of the ecclesiastical enclosure. So on, to the little hamlet where Jordan's most comfortable hotel invites to rest and refreshment ; and a substantial bridge placed a little to the east of the old stepping-stones or *togher* carries us over the brook, where we often waited for hours to cross, when the mountain floods of the Glendasan stream were hurrying onwards by St. Kevin's road to the Glendalough river a little below the hotel. Those two streams enclose the central and most notable group of monuments at "The Churches." They and the surrounding mineral-producing mountains on the northern side are now the property of the Irish Mining Company, who have planted and "laid out" all the ground on the north and east of the general grave-yard. They have also planted with larch, now in a most flourishing condition, the whole southern face of the mountain, and have likewise restored the fallen arch of the two that once formed the portal of the sacred enclosure leading into the Cathedral, and have placed an iron gate there. The guides of any intelligence can conduct tourists by the ancient Causeway, known as "Kevin's road" to the site of "Kevin's Keeve," now bordered on the southern side by a saw-mill ; and will also show the various *bullawns* or rock indentations in that locality, and recite the many wonders and legends especially connected with their callings.

Passing into the overcrowded grave-yard, attention is at once attracted by the Round Tower, said to be 110 feet high, with its rather rude unmoulded circular-headed doorway. The upper portion is going fast to decay ; and if the Board of Public Works, under the provisions of the 25th section of the Irish Church Act, and with that laudable desire which should animate a commission of educated Irish gentlemen, undertake any of the preservations at Glendalough,

they will do well, and deserve national gratitude, for having pinned with coloured mortar and otherwise repaired this Tower. Putlock holes may be observed in this structure, showing that it was built by means of scaffolding from without. Petrie assigns the seventh century as the probable date of its erection.

A recent English writer, of intelligence and observation, has dogmatically pronounced this tower to be of the "twelfth century." For myself, I am really wearied of hearing opinions of this description pronounced *ex cathedra* as to the *exact date* of the erection of our ancient buildings, between the years 900 and 1300, or perhaps even later.

The Cathedral has often been described: with the exception of its western gable and the grand square-headed doorway therein, it is now a complete ruin, and so filled with grave-stones that it might be a hazardous experiment to attempt an excavation of its interior. Immediately within the enclosure at the western end stands a row of upright grave-stones, that I fear even an Act of Parliament will not be able to remove without trespassing upon what may be justly considered by the inhabitants sacred ground, as containing the remains of their ancestors. On the inner face of this western gable we observe a circular stone built into the wall. It looks like the nether stone of a quern or hand-mill. The portion of the western gable to about the top of doorway is undoubtedly what would be termed Cyclopean masonry, with the stones indented into each other, but the upper portion of the wall is evidently of lighter material, and apparently a subsequent structure. Over the lintel of the square-headed doorway an arch has been turned, apparently to relieve the rather thin stone when the upper and more modern superstructure was constructing, probably centuries after the original door was erected. In this lintel may be seen the hinge holes. In many of the ruins in this locality these bolt or hinge holes have been wantonly injured for the sake of the bits of iron they contained.

In the sketches already referred to we have a very perfect representation of the western gable, with its buttresses, Cyclopean masonry, square-headed doorway, and overtopping arch. It is thus described by the old Dutchman:—

“ West front of the building called the Cathedral of Glendalough, two side pilasters and the four first rows of stones above ground are cut square, and some stones grooved in one another as seen in the drawing, having copied them one by one. The rest upwards is built with rough stones of all sizes ; the door is wider at bottom than at the top, viz., top 3 feet 6 inches, bottom 3 feet 10 inches.”

Immediately inside the Cathedral door on the right-hand side, I recently found the remarkable stone described and figured at pages 469–70, together with some stones of the Priest's Church. In the northern wall may be seen the remains of an entrance which ornamented and permitted ingress to the Cathedral, and which is evidently of a “ middle age” date, probably coeval with that of the east window of the chancel.¹ This should be cleared out : and the stones which evidently composed it, and are now lying about, might be replaced. Of the Chancel arch, little now remains except the buttresses from which it sprung, and the only indication of the east window itself is a gaping void,—but towards that eastern end there are several objects of interest, viz., some horizontal tombs, apparently those of bishops, abbots, or other high ecclesiastics, and in the north-east corner a rude oblong font 2 feet 6 inches in length. The ruins of a Sacristy, with a square-headed doorway, still exist on the southern side of the Chancel.²

Respecting this east window, which has been figured again and again by those who it is said have had access to Beranger's drawings, or copies thereof, I cannot find in his writings or illustrations any reference to it, except those sketches presented by Ledwich and Petrie, and which Beranger describes, not as on the architrave, but as “ capi-

¹ I remember the foundations of this doorway for a great many years, but they were generally covered with a heap of stones. My friend Mr. J. J. M'Carthy informs me that, with some friends, he had these stones removed, and the bases of the oolite pillars exposed in 1857; and that at the same time an application was made to the Mining Company to assist in preserving the ruins; but, like one recently made by myself, it was totally disregarded.

² In this description of Glendalough I am merely supplementing Beranger's notes, and have for the most part avoided the repetition of the details so

well recorded by Petrie. Drawings, made by that eminent artist and antiquary, of the Ecclesiastical grave-stones in the north-east corner of the Cathedral will appear shortly in that grand collection of Irish Christian Inscriptions now in course of publication, and forming the Annual quarto volumes of the Royal Archæological Association of Ireland, by Miss Stokes, who has kindly furnished me with the following copies:—I. and II. Or do Diarmait. Or do Mac Cois (on one stone). III. Aigur. IV. Or do Umgeil. V. Muridach. The beautifully decorated grave-stones in this locality should be cleared and drawn without delay.

tals of the pillars of the east window in the church called the Cathedral ;" and another representing the zigzac "carving on y^e Architrave of the arch over the window of the Cathedrall." See further particulars and illustrations of this window at pages 471—72.

The grave-yard of Glendalough is a lamentable scene of over-crowding, and the rank grass manured by human remains grows with such luxuriance as to almost hide all view of the flat grave-stones within the enclosure. The foot of a curious cross, not unlike that at Cashel, lies on the pathway. It really behoves the owners of this locality—the Irish Mining Company especially—to establish a cemetery in some of the fields on the north-western end of the grave-yard, and to apply to the Privy Council for the closure of the present grave-yard of Glendalough.

Without stopping to recite the legends respecting the "horse-stealer's grave" to the N. E. of the Cathedral, and other tales, let me, in the name of Beranger, direct the attention of the antiquary and architect to what was the condition of the beauteous structure known in 1779 as the "Priest's Church" and which stands within about 3 perches of the western end of the Cathedral. It is now nearly invisible, owing to the dilapidation of the ruin, and the growth of weeds around it, so that the little masonry that remains is almost occluded. To me it appears to have been erected over the grave, or as the mausoleum, of St. Kevin or Caemghin, the founder and patron saint of Glendalough ; although perhaps, in reverential recollection, the parish priests were buried there, and several of their tombstones now occupy the interior.¹ This beautiful little structure was (at least in modern times) first recorded by Beranger during his visit in 1779. He has given a ground

¹ One of these tombs lying on the flat has an inscription running thus:—"I.H.S. Here lyeth body of the Reuer^d. Phelim Bryan, dec^d. May 3^d. 1759, aged 57 years." Provided it could be done with decency, these flat and upright monumental stones might be temporarily removed, the walls of the Mortuary Chapel cleared both within and without to the foundation, the tombstones replaced, and a railing put round the whole, as sug-

gested by the late Dr. Colles ; so as to preserve it from further destruction and desecration. Surely the Mining Company, the parishioners of Derrylassery, the Board of Works, and even the Guides, would not object to such an exhibition and preservation of the tomb of the founder of the religious establishment at Glendalough, and the graves of these clergymen ; and I will be happy to give any assistance in my power.

plan of the building, and a very carefully-drawn illustration of its eastern face, as it then stood, with a full description of the ruin, and its measurements, all of which latter I lately verified. It must evidently have been of the nature of a tomb, as it could not well have been used for general public worship. The walls were 2 feet thick. In the southern wall near its junction with the western angle, we find the remains of a narrow doorway, which was probably square-headed, and surmounted by a sculptured pediment.

At the eastern front there existed in 1779 a most remarkable arch supported by fluted pilasters, with elaborately-carved bases, capitals, and architraves, as shown in the very beautiful illustration found among Beranger's drawings, and which has been copied (probably from a copy) by Petrie in the "Ecclesiastical Architecture; and Round Towers," p. 246. On the south side in particular the bases of the pillars still crop up, and can with care be made out; and on the wall above them (if not already stolen), can be seen a curiously indented "dog-tooth" stone which probably formed a portion of the arch. Other stones of Priest's Church are now in the Cathe-

Beranger's drawing of East End of Priest's Church.

dral. According to Beranger's drawing, this must have been one of the most chaste and elegant buildings at Glen-

dalough. In justice to the artist whose memoirs I edit, I think it right to give a fac-simile of his picture, most carefully reduced somewhat more than a third from the original. Attached to this drawing he has appended the following observations :—

“ A view of the front of the small building called the Priest’s Church, Co. Wicklow, exactly drawn with every stone as they are laid down originally, and the holes of those that fell out or were broke wilfully in course of time, to the intent of showing the mode of building at that period, and the manner of cutting some of the stones to lap or groove in one another to keep the building firm. Done in 1779. It is but a small chapple measuring within, in length, 14 feet 4 inches, and in breadth, 7 feet 7 inches; and the outside front represented here below is only 11 feet 8 inches in breadth. It has no windows, but only a small door in the side wall 20½ inches broad; it is unroofed at present, and the front entrance built up latterly with stones in part, and the centre with earth mixed with hay, as is shown by the dotted lines.

“ Measurement of pilasters or half columns, &c. Capitals 8½ inches, pilasters 2 feet 1½ inches, base 5 inches, total height 3 feet 3 inches. The arch;—architrave 7 inches, cornice over it 2 inches.”

In another page he gives drawings of the sculptures on the capitals on both sides, which have been figured by Petrie (see R. T., p. 247). That learned author has there fallen into a slight mistake in saying—

“ The principal ornamented feature which distinguished this building, and to which I have seen nothing similar in any other Irish ecclesiastical ruin, was an arched recess placed on its east front, as represented in the annexed copy of Beranger’s drawing ;”

and he adds that—

“ The recess which it enclosed was perforated in the centre by a narrow unornamented window, having obviously a semicircular head, but which was not in existence when the drawing was made. The sides of this window were not, as is usual, inclined, nor does it appear from the drawing that the jambs had the usual internal splay,” &c., &c.

Now it is manifest, from Beranger’s original drawing and the description quoted above, that this temporary structure, said to represent a recessed arch, was nothing more than some stones placed in the opening *behind*, and with a lump of mud and hay in the centre. Had Petrie before him the book now in my hands, he would at once have seen the correctness of this view of the case. What may have originally filled up this space—which, according to the

scale on which the drawing was made, is not quite 7 feet in the clear from pillar to pillar, as shown by Beranger's ground plan, which accompanies the drawing—it is difficult to determine. It may have been a window, or merely the entrance to the Cenotaph of St. Kevin.

Another difficulty presents itself in the small doorway near the end of the southern wall, which may perhaps be explained by supposing that this Priest's Church was made on the model of ancient buildings of that character.

The most remarkable monument of antiquity at Glendalough is that of the angular-headed stone figured below, and which the artist says he "found on the ground at Priest's Church; 2 feet broad and 1 foot high to the point." This also has been figured by Ledwich, Petrie, and others, but not exactly as given by the foreign artist. It represents an ecclesiastic seated in a chair, with an open book before him. The head, as shown in Beranger's drawing, has a fringe of hair upon the forehead, probably below the tonsure, but which has been converted by whoever copied the original drawing into a crown. On

Beranger's drawing of the Sculptured Stone found at Priest's Church.

the left of the central figure is that of a person in a stooping position, clad in a long soutan, and holding an object in his hand, which is manifestly a representation of an early quadrangular ecclesiastical bell. Upon the right is another figure, holding what would appear to be a crozier.

It is manifest, from a careful inspection of the original drawing, that by the straight line at top on the right-hand side, in contradistinction to the irregularly broken condition of the stone on the left of the figure, that this was done to "make good" the presumed condition of the monument as it existed prior to 1779. Petrie says "the stone is now broken as marked in the drawing, but the two pieces are preserved in a neighbouring house." On the other hand, Mr. Clibborn informs me that he remembers the stone lying on the roadside in the neighbourhood of the village of Glendalough; and Mr. Huband Smith says he recollects it on the cashel wall, not far distant from where I found it. All I can say is, that I discovered it a few weeks ago lying face downwards among the rubbish in the Cathedral, as stated at page 465, and that in order to preserve it from further destruction, I, with the assistance of those who had authority in the matter, carried it off, to prevent its further injury, and to have proper photographs and models made of it; but always with the intention both of myself and my co-worker, Father Clarke, of restoring it, when occasion offered, to its original locality and probable use.¹ There can be little doubt, from the design here faith-

Sculptured Stone found by Beranger near the Priest's Church, as it now appears.

fully figured, that it is the oldest sculptured stone at Glendalough, and is probably one of the oldest incised stones in Ireland. Petrie inclines to think it may have been the pediment over the southern doorway of the Priest's Church, or mausoleum; but it certainly is not of an age

¹ See Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy for 23rd June, 1873.

contemporaneous with the architecture of the rest of the building. Like many other monuments, however, of the kind, it may have been preserved for centuries, and had been so placed, say about the "twelfth century period," of which we hear so much in the present day; or it may have been kept within the mausoleum, and perhaps over the absolute grave, of St. Kevin. The stone itself, which is composed of the micacious rock of the district, is greatly weathered upon all sides, particularly at top; and ordinary observers, as well as distinguished geologists, can see that it must have been for centuries exposed to the influence of the atmosphere, in order to produce the appearance presented, specially above, where there is not an angle or curvature which could have been either so smoothed down or the surface roughened by natural causes, within a century from the time of the breakage. From a photograph of the stone itself, and with the actual object he was engraving before him, Mr. Oldham has displayed his art in this most graphic illustration.

Referring again to the east window in the chancel of the Cathedral, mentioned at page 165, it is of importance to the memory of Beranger and his companion Bigari, as well as for the truthful elucidation of the history of Glendalough, to make a few observations.

When Archdall wrote, in 1786, he stated—"The Cathedral church ranks as the first, and owes its origin to St. Keivin, by whom it was dedicated to the Patron Saints of the abbey. It had a beautiful window at the east end." Some years later, Dr. Ledwich published a picturesque drawing, made by Beauford, of the "East Window of the Cathedral," and writes—"The eastern window is a round arch, ornamented with a chevron moulding. The window itself is very singular, running to a narrow spike-hole." (*See* 2nd edition, p. 176.) In 1845, Dr. Petrie published in the "Round Towers," a geometrical plan, taken, he says, "through the drawings made for Col. Burton Conyngham, now in my possession, aided by sketches made by myself, a few years since." It is, however, only a "tolerable memorial;" but he gives from Beranger's book of drawings the two sculptures of the frieze already alluded to. In O'Donovan's Wicklow Letters,

written in 1839-40, we find a description of this window, and a critical dissertation on Ledwich and his fraudulent artist, and he says, "the eastern window is now nearly destroyed; its lower part is, from the present day, level to the ground, and it measures 6 feet in breadth from the bottom; but no more dimensions of it can now be obtained." Alluding to Beauford's drawing, as published by Ledwich, he continues to say, that it may or may not be correct; "but it is very hard to trust to it, as we have a drawing of the same window made for Col. Burton Conyngham, before the publication of Ledwich's book, and in which the window was represented very much injured, both on the inside and outside, on which it is a formless breach. I fear, therefore, that Beauford and Ledwich have completed this window from their own imagination, and this to bear out a theory that Ledwich struggles to establish, that the lancet-headed or pointed windows are of great antiquity." To this was added, in the Ordnance book, a rather rude drawing of the east end of the chancel and its window; and below it the following memorandum: "Inside view of the eastern window of the Cathedral of Glendalough, as drawn originally, about the year 1780, by an Italian artist, for Colonel Burton Conyngham. Copied by W. Wakeman, junior."



Drawing of East Window of Cathedral, from Ordnance Letters.

Proceeding southwards along the path from the Cathedral, we pass on the right the large, tall and almost undecorated granite "Calvary" cross,¹ 11 feet 3 inches high, and 3 feet 10 inches wide over the arms; and then we enter upon a new field of inquiry as we take in the view of the Church, with its small overtopping Round Tower belfry, popularly called St. Kevin's House, and by the guides, the Saint's "Kitchen." Passing

¹ In the middle ages it was customary to erect these crosses near a church, called

"Calvary Crosses," in recollection of the crucifixion.

down to this latter, we observe a deep excavation which looks like a covered way leading upwards towards the Cathedral, and in it are the fragments and remains of large flat crosses and massive tombs, all of which might be easily removed to the interior of St. Kevin's House, or placed against the adjoining boundary wall, where there are no modern graves.

Portions of St. Kevin's House—next to be considered—are puzzling to antiquaries and give rise to much speculation. Like many other early Irish Churches, the western end or gable, together with the tower on top, is perfect. A tall sloping-jambéd narrow square-headed doorway in a wall of Cyclopean masonry, with the superstructure supported by an arch over the lintel, is still quite perfect. It is 7 feet 3 inches high, and 2 feet 6 inches wide in the middle, and standing out from the lintel, which is 5 feet 8 inches long, but part of the same stone; there is a projection or moulding with holes in it at each end, apparently for the purpose of inserting the fastenings of an outer door. A semicircular pediment of two stones fills the space between the lintel and arch.

As the eye is directed upwards we can discern above the string course (which passes round the church) a lighter character of masonry, but not at all so dissimilar from that at the basement as in the cathedral, and this remarkable gable rises gradually into the beautiful Round Tower belfry where the high-pitched roof adjoins it, and from which and the gable it would appear to spring. This doorway is now built up, and has been so for many years.

St. Kevin's Church seems to have undergone more than the usual vicissitudes of buildings in the Vale of Glendalough. There can be little doubt as to the originality of the western gable, its door and tower; but in the interior, and at the eastern and southern ends, additions and alterations have been made, which have considerably altered the character of the primitive structure. The last alteration occurred several years ago, when, as there was no place of public worship in the immediate vicinity of The Churches, the parish priest converted this building into a chapel—built up, it is said, the western doorway, erected an altar (of which the stones still remain) immediately

within it, enlarged the southern square window, and had service there for some time, until the attention of the late Archbishop Whately was called to it, and he, consulting with Archbishop Murray, interdicted it.

The conical top of the Round Tower is still quite perfect. It has four large quadrangular lights looking towards the cardinal points, and two smaller and lower ones facing east and west. Even as it stands, this beauteous structure is likely to remain in its present condition for centuries. Externally the church is 29 feet 7 inches long, and 22 feet 7 inches wide; and internally 22 feet 7 inches long in the clear. The pitch of the roof is very high. The north side is devoid of any opening, but upon the south there is, near the eastern angle, a large oblong window, the masonry round which is evidently very modern. Alluding thereto, Archdall says St. Kevin's Church was, when he wrote, in 1786, "almost entire, having suffered alone in the ruin of a window, the only one in the church; this was placed about 8 feet from the south east angle, and was ornamented with an architrave elegantly wrought, but being of a freestone it was conveyed away by the neighbouring inhabitants, and brayed to powder for domestic use." Upon the eastern gable we find a large opening, where the wall is 3 feet 6 inches thick. The aperture is 5 feet 3 inches across, and 9 feet 5 inches high, and was undoubtedly cut out of the original wall—but when, it is difficult to determine. Above this round-headed aperture, which may be presumed to have been intended for a chancel arch, we observe the lines of a small semicircular-headed light, as is well shown in Petrie's illustration (*see Round Towers, p. 429*). Viewed internally, this former aperture is seen to splay very widely, but it is now filled up with masonry. Externally we see that a deep groove has been chiseled out of the gable for fitting in the stones of the chancel roof. There are also two small square-headed apertures in this gable, the lower one opening into the church immediately below the arched roof, and the other admitting light to the croft.

To the north of the chancel arch, adjoining, but not incorporated with the original building (certainly of very great antiquity) we meet with what was probably the

Erdam or sacristy—where Beranger and Bigari retired to enjoy their bottle, in 1779. It also had a stone roof, part of which still remains, the groove for which may yet be seen on the east gable of the church. The door is square, but has not sloping jambs. The interior is about 10 feet long and 7 feet 7 inches broad, and is at present in a frightful state of desecration. The masonry is rude, and at the eastern end there is a small light, the circular head carved out of a single stone. At the eastern end there are the remains of rude pilasters. Had this building been found in any other locality distinct from St. Kevin's Church, every antiquary would have assigned to it a very early date. Alongside it, towards the south, must have stood the chancel already referred to, as shown by the grooved lines of its high-pitched roof upon the east gable of the original church. We have neither drawing nor description of this building as it existed in the time of Beranger, but Archdall gives the following account of it, and I think it trustworthy:—"At the east end is an arch 5 feet 3 inches in width, which communicates to another building 10 feet 6 inches in length by 9 feet 3 inches in width, on the north side of which is a door 2 feet 2 inches wide, which communicates with another chapel of the same length, and 7 feet 9 inches in length. Each of these buildings has a small window in the centre, to the east; the walls are 3 feet thick, and both measure 12 feet in height." And again, at the conclusion of his description, he adds—"Indeed the walls of the double building are separated from those of the larger, and although undoubtedly very ancient, yet the inferiority of the materials and workmanship evidently shows that this work was posterior to the former, and directed by much less skilful builders" (*Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 725). Respecting the latter passage of the foregoing extract, Petrie has again attributed it to "the artist sent by Colonel Burton Conyngham in 1779," although Archdall makes no acknowledgment thereof. However, in O'Donovan's *Letters on Glendalough* may be seen a drawing of the Chancel as well as the Sacristy. I believe it was done by Mr. Wakeman, who thinks it was from a drawing by Dr. Petrie.

Perhaps if sufficient excavations were made, the foundation of this chancel might be discovered; but heretofore

I have generally found Archdall very correct in his measurements. Opposite the south-eastern end of Kevin's Church there is a large collection of stones piled together, probably done at the time the church was cleared out for public service. Within the building we observe the walls smoothly plaistered. Its dimensions are as originally stated by Archdall. The roof is curved, and its height from the present ground nearly 21 feet. Partial apertures exist near the spring of the arch on each side, probably for beams, so that it is most likely the original building was in its time flat-ceiled. The remains of a sculptured cross and a rude oval font, carried there for security, can be seen at the western end. The cross formerly rested at the stepping stones.

What a pity it is that some of our learned artists of the present day have never made an effort to produce, on either paper or canvass, an idea of the perfect state of some of the interiors of our early Irish churches. Surely their efforts, if at all worthy, would meet with pecuniary as well as archæological reward.

Looking upwards towards the western end of the arched roof, may be seen a small square aperture leading into the croft, and between that and the western wall three holes apparently for the transmission of bell-ropes. Into that aperture I have recently, on more than one occasion, gained access by means of a long, but not very secure ladder, and have carefully examined the croft and the interior of the Round Tower, with the following results, as they then appeared to my mind.

Gaining access through this small aperture into the croft, one perceives it to be a low arched chamber 22 feet 9 inches long, and 5 feet 3 inches in height, and 5 feet 6 inches wide. The floor is at present covered with fine clay probably the accumulation of dust blown in there for centuries. It is lighted by a small square-headed aperture in the eastern gable, not splayed, and likewise by transmitted light through the door of the Round Tower belfry. Whoever measured and reported on this chamber, for Dr. Petrie, led him into the error of stating that it was "lighted by two small oblong loops, placed one at the east, and the other at the west end," the latter being an

impossibility—and likewise that the height of the croft from the floor of the arch over the church to the crown of its own arch was “seven feet six inches.” The lower side portions of this croft are formed by the projecting stones of the roof, and the upper part (about two-thirds) is well rounded and smoothly coated, a couple of inches thick, with intensely hard cement, so as to be impenetrable to wet. Such is the croft in the roof of St. Kevin’s Church at this day—evidently an *architectural necessity* to lighten the superstructure of the heavy stone roof—pitched high in order to provide space for these two arches, of which it formed the outer casing. In fact such a roof could not have been constructed otherwise. The outer roof stones are laid on the flat and were well mortared and grouted.

That this croft (and perhaps others also) was ever intended as a habitable apartment, I cannot admit. If St. Kevin, who it is said died in 618, was alive when this church was built, it must have been weary work for him, either as a penance, or for security, or for meditation, to climb up and down upwards of 20 feet daily into this cell! When timber roofing was first introduced into our Irish churches it is now difficult to determine, as neither antiquaries nor artists have expressed an opinion on the subject.

Passing westwards through the croft we get into the Round Tower belfry, by a square-headed doorway 5 feet high, 4 feet 4 inches wide, and so deeply splayed toward the croft, that it is there only 1 foot 6 inches internally. This turret, which is very rudely constructed internally, is a most interesting structure; it stands partly on the gable and partly on the floor of the arched ceiling of the church; its base is about on a level with the croft, and it is 25 feet high internally. That it was part and parcel of the original building, no one who had ever got into it could deny. It is with great diffidence I offer an opinion contrary to that of the learned author of the “Round Towers;” but I cannot believe with him that St. Kevin’s House, or “Kitchen” as it is called, was *originally* built for, and occupied as a dwelling—its croft in particular—and that when it was subsequently “converted to a place of public worship,” this tower was reared

on the gable, arch and roof, and that it is contemporaneous with the chancel and sacristy subsequently erected at the east end.

The original Irish church was a simple oblong building, entered by a square-headed western doorway with sloping jambs—massive, grand, and generally undecorated—the roof arched internally, and then with a high pitch covered in by stones, laid flat, bevelled on the outside, each line of masonry projecting inwards like that at New Grange, and in similar Pagan structures. The building was lighted by a small semicircular-headed and deeply splayed window in the eastern gable, and sometimes by an additional angle-headed one in the side wall, usually the south. Subsequently, at different periods, when a chancel came into fashion in ecclesiastical architecture, the old church I have here described was left standing; but either the east gable was removed or an aperture was made in it for the chancel and its arch (always smaller than the nave); and in process of time the side door, generally towards the west end of the southern wall, and with a round and often decorated arch, was inserted. This tallies with some of the buildings at Glendalough, as well as many elsewhere, but it does not account for the erection and probable date of the Round Tower belfry at St. Kevin's Church.

Glancing upwards, as we stand within the Tower (a windy locality I can assure my readers), we find that at 11 feet from the ground there is a set-off in the wall, and another 3 feet 6 inches above that, over which there is a third space 2 feet 4 inches high, and then the Tower narrows into a conical roof, with the stones projecting inwards in a rude fashion, exactly as they are in New Grange and elsewhere, after the manner of a beehive dome. The four top apertures in this Tower are very large, and in proportion much more so than any other structure of a like character. Certainly, they would transmit the sound of a bell better than any which I have seen. I was not able to discover any trace of bell-hangings, although I have little doubt that such formerly existed between the floor of the first set-off and the top of the Tower.

In the ceiling of the church, and immediately beneath

the door of the Round Tower, we observed the three apertures already referred to at page 476, and which were probably bell-rope holes. At present, however, a stick will not pass completely through ; it appears to be stopped by a removeable flag over their upper entrance.

Passing southwards, across the Glendalough stream, we observe the "Deer-Stone," a conical boulder, with a cup-like and evidently artificial excavation at the top, and surrounded by several large blocks of stone, on the mountain side. To me this group has always appeared to have been a primitive baptistry ; but the following pleasing legend is told of it :—St. Kevin found an orphan infant, left by a beautiful mother in the Glen, and carried it downwards to the Deer-Stone, not knowing how to procure it sustenance. Shortly, a beautiful white doe appeared, and then, and for long after, was milked daily into the Deer-Stone ; and thus the child was nourished. There is another pleasing legend told in the lives of St. Kevin of a white cow, but it does not concern the special object of this investigation.

To the N. W. of the cathedral, but outside the line of the great cashel, which enclosed the ruins as they now stand, a group of trees, chiefly ancient thorns, point to where the "Lady Church" stands. To those who have the hardihood to clamber over its outer enclosure, and risk the loose stones and thorns therein, it is well worthy of inspection ; but, until some clearance is made of both stones and trees it is not possible to give anything like a faithful description of it, or its measurements with accuracy. It really behoves the Mining Company, or the Commissioners of Church Temporalities, to expose to view this ancient structure without delay. Petrie was of opinion that this building was the first church erected by St. Kevin within the precincts of the city in the lower [middle] part of the valley, "that now popularly called the Lady Church, in which his tomb remained within the last century." The former is very questionable ; and, furthermore, that learned author has, on a previous page of his work, given an extract from Ware's Bishops, to the effect that St. Kevin "having dwelt in solitude for four years in the upper part of the valley, his monks erected for him a beautiful Church

called Disert-Cavghin, on the south side of the upper lake, and between it and the mountain"—evidently the architecture of the Reafert is fully as old as that of the Lady Church. Archdall, writing sixty years before the publication of the "Round Towers," says this church was then "almost a ruin ; but from the doorway, and the few remains of wall, it appears to have been built with more knowledge of the art than the other buildings." He then goes on to describe with accuracy the dimensions of the doorway and the cross on its souffet, &c., &c.

Passing upwards through the valley, we observe several boundary crosses, rude, but in their sculpture highly characteristic of the special Glendalough cross, of which a type can be found at *Teampul na Skellig*, marked by semicircular lines at the outer junctions of the shaft and arms (see page 484, *infra*).

Crossing over the small bridge that spans the river which connects the two lakes, we arrive at the comfortable hostelry of Lugduff, where Mr. Dawson, the proprietor, will conduct tourists to the Reafert, which is immediately behind the hotel, and will likewise supply boats, &c. Two months back from the time at which I write (September, 1873), the tourist was conducted a short way up the side of the hill, over a rudely paved causeway, to a heap of stones, among which some ancient ash trees, of great size, grew ; and the whole mass was crowned by a dense copse. The only evidences of what the structure beneath this heap may have been, to the ordinary eye, consisted in the grand square-headed cyclopean doorway at the western end ; and, scattered around the outside of the ruins, the steps or bases of several crosses, some of great size ; and, also, fragments of the middle or sculptured portions of the crosses themselves, chiefly made of the mica slate of the district ; and all characterised by the Glendalough mark of intertwined ornamentation, and the sunken indentations already referred to. Petrie has, in the "Round Towers," at p. 263, delineated one of these crosses, which, I am happy to say, still remains. In the days of Beranger, the Reafert or Reefert was called "Prince's Church." Archdall says, "The Rhefeart, literally the Sepulchre of Kings, is famous for having seven princes interred within its limits ;

in this church is the tomb of M'Mthuill, or O'Toole, the ancient chieftain of the country, with the following inscription, in the Irish character: *Jesus Christ. Mile deach-feuch corp re Mac Mthuill*. — See here the resting-place of the body of King M'Thuill, who died in Christ, 1010." This has been quoted by Ledwich, who has given, without any description, something like what the tomb may have been as drawn by Beauford, with some "Greek characters" upon it. This may have been the tomb of which Beranger wrote—"Digged under a stone with Greek characters, but found nothing." These remarks refer to what was popularly known as the tomb of King O'Toole, and which formerly lay outside the S. E. angle of the nave, which it is said either curiosity hunters stole, or the guides disposed of, bit by bit, many years ago. At present no vestige of it remains. To the kindness of Miss Stokes I am indebted for the following account of this inscription, from Petrie's notes and drawings—"Or do Corpre Mac Cathail."—"Pray for Corpre, son of Cathail." And in a note Petrie adds: "In the Reafert Church there are a great number of sepulchral crosses, of a small size, standing on pedestals. They are of mica slate, and are rudely sculptured, without inscriptions. There are also several large flat tombs; but they are not inscribed, with the exception of that called 'O'Toole's Tomb.' The church is surrounded by a wall [cashel], a good deal of which yet remains, and a vaulted passage led from the interior of the cemetery to the door of the church." This was written upwards of forty years ago.

With the permission of the proprietors, and the gratuitous assistance of the miners, after their day's work, we have been able to remove all the large trees that threatened the utter demolition of this interesting ruin, and also, to clear out fully the chancel and nave, and we hope in time to place all the sculptured crosses within the latter, and to expose the ancient cashel, or surrounding enclosure, the southern portion of which abuts upon the hill. The grand western doorway, still complete, is 6 feet 4 inches high, 2 feet 7 inches wide at top, and 2 feet 8 inches at bottom, and the wall thereof is 2 feet 10½ inches thick. It has been figured by Petrie. The nave, as now exposed, is 29

feet 2 inches long in the clear, by 17 feet 2 inches wide. The chancel is 13 feet 1 inch long by 8 feet wide. The arch has long since fallen, but several of the stones which formed it have been discovered, and a portion of it at least may be re-erected, when sufficient material has been excavated, so as to show its proportions.

According to my view, what is required for our ruins now, is *preservation*, not restoration; and I trust that idea will be entertained by those into whose hands—either local or general—the care of these national monuments may be entrusted.

O'Donovan has given a lengthened and faithful description of the Reafert Church, and also a quotation from Petrie's notes somewhat similar to that already quoted at p. 481, but with this addition—"there was a window in the south wall, now reduced to a formless breach." I think some of the stones of that window will be discovered in process of our excavations. O'Donovan likewise says, that in this church were formerly preserved the "loaf-stones" referred to in some of the lives of the saint, who, having discovered a woman in a lie, turned the loaves she was carrying into smooth, oval or egg-shaped stones. Some of these, with rude carvings upon them, may be seen in many of our oldest churches, especially in the islands of Arran, and are much venerated by the peasantry; a few such may be seen in the Irish Academy, under the name of "altar stones" (see "Catalogue," part II., page 131). He has likewise left on record the following:—"King O'Toole's tomb-stone, which is near the south wall, exhibits a sculptured cross; but the inscription was recently broken off by the guide, who was in the habit of breaking off bits of this stone, to give travellers for relics!" We must therefore suppose that the letters were in raised character; and I confess I have my doubts respecting the spoliation of this monument: but the foregoing and the following notes show with what difficulty the modern antiquary can collect evidence respecting the past, and collate and compare authorities on any such subject. O'Donovan says the O'Tooles were not buried in Glendalough, and that their country lay altogether in Kildare; and he adds, "this inscription is now totally effaced. But from Ledwich's published representation of the stone, and a

careful drawing of the inscription made by Mr. Petrie, many years since, I can very easily see that it was simply as follows :—

OR DO CARPRE mac cathuil

ORATIO PRO CARPREO FILIO CATHALDI.

“This is all of this inscription copied by Mr. Petrie, but Ledwich has another word coming before Carpre thus—*MXHFS Capppe Mac Cathuil*; but this word is not intelligible, at least in the form in which it is engraved by Ledwich, and I fear that no other copy can be had.” The tomb-stone, as presented in Ledwich’s book, is a flat, oblong, quadrangular flag, with a cross, branching in the middle, having a central boss, and half circles at the extremities of the shaft and arms. Some of the letters are not Irish, perhaps from the artist who drew it not understanding the language; the latter portion of the inscription is quite distinct. We hope to be able to preserve, and perhaps to re-erect, some of the many sculptured crosses upon their pedestals; and we must trust to the improved state of society, the good feeling of tourists, and the honour of the guides, for their future preservation. It is related in the life of St. Kevin that the *Reigh-feart*, or Royal Cemetery Church, was built by St. Kevin by direction of an angel who appeared to him in a vision. During the excavations, a portion of a cast bronze hand-bell was discovered, a fragment of an iron spear, and some other portions of metal work, and a fragment of green stone like *scagliola*—probably a portion of the altar.

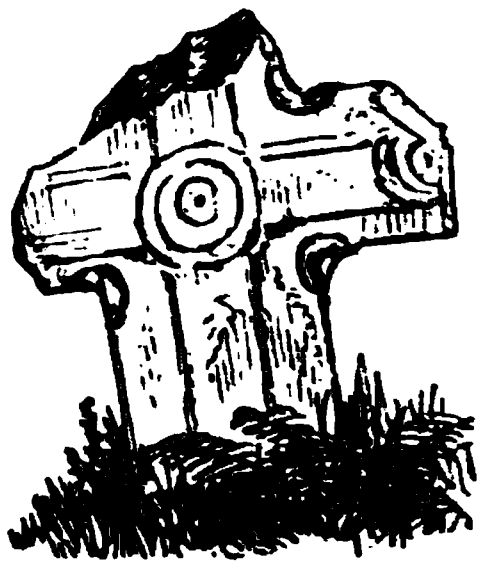
On the mountain side above this church some stones mark the site of what is called St. Kevin’s Chair.

Taking boat, we row up the southern side of the upper lake, and pass by the square and apparently artificially constructed aperture in the face of the rock, known as St. Kevin’s Bed, and from which, according to the tales and songs, he retired occasionally from the world, and from which it is said he threw down the beautiful Cathleen, who came to tempt him from his solitude. The tale, however, is differently told in the life of Kevin, as detailed in the *Codex Kilkenniensis*, where it states that

it was during his studentship that a beautiful female became enamoured of him, but that she was cured of her love by a good whipping of nettles, and afterwards led a penitent life. This tale is likewise related in Ware's "Writers of Ireland," Book I., p. 21. I have myself, more than once, in younger days got into this curious hole from above—somewhat of a perilous task—but even the climbing into it from below is not altogether without danger. Near the "Bed" it is believed St. Kevin lived in the hollow of a tree during some years of his life, but the guides have not yet got hold of it for the delectation of the tourists.

Continuing our aquatic progress westward, we arrive at a small shingly beach, above which, amidst the luxuriant ferns, and over-topped by the verdant copse of the glorious wooded mountain behind, we perceive a heap of stones. Climbing up to them, we reach the remains of Teampul-na-Skellig, or Dysert-Kevin, the most western church at Glendalough, and said to have been the earliest place of worship in the district. This Church of the Rock, or of the Desert, is now almost level with the ground; but, as it does not belong to the Mining Company, and has not been interfered with by any conservators of national monuments, my colleague and I hope to be able, upon some future occasion, to make such excavation as will bring the foundations of this very primitive structure into view.

The remains of a doorway at the western end leads into a long, narrow passage, which ends in the remains of a cashel. According to such measurements as could be recently made, this church was 26 feet long, and 16 feet broad. Outside the eastern end, I lately discovered the remains of a curious cross, which seems to me typical of all those still in the valley of Glendalough, and on which the special characteristics are rudely represented, but clearly defined—consisting of a central boss, and sunken circles at the junction of cross and arms, as shown in the accompanying sketch, drawn by my son, Mr. W. C. K. Wilde.



Cross at Dysert-Kevin.

Having fulfilled the task as a commentator upon

Beranger, and observer of the present day, one cannot leave the locality without inserting the following graphic passage with which Archdall concludes his description:—
 “We shall now bid adieu to this illustrious seminary, which (in the language of a late eminent writer) was once the luminary of the western world, whence savage septs and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion. The romantic shape of the surrounding mountains, many of which are covered with a fresh spring of wood, and others, though of a surprising height, retaining the loveliest verdure almost throughout the year—these, added to the winding form of a very fertile valley, which terminates in a lake of considerable extent, increase our veneration; in a word, on a review of such a scene, to abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from us and from our friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom or by virtue. That man is little to be envied whose piety will not grow warmer as he treads the ruins of Glendalough!”

The vale of Glendalough, from the west end of the Upper Lake to the Monastery Church, is about two miles long, and is situated in the barony of Ballinacor north, and the parish of Derrylossery, the latter containing a population of 3192 persons, according to the Census of 1871. The Irish language has nearly died out in the county Wicklow. In 1861, there were only 182 Irish-speaking persons in the entire district. In 1871, there were but 94, of whom 5 could speak Irish only. Of the foregoing number, 12 who spoke English and Irish were returned from the barony of Ballinacor north. Those who are anxious to know more of the history of Glendalough should, in addition to the authorities already quoted, examine the Index to O'Donovan's edition of the “Annals of the Four Masters.”

(To be continued.)

No. III.

LOCA PATRICIANA.—THE PALLADIAN CHURCHES.
TEACH NA ROMAN, DOMNACH ARDA, CELL FÍNÈ.¹

BY THE REV. JOHN FRANCIS SHEARMAN.

It is a fact admitted by all authorities who have written on the primitive ecclesiastical history of Ireland, that Christianity had made its benign influence felt there very many years, perhaps a century, before the period usually assigned to its introduction into our country. The student of the ancient and recondite sources of our ecclesiastical and civil history cannot fail to be impressed with this idea, from the curious and apparently fortuitous testimonies which are found in the various lives or acts attributed to Palladius and his successor St. Patrick. Of this ample evidence has been collected by comparatively modern writers. Among them O'Flaherty has some ancient references ("Ogygia," part. iii., cap. 79, &c.). Archbishop Ussher has collected together all the allusions to the diffusion of Christianity in the British islands ("Antiquities of the British Churches," vol. vi., cap. xvi.) Dr. Lanigan and Dr. Todd, though disagreeing in matters of minor importance with these writers, hold the opinion of the partial diffusion of Christianity in Ireland long before the advent of either Palladius or Patrick. Recent discoveries made in Ogham literature, limited as it is to sepulchral inscriptions, help to throw a new light on a very obscure and difficult period of Irish Church history. These inscriptions appear to insinuate an early intercourse with the Christians of Britain, especially with those of Wales,² who perhaps may have introduced into Ireland their mode of Cryptic inscriptions, as Ogham literature was in use both in Ireland and Wales. However, as the origin of that species of writing is still undecided, further discoveries, independent of the records of its use among the Pagan Irish, may yet prove that it

¹ This word, *Finè*, is a dissyllable, and is cognate with the Latin *Finis*, boundary, territory, &c. The Celtic *Finé* means a territory, or the tribe inhabiting it.

² *Vide* Dr. Petrie's letter to the Earl of Dunraven on inscriptions, &c., at Llantwith in Glamorganshire. Stokes' "Life of Petrie," p. 365.

was of Druidic origin and use among the Celtic nations of Western Europe.

In the year 430 or 431, St. Prosper of Acquitaine (A. D. 402–465) records that “Palladius was consecrated by Pope Celestine and sent to the Scots who believed in Christ as their first Bishop.” Native writers give more detailed accounts of the acts of Palladius, and Patrick his successor, in the general conversion of the Irish people. Unfortunately, the accounts of both missionaries have been so intermingled and confused, as is so often the case in the lives of some of the early saints, that it is difficult to assign to each of them their proper acts. All, however, agree, in stating that Palladius landed on the eastern seaboard of Leinster at Inbher Dea¹ in Hy Garrchon, where the town of Wicklow now stands. This place is admitted to be the estuary of the River Vartry, at Wicklow (Dr. Todd’s “St. Patrick,” p. 340, *et seq.*). He was rejected by the Regulus of the country, Nathi, the descendant of Garrchu (*a quo* Ui Garchon). However, notwithstand-

¹ Inbher Dea. The estuary of the River Vartry at Wicklow was so called. Keating writes Inbher Degaid, which is the more correct form of the name. Colgan, “Trias Thaumaturg.,” p. 109, note 28, says that it derives from a dynast called Degaid, who was drowned there. He had this fact from some ancient authority. A tribe descended of Cormac Caech, called the Ui Deagha Beg, were located about Rathdrum, in the Co. Wicklow (M^c Firbis, p. 213, Drogheda Copy). These Hy Deagha descend from Daig beg⁵², son of Labraid⁵⁷, son of Iomcadh⁵⁶, son of Brolach⁵⁵, &c., of the Dal Cormac. There is a tradition that St. Patrick landed at Arklow, another makes him land at Glas Gorman, south of Arklow. A tribe, called also the Ui Deagha (Mor), was located south of Glas Gorman River, which separated them from the Ui Eneglais. This tribe belonged to the Fotharts of Leinster (Book of Lecan, and Book of Rights, p. 196); and they are to be distinguished from the Ui Deagha beg, situated between Rathdrum and Wicklow. The Ui Deagha (Mor) occupied the north-east corner of the diocese of Ferns. The deanery of Odea in that locality has its name from this tribe: to the similarity of the names may perhaps be traced the Arklow legend of St. Patrick landing there.

The seamen on the east coast of Ireland have a landmark about three miles north of Wicklow, where the Vartry must have formerly flowed into the sea, from which it is now shut off by a sand-bar, so that the river runs between the land and the “Murrough,” of Wicklow, at the point of which, opposite that town, it flows into the sea. This perhaps accounts for O’Curry’s derivation of the name of Arklow, viz., *bun an locha*, i. e. the bend or horn of the lake, which is a more rational derivation than that given by O’Flaherty. The old name for Wicklow was Cell Mantan, i. e., “the church of Mantan,” who was an attendant of St. Patrick, and got his name from the loss of his front teeth (Mantan means “gapped teeth or toothless”), which he lost by a blow of a stone in the mouth at the landing of St. Patrick. A hill beside the town is still known as Killmantan Hill. There is a tradition current in Wicklow, that when St. Patrick gave his malediction of sterility on the waters of the Vartry, he also predicted that the *materies* of a priest should never be born in Wicklow. However this may be, the oldest inhabitants have never heard of a priest who was born in Wicklow—the spell, they maintain, has yet to be broken.

ing his act of inhospitality, Palladius was able to visit some of the scattered Christian communities long existing in the country, to make new conversions to the faith, and to erect some churches during his stay in the mission. Of these churches the names of three are recorded, viz., *Teach na Roman*, *Domnach Arda*, and *Cell Fínè*, or *Ecclesia Fínè*, i. e., "the church of the Fínè" or the tribes. The venerable Father Colgan, in his collection of the various lives of St. Patrick, in the "*Trias Thaumaturgus*," with other authorities, as Ussher and O'Flaherty, &c., have simply contented themselves with giving the list of the Palladian churches, as enumerated in the ancient documents they transcribed or edited. The Patrician writers of subsequent times have pushed the inquiry very little in advance of their predecessors; they have indeed determined the localities of two of these churches, but the third, the *Ecclesia Fínè*, *Cell Fínè*, has been up to this period involved in obscurity and oblivion. To say perhaps something more than has been hitherto said of the two already identified and localized, and to place on the same footing the hitherto unknown and neglected *Cell Fínè*, is the aim of this essay.

TEACH NA ROMAN.—One of the churches of Palladius, in the region of Hy Garrchon, is undoubtedly the old cemetery and site of an erased church, in the parish of Castle Mac Adam, Co. Wicklow. The modern form of the old name is Tigroney. An inquisition taken at Wicklow, Jan. 23, 1607, describes the places as "*Teg Romin*," and finds it to be the property of Daniel Byrne. Another inquisition, of June 5, 1610, finds that the rectories of Rathdrum, Moycredin, &c., &c., and the tithes of the canonlands of Ballykerney and Tecronyn, were appropriated to the monastery of All Hallows, and that on the 4th of February, 30th of Henry VIII., they were granted to the citizens and mayor of Dublin, at an annual rent of £4 3s. 0½d. The change from *Teg Romin*, *Teac na Roman*, to Tigroney is quite apparent. The "*Trias Thaumaturg.*," *Vita Quarta*, p. 38, cap. xxviii., states that this church was not founded by Palladius himself, but by his disciples—a statement which is rather sustained by its designation, "the church or house of the Romans." Its site is

marked on the 1-inch Ordnance Maps, No. 139, as "church and Holy well." There are very few vestiges of antiquity apparent at Tigroney; there does not appear to linger among the population of that locality any ancient traditions; in this respect they form a strange contrast to the inhabitants of the western portion of the Co. Wicklow.

DONARD.—Another of the Palladian churches, the *third* in order of enumeration, Tigroney being the second, is variously called Domnach Arda, Domnach Ardec, Domnach Airte, i. e. the Church of the High Place; and Domnach Ardacha, the Church of the High Field.—Todd's "St. Patrick," p. 295, note 3. This is the village of Donard, in the west of Wicklow, and not the place called Dunard, near Red Cross, in the east of the same county, as has been sometimes asserted. In the neighbourhood of Donard, as at Killeen Cormac, there are preserved some vestiges of its ancient civil and ecclesiastical importance: the sites of primæval Christian churches, large and well-preserved Rathes and tumuli, Cromlechs, Ogham pillars, ancient ecclesiastical Cashels, Pagan Cathairs on the surrounding hills, with many other evidences of a civilized and numerous population. Donard is situated on the ancient highway which ran on the west side of the Wicklow mountains, from Dublin to Hy-Censelagh. This road passed under the Bruighean¹ da Deargha, at Bohernabreena, thence southwards through the Gabhra Liffé,² crossing that river at Poulaphoca waterfall, the ancient historic name of which was "Aes Dubthaire,"³ i. e. the Cataract of Dubthaire, who

¹ Bruighean da Deargha, the Hospice of Da Deargha, was at Bohernabreena, i. e. "the Road of the Hospice," in the Dublin mountains. Conaire Mor, King of Ireland, was slain and buried here (The Lay of the Graves, Book of Leinster, fol. 24). He was attacked by Ancell Caech, Decell, and Dartad, son of Bera, daughter of Ocha, King of the Brittons of the Isle of Man, in revenge of their being sent into exile by Conaire. In this deed of violence the sons of Dondesa of Leinster took part. A. D. 60. "Ogyg.," p. 273.

² Gabhra Liffé was the hilly country bounded by the Dublin mountains on the north; on the east by the River Liffey, from its source in Kippure to Ballymore-Eus-

tace. Its western boundary included the hills from Tipper-Cavan, by Rathmore, to Athgoe, towards Tallaght, and the hill of Lyons—Cnoc Uaighen. The old name of the Liffey (which is so called from the plain it flows through, "Magh Liffé," in the level portion of Kildare) was Ruertech, "the rushing, quick-flowing stream" ("Chronicon Scotorum," p. 7.)—a name quite characteristic of its course above Ballymore-Eustace.

³ Aes Dubthaire, the cataract of Dubthaire, son of Fergna, King of the Deisi Breg, a tribe settled south of Tara, now the Barony of Deece, Co. Meath. This cataract is either Poulaphoca or one nearer to Ballymore, called Gourná, (i. e. "the

also gave his name to Beallach Dubthaire, the oldest name of the pass or road at Baltinglass ("Acta SS." in Vita Sti Fechini, cap. xxxviii. p. 138). From this it reached Cill Erc, the cemetery of which remains, though disused; a very ancient granite cross, about 4 feet in height, is the only object of antiquity on the site. This Erc was an Ossorian saint ("Mart. Donegal," Oct. 27). Further south it reached Hollywood, and thence to Dunbuyke, "Dun Buichet," the residence of Buichet Bruigh, an ancient hospitaller of Leinster, and the fosterer of Eithne Olamhdha,¹ the daughter of Dunlaing, son of Enna Nia, King of Leinster. She was the wife of Cormac Mac Art, to whom she bore Cairbre Liffecar, King of Ireland A. D. 268-284. Crossing the ford of Ath Grainey under the Dun, or rath, its course followed a deep narrow valley, now Hollywood Glen, from which it emerged at Barna na Sceath, "the Pass of the Shields," above which is the famous Dunbolg, "the Sack Fort," from which the road is named Baellach Duinbolg. The church site of Kilbelet, Cill belat, *Eccllesia compiti*, a foundation of St. Finnian of Clonard, is situated south of the rath of Dunbolg. There are no remains of this church existing, as they were levelled nearly a century and a half since, and the materials were used in building a residence hard by. A small patch of untilled land in the corner of the "church field," in which are the

foaming") Water. In the "Acta SS." p. 138, in the Life of St. Fechin of Fore, the Saint is represented "Ad Ees Duthaire juxta flumen Liffcam Catharactam stationem in Cruce agens," &c. This probably indicates the site of Ballymore church, as the place he received from the King of Leinster, which the Life of that saint calls "Tulag Fobhuir." At that church there is a very ancient granite cross and some ninth-century tombstones, which were lately discovered in making a grave.

¹ Eithne Olamhdha.—MSS. H. 2. 18, T. C. D., makes Buichadh the fosterer of the daughter of Cathair Mor, A. D. 177, Eithne Taeb-Fada. "Keating" (O'Mahony's translation), p. 330, does not agree with this MS., known as "The Book of Leinster." Buichadh had to leave his hospice at Dun-Buichet on account of his extravagance and listlessness. He retired to Cenannus (Kells, Co. Meath), where

Cormac Mac Art fell in love with his foster-child, Eithne Olamhdha, whom he married, and restored Buichet to his former home at Dunbuichet, where Eithne's son, Caibre Liffecar, was fostered. He got his soubriquet, Liffecar, from this place, as it is near the Liffey ("Keating," p. 361; "Ogygia," p. 111, cap. lxi. p. 338). A ruined church, dedicated to St. Kevin, stands in the centre of the Dun, 27 feet long by 16 feet 8 in. wide, with a chancel 6½ feet long by 8½ wide. The graves radiate from the centre of the Dun, irrespective of orientation. Athgreany with its rock monuments is below the fort; and in a valley between it and Hollywood are "St. Cavan's chair," his cave and bed; his road is pointed out higher up the hill, &c. St. Kevin is said to have lived here before he removed to Glandelach. This place was probably the Cluain Duach mentioned in his Life.

traces of the foundations of a very small structure, is all that remains of Kilbelet. A mile to the south of Kilbelet the Beallach crosses the Brown's Bec stream, flowing from the mountains Slieve Gadoe and Slieve Maam. The ford is now spanned by Hell-Kettle bridge, so called from a waterfall over a deep pool (Coipe, "a cauldron"), higher up the stream. On an elevation beside this place, to the east, was located the ancient Domnach Arda. Between this and the present hamlet is an elevation called "Holyhill." Through Donard, by the church of Donoughmore, in Imaile, the pass went to Baltinglass, thence along the valley of the Slaney to Rathvilly, Tullow; and southwards to Lough Carman, the haven of Wexford.

The Protestant church of Donard (built 1835) stands near the site of Holyhill, at which place, up to about eighty years ago, there was an ancient disused cemetery, containing some rugged boulders, pillar-stones, &c.: some of the latter were removed when the place was tilled, some built into fences, and others were unfortunately destroyed. Very recently Dr. Ferguson discovered the remains of Ogham inscriptions on some of these fragments; he also found Ogham-inscribed pillars at Old Mill, below Donard. At Hell-Kettle Bridge there is a "ballaun" stone with five deep circular cavities. On the north side of the stream are very ancient remains of walls, &c., appearing like raths or mounds. This is called "Allalone." On the rising ground opposite is Studfield: traces of an ancient Celtic hamlet may be discovered there, and local tradition maintains that this was the ancient Donard. A mill site, querns, &c., were found some years ago near Doll's-brook, which runs into Brown's Bec. In the valley towards Kilbelet is a remarkable conical elevation, 882 feet above sea level, called "Cnoc na Cairna." It stands out from Slieve Gad, or Church Mountain; on the eastern flank, towards the mountain, are the remains of another primæval Celtic town, which are well preserved, as it is fortunately considered "unlucky" to till the place: from these remains the hill has been named "the Hill of the Cairns;" this is reputed the *very first* Donard. It is needless to say that the present hamlet is in a lower site than any of its ancient rivals, and does not realize its denomination of "Church

of the High Field," which would be quite descriptive of the site on Holyhill. The mediæval church of Donard is on the south-west side of the hamlet, under the shadow of a lofty sepulchral tumulus without circumvallations; this is called the "Ballmoat." This church is now dilapidated and roofless; its architectural features were plain and devoid of ornament; it does not appear to be older than the end of the fourteenth century; it is an oblong structure, and never had a chancel. One solitary floriated coffin-shaped slab, rudely cut in the granite of the district, is the only object of antiquity in the adjacent cemetery. It is needless to say that this church does not stand on the foundations of its Palladian predecessor, the site of which was at Holyhill.

Silvester and Solinus were the presbyters left by Palladius in the church of Domnach-arda, to undertake the charge of the infant Christian community, in which they appear to have continued till their decease. And their remains were preserved in this church until they were removed, at the close of the sixth century, to the Inch or Holm of Baethin, now Inisboheen, in the parish of Dunganstown, Co. Wicklow. They were venerated in that locality until the year 770 or 774, when that church experienced the fate of the churches of Glendalach and of some other sanctuaries in Wicklow, which were burned and devastated in some internecine feuds, the details of which are not recorded in any of the existing annals ("An. Four Mast." *sub anno*). There is no record of these relics having escaped the destruction of their sanctuary at Inis Baethin, nor is there any to account for their transfer from Domnach-Arda. The absence of positive information may allow some speculation as to the cause of the translation of the relics. In the year 597, Cumiscagh, "the Royal heir of Erin," son of Aed Mac Ainmire, R. H., A. D. 568–598, going on "the noble tour of youth through Erin," came to Rathbran, the residence of Brandubh, the King of Leinster, where, having insulted the wife of Brandubh, his people, to avenge the injury, set fire to the house where Cumiscagh slept. He, however, escaped the fate intended for him, and fled across the Slaney into the mountains of Imaile. He was intercepted near the church of Cillranereach (Kilranelly), and slain by its Airchenech, and decapitated on Clough na

gan.¹ In the beginning of the following year, 698, Aed Mac Anmire came to Leinster with a large army, to avenge the fate of his son, by taking the "Boromha," or cow tribute, from the Leinster men. Having penetrated unopposed into Leinster, he encamped with his forces at Dunbolg, near Donard. A battle was fought, in which, by a curious stratagem, on account of which the Fort got its name, Brandubh was the victor, and Aed Mac Anmire was defeated, slain, and, as usual, decapitated. While the conflict was pending, the Boromha tract, which contains the *Cath Dun Bolg*² (Book of Leinster, 2. 18, T. C. D.), records that the church of Kilbelat was plundered³ and burned by some stragglers from the camp of the "King of Erin." That the same fate awaited the church of Domnach-Arda, which lay within sight of Kilbelet, was probable, so that timely precautions were doubtless taken to ensure the safety of its treasures and relics, by transferring them to some place of safety, as at that time the din of arms and the terror and confusion of impending strife raged beside this church. To oppose the passage of Brandubh, coming from Rathbran towards Dunbolg, Aed placed the Orghiallian forces at "Cruaich Abhail," i. e. "the Orchard Hill," now represented by

¹ Clogh-na-gan is situated in a small townland adjoining Kilranelagh, to which it gives its name. The "head stone," as it is now called, appears like a large mill-stone with a deep circular cavity in its centre; a portion of the circumference is broken off. It was probably intended as the base of a cross for the cemetery of Kilranelagh. A very remarkable group of stones, formed into a seat, is called "St. Bridget's Chair;" an ancient head-stone with a cross engraved on it forms the back of the seat. St. Bridget was the patron of the church of Kilranelly, where also was buried the mutilated corpse of the King of Ireland, Aed Mac Ainmire, slain, as above mentioned, at Dunbolg, A. D. 698.

² *Cath Dun Bolg* is one of the most authentic and trustworthy episodes in the tract, MS. H. 2. 18, T. C. D., called the *Boroma*, or history of the Leinster Cow Tribute. The text and translation were made by Mr. Wm. M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A., which, with his wonted generosity, he has placed in my hands for publication. It has been long promised by the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, but I be-

lieve no steps have been taken to bring it out. As the topography of the tract is perfectly well known to me, and the local traditions having been long since investigated, I hope ere long to have it ready for publication in a manner worthy of the text and translation. In 868 Dunbolg was the scene of a conflict between Aed Mac Niall, King of Ireland, and Cearbhall, King of Ossory, in which Gaithin, King of Leix, was his ally. As the period of this conflict was subsequent to the devastation of Inis Baethin, this second battle of Dunbolg can have no connexion with the translation of the relics of Solinus and Sylvester.

³ Ron Cerr, son of Dubhanach, King of Ui Maile, assumed the garb of a leper to carry out the stratagem devised to defeat the King of Ireland. Thus disguised, he went into the camp of the King, and pretended that he was a sufferer by the plundering of the church of Kilbelet, for which he was promised an eric, or compensation, after the termination of the engagement which was pending.

the ruined mounds at "Allalone," over Hell-Kettle Bridge at Holyhill. There was, however, no strife or carnage; for the men of Oriel deserted to the army of the King of Leinster, and turned the tide of battle in his favour. To these events, most likely, may be attributed the transfer of the remains of Sylvester and Solinus away from the scene of their missionary labours. It is a curious coincidence that the "Patron" day of Donard is kept on the 15th of August, the day assigned in the Martyrology of Ferrarius to the commemoration of St. Sylvester and Solinus of Domnach Arda.

When St. Patrick went from Naas into Hy Garchon, he must have passed through Donard, and as that church was sufficiently provided for by Palladius, he erected a church at Donoughmore,¹ two miles south of Donard, at the entrance into the glen of Imaile, through which St. Patrick passed into Hy Garchon. This church was also called Domnach-Senchill. M^cFirbis' Genealogies (Lord Roden's copy, p. 724) gives the descent of Berchan, son of Dioma, of Domnach Senchill in Ui Mail, Sinell,² or Shenchil, son, *recte* great-grandson, of Finchad³ of the Hy Garrchon, was the first convert St. Patrick made in Leinster ("Tr. Th.," p. 53, Todd, "St. Patrick," p. 344, note 4). By some writers this event is referred to Palladius "*alio nomine Patricius*" ("Tr. Th.," Vita 2nda, cap. 25); and his grandson Cillen⁴ is recorded to have atoned for the inhospitality of Drichir, the regulus of Hy Garchon, for he killed his only cow to entertain the Saint and his followers. It is not improbable that these events occurred in the Glen of Imaile,

¹ "Donoughmore in Omayle," a parish, &c., in the Barony of Talbotstown, Co. Wicklow, which is nearly conterminous with the Glen of Imaile: it is to be distinguished from another Donoughmore, called Yagoe, or Goeghanstown, between Ballymore-Eustace and Kilcullen Bridge. On the road near the church a Patron and fair used to be held on the 17th of March. The fair was transferred to Stratford about 1780, and afterwards to Baltinglass. The present church was rebuilt on the old site, A.D. 1711; at that time every remnant of antiquity was destroyed. On St. Patrick's Day stations were made at

Tubbernacairge, a holy well near the church.

² M^cFirbis (larger paper copy, p. 724) gives the genealogy of St. Berchan of Donnach Senchil in Ui Mail: he was son of Dioma, s. of Feargna, s. of Feargus, s. of Aodh, s. of Amalgaidh, s. of Maine Mail, brother of Cathair Mor, King of Ireland 177. A.D. 1267, Fulk de Saundford, Archbishop of Dublin, appropriated this church to the Economy of the Cathedral of St. Patrick. A list of the prebendaries from Richard de Hauriberge and Anselm Gubeon in 1267 is preserved.—*Vide* Mason's "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral."

and that the memory of its first Christian neophyte was perpetuated in the designation of the Church St. Patrick founded there, viz., Domnach Senchill, now called "Donoughmore in Omayle."

CELL FÍNÈ, ECCLESIA FINE.—It is remarkable that all the ancient writers who speak of the Palladian churches, invariably place Cell Fínè the first in order, and describe it in such a manner as to establish its pre-eminence above the others. The writer of the *Vita Secunda* ("Trias Thaumaturg.," p. 13, cap. xxiv.) records that Palladius "left in that church his books, which he had got from Pope Celestine, and the box containing the relics of the Blessed Peter and Paul and other Saints, and the tablets on which he used to write, which, in the Scottish tongue, are called from his name PALL-ERE,¹ that is, the burden of Palladius, and are held in veneration." (*Vide* Dr. Todd's "St. Patrick," p. 294.) St. Aileran, the author of the *Vita Quarta*, who died December 29th, A. D. 664, says that in his time, "even to the present day," these memorials of Palladius were preserved in Cill Fínè. If we adopt the opinion of Dr. Todd ("St. Patrick," p. 296), these relics were still preserved there up to the beginning of the ninth century. How long they were extant after that period is not recorded; but it is easy to conjecture, that if they escaped destruction in the devastations and plunderings of the churches of Ui Muiredaigh in the succeeding centuries, which our Annals testify, they must have finally perished in the raids made by the Danes when² they established themselves, early in the tenth century, in the neighbouring stronghold of Dunlavin,³ which had been

¹ *Recto* Pallaine, or Palaine, a book, satchel (O'Donovan). Quere *Epistolarium*.

² The foreigners of Athcliath were besieged by Donnchadh, King of Ireland, and Murchadh, King of Ailech, and their possessions from Dublin to Ath-Truisden were spoiled and plundered.—"Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 936.

³ Dunlavin. Dun-Uaimhna, Liamain-Lendcain, one of the daughters of Dubhtach Dubhtaire, son of Fergna, King of the Deisi Bregh; she eloped with Fomu the son of Aicher-Cerr (*a quo* Duma Aicher in Hy Felmeda), son of Eochaid Ondot of the Ernaans of Munster, and her father

followed her and slew her at Dunlavin, whence its name. (Dinnsenchus, Book of Ballymote). After the year 405, Enna, the son of Nial of the nine hostages, was slain at the battle of Laimhan by Enna Censelach. Domnall and Lorcan of Liamhain, fought at Ballachmoon in 908. The Kings of Leinster had a fortified residence here, the moat of Tornant marks the place, it is a most remarkable monument in appearance and situation. It measures in the outer circumvallation about 500 ft. in circumference. Its height outside is about 8 ft. and 4 inside. The moat or Dun rises 25 ft. above the base line of

from the earliest times one of the chief regal fortresses of Mid-Leinster. The church of Killeen appears to have survived the destruction of its venerable relics; the ancient books of Palladius were doubtless the objects which chiefly excited the hatred or cupidity of the pagan Danes. Their wanton violence and barbarity were usually directed to the book satchels and their contents, and the adorned shrines of the Saints of Erin. It appears, from some references to Killeen Cormac, that in the eighth and ninth centuries the church and cemetery were spoken of as the *Dion-lata Ceneoil Lugair*, i. e. *ad paludes*, the Marshes of Cinel Lugair. This appellation will be seen, as we proceed, to have been a most descriptive one, which, even to the present day, is realized in Killeen Cormac. These references are to be found in the *Neamshencus*, in *M'Firbis*, and also in the *Book of Lecan*. The references already given in the preceding chapters of the *LOCA PATRICIANA* to the charters, &c., preserved in the *Repertorium Viride* of John Alan, Archbishop of Dublin (A. D. 1528—1534), threw some light on the subsequent history of Killeen Cormac, or Cillen Ui Lugair. In a charter dated 1173, "*Cellinnlugair*" is mentioned as one of the churches belonging to the Abbey (Diocese?) of Glendalach. It is also mentioned in documents of the dates 1193, 1199. The Bull of Innocent III. (A. D. 1198—1226) enumerates it as belonging to Glendalach. In the diocesan of Pope Nicholas IV. in 1291, its name does not appear, it was then "*vasta*," or waste. It is not improbable that after these times the fame of Killeen waned before a rival church in the same locality, viz., the church of St. Patrick, at Nar-

the outer mound and measures 300 ft. on the summit. It stands on the slope of a hill; from its top there is a most extensive view, reaching from Slieve Mairghe to the "Hill of Lyons," embracing the plains of Meath and Kildare, and on the west the Slieve Bloom mountains. The old Church of Tornant lies to the S. E. of the moat; its walls were removed nearly a century ago, and brought to repair the church in the town of Dunlavin, which is less than a mile distant. Above the church, on the highest point of the hill, are the remains of a Pagan tumulus with white

quartz boulders ranged about it, and near it on the crest of the hill are the remains of another, which was evidently rifled by the Danes, as the covering flags of the passage and roof lie scattered about; they have leaf-like ornamentation, spiral curves, &c., of the same character as at New Grange. These remains, with a number of raths in the neighbourhood, attest the ancient importance of Dunlavin. The church was made into a prebend of the Diocese of Glendalach 1190. It appears to have been a place of great ecclesiastical importance in Mediæval times.

raghmore, Noragh Patrick of the Rep. Vir. As the history of the Apostle St. Patrick became more diffused and known in the 9th century, that of Palladius, *alio nomine Patricius*, became, either by chance or design, confused and obscured; his church shared the same fate; its name was all but lost, and its history became disguised in almost impenetrable obscurity.

Of the writers who speak of the Palladian churches, two indicate the material of which they were constructed. The Four Masters, at the year 430, expressly state that they were of wood; and Jocelyn gives a similar account of them (cap. xxv. "Tr. Th.," p. 70). "Tresque Ecclesias de robore exstructas fundavit." For this statement he must have had some ancient authority—the same, perhaps, as the Four Masters subsequently used. It is probable that these churches were made of oak planks or hurdles, after the manner of the country. Churches of this material were to be found in Ireland up to the tenth century. Wooden churches of very ancient date are yet extant in Sweden. An ancient wooden church still exists in England. The names of old Irish church sites still point out what was the original mode of structure. *Ouir teac*, the "oaken house," is a living word for an oratory. Kilclief, in the Co. Down, is a further evidence: *Cill-clerte*, the "hurdle church." We have at the same time other evidences of stone churches, as at Duleek, Co. Meath: *Doim liag*, the "stone house:" *doim*, *domus*; *liag*, *lapis* ("E. Antiq. Down and Connor," p. 217). Churches were also built with mud walls.¹ While St. Patrick was preaching in Connaught, he built one of that material on Tirawley. and another at the Rath of Cruaichan (*vide* Todd, p. 425), That the Palladian church at Killeen Cormac was built of timber is very probable, it was not difficult to erect a church of that material, and as the stay of its builder, Palladius, was not of long duration, he probably availed himself of the easiest and most expeditious means of raising a church for

¹ As appears by the following passage from the Book of Armagh:—"Et ecce Patricius perrixit ad agrum quod dicitur *Foirrgea* Filiorum Amolngid addividendum

inter filios Amolngid et fecit ibi ecclesiam terrenam de humo quadratan, quia non prope erat Sylva." Betham's "Irish Antiquarian Researches," App. p. xxxii.

his converts, which was superseded by a more permanent structure of stone. Dubhtac Mac ua Lugair erected a stone church and cross after his conversion to Christianity. In his second poem (O'Curry, p. 488), he says—"It was by me an oratory was first built, and a stone cross." And where more suitably could this church and cross have been erected than among his own tribe, on the tumulus of his ancestors, and on the site already hallowed by the church of the first Bishop of the "Scots who believed in Christ"? Under its shadow was to be his own place of rest; where also were to repose with him his sons, with other distinguished personages of his tribe and race, and Catan, or Muchatoc of Inisfail, "the holy priest of the family of Patrick"; and where, too, were to rest for a while, until popular veneration declared him a Saint, the mangled remains of Condlaed, the Bishop of Kildare, "who was devoured by wild dogs on the side of Laimhain, in the plain of Leinster."

It is worthy of notice, that when St. Patrick visited this territory, which in the Tripartite is called "Ui Ercaín," Brig, the daughter of Fernad, the son of Cobhtach, gave secret intelligence to the Saint of the snares and ambuscades which awaited him on his journey into Western Liffe. The sons of Laghis, son of Find, either to gain the favour of Crimthan, King of Hy Cinnseleagh, or perhaps at his desire, as he was then a persecutor of the Hy Barrche, "because they believed before any one else," prepared these pitfalls to ensure the destruction of St. Patrick. It is probable that Briga was a Palladian Christian, or converted by Isserninus, the Apostle of her family, the Hy Barrche. She lived at Glashely, near Narraghmore, to which church St. Patrick went as he proceeded towards South Leinster. Dubhtach Mac Ua Lugair, a native of this territory, notwithstanding the order of King Leaghair, received St. Patrick with respect at Tara. Dubhtach was not then a Christian: he became a believer, and was soon after baptized, as, doubtless, he knew much of the doctrines of Christianity from his intercourse with his Christian kinsfolk, so as to earnestly embrace it, even against his best temporal interests, and to become the trusted friend and sympathiser with our national Apostle.

ON A PAGAN CEMETERY, AT DRUMNAKILLY, NEAR OMAGH,
COUNTY OF TYRONE.

BY W. F. WAKEMAN.

THE Townland of Drumnakilly, lying at a distance of five miles and a quarter to the east of Omagh, in the county of Tyrone, though now for the greater part fairly cultivated, was, down to about thirty years ago, little more than a wilderness of heath-clad bog. As there was not anciently a church or a Christian cemetery in the district, the name *Drumnakilly* (according to Dr. Joyce, who has kindly assisted me with his opinion) must be held to mean "The ridge of the wood;" and this particular ridge, or "*druim*" is doubtlessly the rather conspicuous elevation situate a little to the west of the residence of Mr. Kyle, a gentleman who in more ways than one has contributed to the success of the explorations, a report of which I have now the honour of laying before a meeting of our Association. This hill rises to a height of about forty feet above the general level of the surrounding fields, and commands a most interesting view of the plains of Omagh on the one side, and of a wild many-tinted range of hills, amongst which Mulloghcarn is the most prominent, on the other. Though now under tillage, it was, in Mr. Kyle's memory, overspread by a rather deep bog, the peat resting upon a "bearing" of remarkably fine yellow sand, which varies in thickness from eighteen inches to nine feet. The bog is described as having been five or six feet in depth, and as having retained the roots, and, in some instances the trunks, of trees, chiefly of the fir kind. This was probably the wood referred to in the name of the Townland. But few stones occur in the soil, and those are ordinary field-stones of small size.

One day in the month of May of last year, a labouring man in the employment of Mr. Kyle, while engaged in trenching potatoes, discovered the very magnificent urn (Fig. 1) which I shall presently describe. This he brought to Mr. Kyle, who conveyed it to Omagh, where it was deposited for public exhibition in the office of the "Tyrone

Constitution." It attracted for a time considerable attention, but does not appear to have been seen by any one tolerably conversant with primeval antiquities, until, influenced by a paragraph in the "Constitution," which had been pointed out to me by an Enniskillen friend, I was induced to proceed to Omagh to gather particulars in connexion with its discovery, and if possible to draw it for publication in the pages of our "Journal." The trip was a success. I was courteously shown the urn by Mr. Carson, proprietor and editor of the "Constitution," who kindly afforded me every facility for drawing it; and in the afternoon I was fortunate enough to gain an introduction to Mr. Kyle. Upon being informed by that gentleman that the labourer or small farmer who had unearthed the wonderful urn, which I had just drawn, had recently turned up two others, in or adjoining the same spot, and that these might be seen in the possession of Mr. O'Sullivan, District Inspector under the Board of National Education, whose house was situate about a short mile from Omagh, I at once determined to call upon Mr. O'Sullivan, and if possible secure drawings of his urns also. Mr. O'Sullivan (who, I am happy to say, is now a member of our Association) was good enough to afford me much highly interesting information in connexion with the spot where the discoveries had been made; and during our conversation my pencil was at work at drawings which have been reproduced in Figs. 2, 3, and 4, pp. 503, 504, *infra*.

At this time I had not myself been at Drumnakilly, but from the descriptions of the place furnished by Messrs. Kyle, Carson, and O'Sullivan, I could come to but one conclusion as to its character—viz., that the hill was the site of some great cemetery of Pagan times; and that possibly it might prove as rich in urns and cists as was a similar "*Feart*" (described by the Rev. James Graves, in the "Transactions of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archæological Society"), at Ballon Hill, county of Carlow. In short, I determined to visit the spot, and, having received permission from Mr. Kyle, to excavate: on Nov. 16th, in the presence of Mr. O'Sullivan, who was kind enough to drive me out, operations were commenced. On this occasion the assistance of only two diggers could be procured;

but, nevertheless, the work went on well, and resulted in the discovery of five magnificent urns, Figs. Nos. 5, 6, and 7, pp. 504, 507, *infra*. They were all inverted, and all contained calcined bones in a peculiarly dry condition. These urns, together with their cists, when cists occurred, will be described presently, one by one, in the order in which they were exhumed. This may be the proper place to remark, in reference to the position of the urns with regard to each other, that they were laid in two tiers, one urn exactly, or very nearly exactly over another, the vertical space between them being about two feet and a half. The lower tier was deposited in sand at a distance of as nearly as possible eight feet from the present surface, but before the removal of the superincumbent bog they, of course, were more deeply covered. The urns were in rows extending from east to west, and crossed at right angles by other rows. The group at present under notice was found within the space of a square Irish perch, but Mr. Kyle informed me that for the last thirty years or so "crocks" and cists have been often discovered by workmen engaged in ploughing or trenching the sides of the hill. I should have said that our "find" was on the apex, and that the horizontal distance between the vessels varied from about two and a half to three feet. On the northern side of the "Feart," at a distance of about two yards from its outer line of urns, and on two levels corresponding with those of the tiers of urns, were evident traces of five fires; four of which appeared, from the quantity of oaken charcoal, blackened clay, and scorched stones, to have been of considerable strength—strange to say, very few traces of calcined bones occurred amongst the charcoal, and that although the apex, and a considerable portion of the upper part of the hill, to the depth of several feet, were well searched, it was only on the northern side that any traces of fires were found. The result of the first day's regular exploration was so satisfactory that we had high hopes of doing something quite wonderful, when on last St. Stephen's day, assisted by an able staff of labourers, we once more commenced work. But it soon appeared that former operations, those undertaken by Mr. Kyle's man, Messrs. O'Sullivan and O'Gorman (these gentlemen had been here some time previously,

and had procured portions of urns), and my work on the occasion when the five urns were discovered, had nearly exhausted the treasures of the cemetery. However, we procured two truly magnificent specimens, one of which (see Fig. 9, p. 508, *infra*) is nearly complete. The other, though broken, is still very precious on account of the richness and singularity of its ornamentation. See Fig. 10, p. 509, *infra*. This was a very hard day's digging; but, beside the gain of two urns, our observations were important as confirming former discoveries. The following day was one of a tempest of wind and rain; yet, nevertheless, we worked at an hitherto untouched part of the hill only to discover that nothing could be found. We also dug through a neighbouring tumulus, situated in a bog, about a quarter of a mile from our "*Druim*," but the place had been previously searched, probably by the Sappers of the Ordnance Survey, and nothing presented itself beyond a rude flint flake, which I shall send to the Museum.

I have now related all, or most, of the principal incidents connected with this most interesting "find;" and shall proceed to a description of the urns, taking them in the order in which I first made their acquaintance.

Fig. 1, figured on the plate which faces this page, is perhaps, in beauty of form, richness of decoration, and even size, one of the most remarkable of the vessels of its class hitherto discovered in Western Europe. It stands one foot three inches and a quarter in height, and measures three feet six inches in circumference, at the mouth. It was accidentally discovered in May, 1872, as I have already stated, by a man of Mr. Kyle's, when trenching potatoes, and is now in the possession of Mr. Milligan of Omagh. The ornamentation which it presents is exactly of that class which we find upon the golden ornaments and other antiquities of prehistoric times preserved in our museums. The colour is light, I may say bright red, and all the lines are sharply incised. It contained bones well burnt, very white, distorted by the action of fire, and extremely heavy. When slightly knocked together they emitted a sharp ringing, almost metallic, sound. From the small size of the portions remaining, it would be

No. 1.—FICTILE VESSEL FROM DRUMNAKILLY, CO. TYRONE.

[Height, 1 foot 3½ inches.]

extremely difficult to determine their character. They presented the appearance only of intensely incinerated chips. It was enclosed in a cist.

Fig. 2. Pictile Vessel from Drumnakilly.

Fig. 2 exhibits the same general form of graceful outline, but is undecorated, save by a plain semi-cylindrical band at the lower part of the neck. The height is eleven inches and a quarter,—circumference, at mouth, three feet, three inches,—colour dull brownish red. It is a very curious circumstance that this urn contained within it a smaller one, also plain. See Fig. 3.

I was informed by the discoverer that the larger vase was found to hold a quantity of dry white bones of some size, and that Fig. 3 was nearly filled with matter of a dark colour, interspersed with a number of small bones. Unfortunately the contents of both these vessels have been lost; excepting indeed some inconsiderable fragments of calcined bone which had belonged to the larger. These two specimens were quite perfect, sound, and to all appearance as strong as when first made. They are now, or were lately, in the possession of Mr. O'Gorman, a member of this Association, and were presented to that gentleman by Mr. Kyle, whose men had unearthed them. This urn was also enclosed in a cist formed of small stones.



Fig. 3. Pictile Vessel from Drumnakilly.

Fig. 4 represents a portion of neck of what had been a very large urn, standing probably thirteen inches high. The decoration—a chevron—is in bold relief. It is one of the fragments of vessels procured at Drumnakilly by Messrs. O'Gorman and O'Sullivan, on the occasion of their visit to the cemetery, some time during the last summer. It is one of the subjects which, through the kindness of Mr. O'Sullivan, I was enabled to draw when I first called at his house.



Fig. 4. Fictile Vessel from Drumnakilly.

Fig. 5, in some respects, presented a feature very rarely found in connexion with Celtic cinerary urns. Its neck and

Fig. 5. Fictile Vessel from Drumnakilly.

lip, though exquisitely proportioned, were devoid of ornament, while the body of the vessel was enriched by a network pattern executed in bold relief. The substance of this pattern is different from, and finer in quality than that of which the rest of the urn was composed. It is evident, upon even a slight examination, that this raised ornament was added after the formation and fire-hardening of the vessel, from portions of which it is easily detached. A finishing touch in the process of the manufacture would seem to have been the *washing* over of the vase and attached ornament with a thin coating of ochreous matter, which, upon a recommittal of the vessel to the action of fire, came out

a bright red colour. Within this urn was found a second, of considerable size, but so far decayed that no portion of it could be kept from crumbling into powder. Each contained bones in large quantities, which, in our anxious endeavours to remove the urns in a fairly perfect state, unfortunately commingled. The larger specimen is now unhappily in fragments, but many pieces of it, still retaining portions of its curious ornamentation, will shortly be sent to our Museum. Of its exact appearance I was fortunately enabled, through the care and zeal of Mr. O'Sullivan, to make a careful, measured, pictorial record, that gentleman supporting the rapidly crumbling vase in his hands while I plied the pencil and tape. I may here introduce Dr. Mahood's report of the contents of these two urns, as well as those of a third urn which I have yet to notice. The bones, I may add, were carefully collected, and kept separate from those found elsewhere in the Cemetery.

“ The following is a short and I believe correct account of the remains of some bones found at Drumnakilly, near Omagh. I shall note them in order, from above downwards, though the word ‘order’ seems rather out of place in such a miscellaneous, and I must say rather puzzling collection of human remains.

“ As regards the cranial portion, unfortunately we have only fragments remaining, which can give little or no information as regards the shape, &c., of the skulls; they are as follows, viz.:—A portion of the left frontal bone about two and a half inches long, by one inch in width, being that part which constitutes the upper margin of the orbit. The supra-orbital ridge is very strongly developed. A portion of the left temporal bone, the mastoid process of which is tolerably perfect, and on its inner surface the groove for the lateral-sinus can be distinctly seen. The zygomatic process is only represented by its superior or horizontal root, whilst the petrous portion has completely decayed. A small piece which might be covered by the top of the index finger is all that remains of the squamous portion. Also two flat pieces of bone about three inches by one; these, judging by the sutures, I believe to be parts of two parietal bones. The vault of a cranium, of which these would have formed a part, must have been very flat, in all probability one of the Dolicho-cephalic skulls. A portion of the right superior maxilla, but in a very imperfect condition, merely a small part of the facial surface with the nasal process. The alveolar arch and naso-palatine portion were absent. Two small and thin portions of cranial bones with the outer table decayed: these must have been part of the skull of a child. In addition to the above-mentioned, there were numerous pieces of cranial bones, but all in such a state as to render it utterly impossible to establish the identity of any of them. It is a fact worthy of notice that no teeth were found with any of the urns, though

what remained of the bones were as a rule in an excellent state of preservation. We next come to some fragments of ribs, and a piece of bone in a very bad state of preservation, probably owing to its cancellated structure: this latter when viewed on one side bears a striking resemblance to a section of a vertebra from above downwards. A small piece of the shaft of a long bone very similar to the lower third of the left ulna of a young subject, is all that remains of the upper extremity. This last bone appeared to have been fractured, or rather crushed between two opposing surfaces, and from the present appearance of the bone I am certain it was broken in this manner previous to its being placed in the urn, and also before it lost its organic constituents. The lower extremity was represented by the head of a femur, separated from its shaft at the anatomical neck. Another dilapidated piece of bone, which I think is a small part of the neck, and a smaller portion of the shaft of a right femur, minus the head. Also a couple of inches of the middle third of the femur. There were some pieces of tibiae and three other portions of bone which seemed more dense, and harder than human bone: these and several of the other bones, bore unmistakable evidence of their having been subjected to the influence of fire: some of them were slightly blackened, and all the pieces of long bones were split longitudinally, as if for the purpose of extracting the marrow. Another small bone, one of the metatarsal, is the last of those which were capable of being recognized. There were two pieces of bone very dense, apparently not human, but too incomplete to allow of any positive opinion being offered as to their nature; they were two and a quarter inches long, and about three lines in diameter: these had also been under the influence of fire, and had their medullary canal laid open for their whole extent.

"The contents of an urn subsequently discovered were more numerous than the preceding. They comprised portions of two bodies—one that of an adult, the other, part of a child. Of the latter there remain both superior maxillæ and a small portion of the inferior, also several phalanges of the hands and feet. Of the former there were numerous but small portions of nearly every part of the human skeleton. The remains of both temporal bones were the only pieces of the cranium which I could identify. Judging from the appearance of these bones, it is quite evident that they have been subjected to a very intense heat; some were completely calcined, particularly the cranial bones, whilst others, chiefly the long bones, were fissured and curled like celery when dressed for the table."

"WM. MAHOOD,

"L. R. C. S. I., &c."

The height of this urn, so rich both in its decoration and in its contents, was eleven and a half inches; circumference round the mouth, thirty-four inches. There was no cist.

Fig. 6, was the largest of all the fictilia at Drumna-killy which came under my notice, measuring as it did, one foot four inches in height, by three feet nine inches round the neck. The diameter at the base was five inches and a half; colour dark brown. This specimen is of

great interest, on account of the boldness of its mouldings, though it is otherwise devoid of ornamentation. It contain-

Fig. 6. Fictile Vessel from Drumnakilly.

ed bones in so great a state of decay that it was impossible to preserve them. In fact they went into a putty of lime

Fig. 7. Fictile Vessel from Drumnakilly.

and water. This urn was placed in a rude cist. I am very happy to have to say that a great portion of this fine

vessel will be available for our Museum. Fig. 7 is a chastely proportioned urn, which if found elsewhere would be considered of large dimensions. It measures eleven inches in height, by thirty-three inches in circumference at the mouth. A herring-bone pattern is chased round the lip, and a plain incised chevron ornaments its neck, which is of unusual depth. This urn was discovered broken, but it was found possible to collect a considerable number of the pieces which retain the pattern. This was also enclosed in a cist. All shall be forwarded to Kil-

Fig. 8. Pictile Vessel from Drumnakilly

kenny. Fig. 8 is almost of the same form as that just described, but it is an inch broader and higher, and, instead of a chevron, displays a set of incised lines, laid obliquely on its neck. Just some faint traces of the bones which it had contained were found; its pieces have been saved, and well exhibit the design. The characteristic ornamentation of No. 9, and the general symmetry of the vessel, are highly interesting. It is the smallest but one of the urns discovered, measuring but seven and a half inches in height, the same in diameter at mouth. The bones which it had con-

Fig. 9. Pictile Vessel from Drumnakilly.

tained had dissolved into a greyish powder. A portion of this urn is safe in hand. It appears to have been unenclosed. I now arrive at Fig. 10, one of the finest and richest of the

Fig. 10. Fictile Vessel from Drumnakilly.

collection. It was (alas ! that I should write *was*) one foot and half an inch high, by the same across the mouth. We have many of the pieces, and more than enough to show the design and pattern in the most ample manner. Like all the other urns, with the exception of one or two, this beautiful example was found in a cist, inverted, but the bottom stone, or floor of the little chamber, was partly composed of a squarish block of hard red sandstone, upon one face of which two cup-shaped hollows were symmetrically cut. Upon examining this stone, a third cup hollow was found on the opposite side, and there were certain faint markings at the angles of the stone, which have somewhat the appearance of having been intentionally executed. It remains to be settled whether these notches and strokes can be pronounced a species of alphabetic writing or otherwise. Mr. Kyle was the first to detect the presence of these curious cup hollows ; but we subsequently discovered three other examples ; and a fifth has probably been used as a building-stone in the pier of a gateway leading into

Mr. Kyle's yard. For what purpose the hollows had been intended, it is impossible to say. We know, however, that the stones into which they had been cut, or picked, supported urns which had been placed over them in an in-

Fig. 11. Cupped Stone from Cist at Drumnakilly.

verted position. Such cupped stones, as far as I am aware, have not been elsewhere noticed in immediate connexion with burial urns. It might be well to compare their depressions with those which occur upon one or two of the great stone basins which may be seen in the side

Fig. 12. Cupped Stone from Cist at Drumnakilly

crypts of the gigantic tumulus of New Grange, Co. Louth.

I here present illustrations of both sides of what may be considered the most remarkable of these Drumnakilly stones, viz., that upon which urn No. 10 rested. The original measures in length, one foot two inches ; in breadth, eleven inches ; and it is four inches in thickness.

Fig. 13 is the last urn which I shall have to describe. It stands one foot two inches in height, is three feet two inches in circumference round the mouth, and one foot eight inches round the base. This specimen, or its re-

Fig. 13. Pictile Vessel from Drumnakilly.

mains, like the last noticed, will be sent to our Museum. It was, when I last saw it at Mr. O'Sullivan's, nearly perfect; and it promised to keep tolerably well. It rested over a cupped stone which formed portion of the floor of its cist.

This stone measures ten inches by six, its thickness being one inch and three-quarters, and displays two cup hollows, one on each side. The material is mica-chist, or as the natives style it, "silver sandstone." The remaining cupped stones, which I do not think it necessary here to figure, may be described as follows:—one, a block of close-grained red sandstone, measuring ten inches by six, and five inches in thickness. This specimen displays two cup hollows, one on each of its greater surfaces, and has apparently been exposed to the action of

Fig. 14. Cupped Stone from Drumnakilly.

intense heat. The other is one foot three inches and a half in length, nine inches in breadth, and three inches and a half in thickness. It has but one cup,—material, a very close-grained whin. The cup hollows vary in size from five to two inches in diameter, and are usually very neatly worked.

Since this Paper was originally written, the Earl of Enniskillen was kind enough to send a large box of the bones found at Drumnakilly to Professor Owen, of the British Museum, for an opinion as to their character. I had enclosed in the same box a couple of sketches of the urns in which remains had been deposited. The contents of this box were duly laid before Professor Owen and Mr. Augustus Franks. The former eminent authority, in a letter to his Lordship, states that “not one of the bones belongs to any but the human species.” Mr. Franks, whose opinion upon many antiquarian subjects is the first in England, in a note addressed to myself was kind enough to say that “the pottery from the cemetery is of the usual character ;” and adds, “it is interesting from the large size of the urns, as compared with the more common sizes found in Ireland. No. 1 is very fine, and more elaborate than English urns of the same kind.” With regard to the dimensions of the Drumnakilly vases, it is worthy of remark that our largest example, and the smallest, are exactly of the same size as that of the largest and most diminutive of similar remains preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. Sir W. Wilde’s “Catalogue.”

It cannot be questioned that the urns described in this Paper, as a group, whether we regard size, beauty of form, richness, or peculiarity of ornamentation, are the most magnificent hitherto recorded as having been discovered in Ireland, or indeed in Western Europe. Pity it is that we should possess only the ruins of so many; yet I believe the tenderest care was exercised in the unearthing of all. Some, not a few, had gone to pieces in the ground, perhaps many ages ago, while others, upon being uncovered, though retaining their form intact, presented an appearance of a network of cracks which too surely heralded partial dissolution. The firing of all the urns was very imperfect, and portions of several of them had become dissolved into a kind of mortar.

“It seems very extraordinary,” writes Dr. Joyce, in his invaluable book on “Irish Names of Places,” “that all memory of this custom (cremation) should be lost to both history and tradition ; for I am not aware that there is any mention of the burning of bodies in any—even the oldest—of our native writings.” That small vessels, the size of an ordinary drinking cup, should be found enclosed in “burial urns,” is a fact worthy of being noted. From recent discovery and investigation it would indeed seem that the vases found in our carns and tumuli have yet to be classified, so that a distinction may be drawn between the kind of vessel intended for the reception of human ashes merely, and that which our old Pagans had furnished as food-holders, for the use of souls *en route* for Tir-na-n-oge, or some other supposed Elysium.

The cruciform ornamentation, which sometimes, though very rarely, appears on the bottoms of Irish Celtic fictilia, is absent from all the specimens exhumed at Drumnakilly; and it need hardly be observed all are hand-made.

The drawings are made to one scale, and have been engraved by Oldham, with his usual accuracy and care.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS.

AT a GENERAL MEETING, held at the apartments of the Association, Butler House, Kilkenny, on Wednesday, October 15th (by adjournment from the 1st), 1873,

MAURICE LENIHAN, J. P., M. R. I. A., in the Chair,

The following new Fellows were elected :—

James H. Owen, M. A., Architect to the Board of Public Works in Ireland; and the Rev. John Monaghan, St. Mary's, Athlone : proposed by the Rev. James Graves.

John J. O'Callaghan, F. R. I. A. I., 16, Merrion-row, Dublin : proposed by James G. Robertson, Architect.

The following new Members were elected :—

The Most Rev. Dr. Hendricken, Bishop of Providence, Rhode Island, United States; and David Mercier, Durrrow : proposed by John G. A. Prim.

Commander E. W. Hawes, R. N., Inspector of Irish Lights, Office of Irish Lights, Dublin: proposed by J. S. Sloane, C. E.

The Rev. James Graves said that a most wanton injury had been recently inflicted on some of the ancient Irish inscribed monuments at Clonmacnois. It would be recollected that the vaulted Chapter-room, adjoining the Cathedral there, had been furnished with an iron gate, and the most interesting and fragile of the monuments placed within it for their better preservation. Would it be believed that this gate had been forced, and some of the monuments broken, and others carried away? He was glad to say that in this case ample apology was

made, and the abstracted monuments restored. But no apology could repair the injury done to two of the monuments. He had thought it necessary to get printed a number of handbills for circulation amongst parties visiting Clacmacnois, of which the following was a copy :—

“All Visitors of right feeling and good taste will examine, without injuring, the Ancient Remains here preserved.

“Should any there be not so minded, they are warned that the Law (Stat. 24 & 25 Vic., c. 97) provides that whosoever shall maliciously destroy, damage, or carry away any sculpture or monument, exposed to view in a burial ground or elsewhere, are liable, if adults, to imprisonment and hard labour, and if under sixteen years, to imprisonment and whipping.”

Mr. Graves also reported that he had inspected the works in progress at Monasterboice. He was not quite satisfied with what the local committee proposed to do, and had suggested changes which he trusted would be carried out. Ultimately, he had reason to believe, the Round Tower and magnificent Crosses there would be made National Monuments under the 25th section of the Irish Church Act. He trusted that the repairs would then be carried out by the Board of Public Works with the aid of a properly qualified Inspector.

Mr. Graves had, further, to recall to the recollection of the Members present the admirable report on the state of the Churches, Round Tower, and other remains at Glendalough, read at the July meeting of 1870, by their late lamented Fellow, Dr. John A. Purefoy Colles. That enthusiastic lover of our country's antiquities had, under the sanction of this Association, and just before his return to India, exerted himself to collect subscriptions for the conservation of these most interesting and valuable remains, and with some measure of success: he had obtained the sum of £66 5s. 6d., from which, when Dr. Colles's expenses in printing, postage, &c., were deducted, a balance of £54 10s. 1d. remained in the hands of the Treasurer of the Association. This sum it had been intended to reserve for the time when Dr. Colles should return to Ireland, to carry out, so far as the means it afforded would avail, his projects of careful repair and conserva-

tion. But, alas ! that time was not to come. Dr. Colles was cut off by brain-fever, at Calcutta, in the January of this year. In the meantime he (Mr. Graves) had learned that the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland had an intention, under the provision of the 25th section of the Irish Church Act, to make an order vesting the ruins, &c., at Glendalough, in the Board of Public Works, and had called on that body to send in an estimate of the sum required for the purpose of conservation ; and he was so fortunate as to be able to meet Mr. Owen, their architect, at Glendalough last July, and had inspected the ruins with him. He, also, was happy to state that if the recommendations made by Mr. Owen were sanctioned by the Commissioners, the present most disgraceful state of the ruins would be remedied, and a careful conservation (not "restoration") of the famous "Seven Churches of Glendalough" effected. Before it was known that this State measure of conservation was likely to be carried out, Sir William Wilde, having had his attention directed afresh to the locality by his labours in editing the Memoir of Gabriel Beranger for the July number of the "Journal" of the Association, became most anxious that something should be done for the preservation and clearing out of the ecclesiastical remains in the Valley of Glendalough ; and he (Mr. Graves) was disposed to recommend the Committee to add the Colles fund to whatever sum Sir William Wilde might collect for that purpose, always with the proviso that proper supervision should be secured whilst the work was in progress. But when it became likely that the public funds would be available for the purpose, it seemed to him (Mr. Graves) undesirable to expend the small sum collected by Dr. Colles on an imperfect attempt at conservation, and he would refer the question to the Meeting, as to whether it would not be better to reserve the money so as to be enabled to supplement, if desirable or required, the work of Government ; and if this were found to be unnecessary, whether it would not be advisable to obtain permission from the subscribers to expend their contributions on some kindred object. He should add, as he was informed by Sir William Wilde, that, in conjunction with the Rev. Eugene Clarke, P. P., of Glendalough,

he (Sir William) had, at his own expense, removed the trees which were injuring the walls of the Trinity and Reefeart churches, and excavated their areas. This was a good work which every lover of antiquity would appreciate.

The meeting fully concurred in Mr. Graves's suggestion.

The following presentations were received, and thanks voted to the donors :—

"Four Letters on Several Subjects, to Persons of Quality. By Peter Walsh, of St. Francis's Order, Professor of Divinity. Printed Anno 1688 : " presented by the Rev. W. R. Blackett.

"Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie," 1872, parts i—iv. ; "Tillæg till Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed, Aargang 1872 ; " *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*," new series, 1872 : presented by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

"Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for 1870 : " presented by the Institution.

"Statistics of the Colony of Tasmania, for the year 1872 : " presented by the Tasmanian Public Library.

"American Journal of Numismatics, and Bulletin of American Numismatic and Archæological Societies," July, 1873 : presented by the Boston Numismatic Society.

"Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London," second series, Vol. VI., Nos. 7 & 8 ; and Vol. VII., No. 1 : presented by the Society.

"The Archæological Journal, published under the direction of the Central Committee of the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland," Nos. 116 & 117 : presented by the Institute.

"Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin," Nos. 39—41 : presented by Prof. Dr. W. Koner, Berlin.

"The Journal of the British Archæological Association," June, 1873 : presented by the Association.

"Archæologia Cambrensis," fourth series, No. 15 : presented by the Association.

"Tenth Annual Report of the Belfast Naturalist's Field Club," 1872-1873 : presented by the Club.

"Agricultural Statistics, Ireland," 1873 : presented by the Registrar-General.

"Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (England)" for 1871, 1872, and 1873 ; "Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records (Ireland)" for 1871 and 1872 : presented by the Right Hon. the Earl of Courtown.

"The Reliquary," Nos. 53 & 54 : presented by Llewellynn Jewett, F. S. A.

"The Irish Builder," Nos. 301-332 : presented by the Publisher.

A thumb flint, or scraper, picked up by the donor, in the Valley of the Braid, County Antrim : presented by the Rev. James Graves.

The blade, $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, of a bronze dagger without the point, found at Pollen Strand, Enishowen, close to the spot where a valuable gold torque was found last year : a very perfect white flint arrow-head, of the barbed variety, 3 inches long—a most beautiful example of the art of chipping that material—found in the townland of Dunluce, County Antrim ; and two small tobacco pipes of the 17th century ; one found in digging near Inch Castle, in the Island of Inch, County Donegal ; the other in Somersetshire : presented by Thomas Watson, Londonderry.

A fragment of a fictile vessel, similar to those found in burial cists ; specimens of charcoal and burned bones ; and a piece of variegated polished stone, found in clearing out the clay and debris from the inside of the Round Tower at Monasterboice : presented by Mr. James Graham.

A gun-money crown piece of James II., with the date 1690 : presented by the Rev. James Graves.

Two richly gilt buttons, with the inscription near the edge, on scrolls—KILKENNY THEATRE ; in the centre R. P., in a monogram—the initials of "Richard Power," the accomplished promoter and manager of the famous "Kilkenny Plays : " these buttons were the only known

remnants of the livery of the Theatre : presented by the Rev. Beaver H. Blacker.

A pair of curious old shoe-buckles, found since last Meeting, in the widening of the lane between St. Patrick's Church-yard and the Upper Parade, Kilkenny : presented by John Reynor, Kilkenny.

The fragments of a large number of most interesting fictile vessels, exhumed from the Pagan Cemetery of Dromnakilly, County Fermanagh, as described in the paper of Mr. Wakeman, read at the July Meeting, and printed with numerous illustrations in the last number of the "Journal" (p. 499 *supra*); it was much to be regretted that the fragile nature of those *fictilia* rendered it impossible to deposit them entire in the Museum : presented by W. F. Wakeman.

A Peruvian burial vase, with the figure of a warrior on one side in high relief; brought home by Captain Eastman of the ship "Atlanta," from Peru, where it was found in the cutting of the railway through an ancient cemetery : presented by James Budd, Waterford.

Specimens of mortar and plaster from Melifont Abbey : presented by the Rev. George H. Reade.

The Chairman exhibited a rather curious type of spear-head, long and pointed, and not unlike the modern Lancer's spear-head, which was found by Mr. John Long, Civil Engineer, a member of the Association, when he was superintending the dredging of the Patent Slip on the North Strand of the river Shannon, at Limerick, in the month of August, 1867. On testing it, it was found to be bronze, but all over blackened with oxydation. He also exhibited a lune-shaped, hollowed, and rivet-holed article of bronze, which had been found some years ago at Lough Gur, in the county of Limerick, near the locality of the discovery of the celebrated ancient shield which now forms a chief attraction in the collections of the Royal Irish Academy. The article in question was considered to be, by some antiquaries, the pommel of an ancient sword, whilst others were of opinion that it was the head of a staff, probably of a pastoral staff; and there were not a few who had expressed themselves

rather perplexed in their search to discover some use or meaning for the article. He also exhibited another bronze spear-head of smaller size, which was discovered by a Dublin gentleman, in a rath in the county of Wexford; and he showed an inscribed breast buckle of the Dublin Volunteers of 1792, like one which belonged to the Kilkenny Volunteers in 1782, and which is in the Museum.

The Chairman also called attention to the discovery of an underground chamber, constructed of black oak, over the bed of a stream at Labadye Bridge, as you go from Ballina, near Killaloe, on the Shannon, towards the main road between Limerick and Nenagh, in the county of Tipperary. The following account was given to the Chairman by Mr. Michael Andrews, an intelligent farmer, who discovered this curious underground structure :—

“In the first discovery of Labadye, in the year 1838, there were four brothers of us, namely—John, Patrick, Michael, and James Andrews—living here, all of Ballymalone, county of Tipperary. I have no doubt of the year, 1838. I have papers written in that year; and nothing reminds one of dates so well as written papers. The first discovery of the cave was when we were in the act of sinking a drain on the lands. I was the person who struck my spade, and in striking down I came right on a balk of timber. We went four feet deeper, and then it was that we discovered a frame like the frame of a door; and under that frame all the timbers seemed to be joined to one another. After that we got on a sluice, for all the world like a chimney, about two feet square, or more; say it was thirty inches square. That sluice led from the frame until it went down eight feet in the land. Then, at the end of the sluice below, we got to a ground floor, all boarded. There we got from fifteen to twenty pair of wooden shoes, very large; one pair longer than the rest, all rights and lefts, and capped all over head (the upper of the shoe) with leather. The hinderpart of the sole was going back an inch and a half behind the actual place for the heel. There were two holes at each side, in the place behind the heel, through which there was a strap of leather which came from the heel across the instep, in order to fasten the shoe on the foot. At the discovery of the shoes we got a large piece of timber like the stock of a car wheel [the nave of the wheel technically]. There were from ten to fifteen large cartloads of ashes got at the bottom of the chimney, or shaft, or sluice; and round about that there was a staircase, coming up eight feet also. We found fourteen beams of timber, twelve or fourteen inches square and twelve feet long, all of the finest black bog oak, without a flaw or a speck in it. The length of the cave, by the over-ground measurement, was twenty-four yards, and it was twelve feet wide. The timber, I say, was bog oak, all lined with moss and bog mould, and as pure and sound as when put down. There were pillars of timber, oak, bog oak, support-

ing the roof. The mouth of the sluice was in the middle of the land, upright, perpendicular, as you'd call it, wide enough to let a man down; it was all of the purest black bog oak. The place was called *Laba na Diaigh*, in other words, 'the Thieves Den.' A man who went round in old times, called 'Gallopig Hogan,' used to frequent it, with his followers; and another resort of his was Island Mac Turlagh, near Bushfield. The ground is now all filled in. I should state that there was a big wooden ladle, with a handle two feet long, found in the cave; it was for all the world like one of the tin cabbage colanders, with holes in the bottom. From the top of the ground down to the level of the river is just about twenty feet. The room was twelve feet broad, and the height was eight feet. The beams of timber were so large and so heavy, that ropes had to be put around them to drag them out of the place where they were. Hundreds of people used to come to see the cave. The shoes were quite common about our houses, until they were kicked to dust by the boys; the timber is in use in our farm-yards, &c. There were no nails in the work, all was rabbeted and jointed in the nicest way you could imagine, and mortised, &c. The lower part of the sluice would make one of the finest of pig troughs. I shall make you a present of a bit of the timber."

The Rev. Mr. Graves said that comparing the bronze article exhibited by the Chairman with the pommels of some ancient Irish swords in the Museum, it would seem to have served a similar purpose for a bronze sword. The swords to which he referred were of iron, and were much corroded by time; but the pommels were very much of the shape and size of the bronze antique.

The Chairman called attention to a sketch of the curiously fashioned wooden shoes, which were found in the cave at Labadye.

The Rev. Mr. Graves said that the shoes seemed to be very like the shoes of the peasantry of the present day, in some parts of France.

The Chairman thought that, in that event, it was not unlikely that the shoes found at Labadye were of the time of James II., when tradition has it that Sarsfield, on his way to Ballyneety, saw the cave. One of the toasts of the followers of William was—"God save King William, who saved us from brass money and wooden shoes."

Major Wemyss, Danesfort, sent two very perfect fictile vessels, found some years since on his property, as detailed in a communication made to the Association by the Rev. James Graves, at the September meeting, 1860.

Mr. Graves said that he had on that occasion described

a very curious vase as seen with others by him at Danesfort, which was not only covered by fine surface ornamentation, closely resembling that observable on our ancient gold antiques, but which had the rare, if not unique accompaniment of a cover with a loop handle at top. When, some years after, the late Lady Elizabeth Wemyss deposited in the Museum three very curious fictile vessels, found near the earthwork which gives its name to the townland of Danesfort (correctly Dunfert, "the Dun of the Burial Place"), this urn was supposed to have been lost; and it has only recently been found by Major Wemyss, laid by in a press, accompanied by another vessel of elegant form, carved with impressed ornamentation, and enriched by a row of knobs running round its neck.

The Rev. James Graves said that he had purchased for their Museum a very fine bronze spear-head, which he laid on the table. It measured $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and had loops at the sides. What made it remarkable, besides its elegant form and fine preservation, was the occurrence of engraved ornamentation, in the form of a lozenge, on the loops, and of contiguous lines round the socket. It was found in cleaning up a drain in Carrowkeel bog, near the Glebe House of Clonmacnois, King's County.

The following communication on Inscribed Cromlechs in Ireland was addressed as a letter to Rev. James Graves by Samuel Ferguson, LL. D., to be laid before the Meeting :—

"DEAR SIR,—Being indebted to you for the information that an inscribed Cromlech exists at Castlederg in the county of Tyrone, I willingly communicate to you the result of an inspection of this interesting monument, which I was enabled to make in the spring of the present year.

"I was already aware of the existence of a monument of a similar character at Lennan in the county of Monaghan; and made an examination of it a preliminary part of the undertaking.

"The Lennan monument is a pure Cromlech. It stands in the townland of that name, parish of Tullycorbet (Ord. Sheet, Monaghan, No. 19), about 180 yards east of the county road leading from Tullycorbet to the old mail-coach road from Monaghan to Castleblayney, on the farm of Mr. Duffy. Mr. Duffy informed me that, in the year 1847, in excavating under it for the purpose of making a potato-pit, he had the misfortune to bring down the cap-stone which, in its fall, prostrated and cracked in two the western supporter. It is this broken stone which bears the inscribed markings. I refer to a sketch of the Cromlech as it now exists

(Pl. I., No. 1), for the general appearance of the structure. Dislocated portions of the inscription exist on both sides of the crack, which is seen horizontally traversing the fallen pillar; but its remains are chiefly traceable on what is now the under side of the fissure.

"These characters, whatever be their nature, were noticed so far back as 1835, by the learned Dr. John O'Donovan, then commencing that series of letters for the intended Ordnance Memoir of Ireland, which now constitutes so valuable a fund of topographical knowledge among the manuscripts at the Royal Irish Academy. His youth and little experience, at that time, will extenuate the great indiscretion he records of himself in the passage I am about to extract from his letter to Lieutenant Larcom, dated, Carrickmacross, 14th May, 1835 (Ord. Sur. MSS., Vol. for Armagh and Monaghan, $\frac{14}{B 12}$, pp. 76-7).

" 'He [Brian Mac Mahon] went with me in the middle of the rain last Monday, to show me a Cromlech which stands in the townland of Lennan. It is the finest one I ever saw; and one of the supporters of the large flag exhibits an Ogham inscription. The lines are distinctly cut on a part of the pillar-stone on which the weather could never have any effect, so that this Ogham inscription may be as old as the time of *Caffa Draoi*! The following is the copy of it [see Plate I., No. 2]. I think it may be forty or fifty years [old], and similar to the inscription on the Callan mountain so elaborately elucidated or decyphered by Theophilus O'Flanagan. I cut the name *moo matganna* in large letters under it, to puzzle future antiquaries, and give rise to various conjectures as to which of the chieftains of that name were interred beneath the noble flag.'

"O'Donovan and Petrie both appear, at this time, to have been possessed with a violent and overpowering prejudice against the genuineness of Ogham texts in general. Petrie, it may well be believed, would have been glad, before his death, to have recalled his memorable challenge to the Munster antiquaries to prove that the Ardmore inscription is alphabetic writing of any kind; and O'Donovan, after he had subsequently seen the legends in the Dunloe cave, discovered in 1838, gave a candid testimony to their genuineness and importance, in his preface to his Irish Grammar. But for many years, if not to the last, he appears to have retained his first impression of the Lennan inscription. Writing to Mr. John Windele on 27th September, 1843, he says, 'I found an Ogham inscription on a Cromlech about one mile north-east of Ballybay in the county of Monaghan; but it is, most undoubtedly, a modern fabrication' (Windele MSS., Supplement, vol. i., p. 183, in Library R. I. A.). He assigns no reason to lead to his belief beyond what may be collected from the bizarre appearance of his own drawing; and this, it will be seen, differs from the existing remains to such a degree as may well prove a warning to others against hastily promulgating imputations of fraud.

"We next read of the Lennan Cromlech in 1849, when the Rev. Charles Graves, now Bishop of Limerick, exhibited a rubbing of it at the meeting of the Academy held on the 11th of June in that year. The woodcut illustration in the 'Proceedings' (vol. iv., p. 368) is reproduced in Plate I., No. 3, annexed. Mr. Graves at the same time communicated a remarkable paper in which he collected the evidences showing a knowledge of Runes among the ancient Irish, and intimated an opinion that the Irish Ogham might be of Norse origin. Bishop Graves's observations are still very worthy of attention, and the paper will always be referred to

Fig 1 Cromlech at Lennan



Fig 2 Inscription thereon as copied by Donovan, 1854



Fig 3 Ditto as rubbed for Dr Graves 1848

Fig 4 Ditto from a Cast 1873

Forster & Co Lith Berlin

as a repertory of solid information in this field of paleographic inquiry. But the tendency of subsequent observation points to a period anterior to Norse influences for the earlier of our lapidary Ogham texts; and I may remark that the appearance of the scores depending from a stem-line, which is one of the supposed Runic features thought to characterize the Lennan legend, may have arisen from the existence of the crack, the under edge of which would show as a line in the rubbing. Its position seems now to be reversed by the turning over of the inscribed supporter. On the question of its genuineness, Bishop Graves proposed the test of observation and comparison, which, on your information, to a great extent, I endeavour to apply in the present paper. 'Of its genuineness Mr. Graves acknowledged that doubts might be entertained, inasmuch as no similar inscriptions have yet been discovered in this country. At the same time he thought it desirable to bring it under the notice of antiquaries, in order that, if spurious, competent authority may pronounce it to be a forgery; or, if it should appear to be genuine, that other inscriptions of the same kind might be sought for in the Cromlechs which abound in the country.'

"It is now time that I should state more in detail what are the present appearances. The lithograph reproduces them from a photogram taken from the paper-cast which I moulded on the surface of the stone. (See Plate I., No. 4.) The seemingly Runic aspect of the characters is not so pronounced as in the wood-cut from the rubbing; and, indeed, in the reflected light of the analogous inscriptions, to be noticed further on, as well as in the general results of later discovery, can only with hesitation be said to exist. The scorings are now very faint: and the surface where one of the most rune-like features of the rubbing existed has scaled off. Above the fissure, which is about an inch in width, may be seen some continuations of the digits, or whatever the scorings may more properly be termed. Above these again occurs an object not hitherto noticed. It consists of a horizontal line with curved extremities somewhat similar to those figures which are thought to represent boats or galleys on certain Breton and Norse monuments (see 'Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy,' viii., 398, 451); and for notices of such objects on sculptured rocks in various parts of Scandinavia, see 'Mem. de la Soc. des Antiq. du Nord,' 1840-45, p. 142. If such be its character, nothing could more strongly attest the sincerity of the entire work; for prior to 1835 no one in our world of learning knew of the occurrence of figures of this kind on any ancient monument save in the cave at Kivik, where, although noticed, their design had not been apprehended. Holmberg, I believe, had not yet written; and the incised sculptures of *Mané Nelud* still rested in the obscurity from which I was the first to disentomb them in 1863. No traces are now visible of the inauspicious handiwork of O'Donovan.

"Seeing the paramount importance, in such an inquiry, of accuracy of representation, I would willingly, if I could, place the veritable work of the sun under the eyes of your readers; but at this time there unfortunately exists in Dublin no means of reproducing the photogram in autotype. The criteria, however, which I place in your hands will enable you to compare and vouch for the accuracy of the lithograph.

"I have only to add, in reference to the Lennan or Tullycorbet Cromlech, that the knoll on which it stands is called by the country people *Cruck-na-clia*, which may be rendered 'Battle-hill.'

“The position of the characters at Lennan is such that they may or may not have been inscribed coterminously with the erection of the monument. In the case of the Castlederg Cromlech, to which I now proceed, the position and circumstances of the inscription show it to be coeval with the structure. In this respect it claims a singular interest for European antiquaries: for, although the circle-inclosed crosses and figures of galleys inscribed on the upper surface of the cap-stone of the Grevinge or Herrestrup Cromlech were found there on removing the superincumbent cairn, there is a possibility, however remote, that the monument had stood exposed *sub dio* for some indefinite period, before it received them and became, as it was when discovered, the nucleus of a barrow: but the Castlederg Cromlech bears a legend analogous to that of Lennan, and to others to which I shall presently refer, which must, in part at least, have occupied the upper ledge of one of the original supports before the cap-stone was imposed.

“It will be found marked as ‘Druid’s Altar’ on the Ordnance Map of Tyrone, sheet 16, a short three-quarters of a mile to the north of the town of Castlederg, 140 yards to the east of the old Strabane road leading through Churchtown townland. It stands on the land of Mr. Walsh, by whom the principal cap-stone was dislodged, so far as I could gather, more than ten years ago. It appears that the structure had previously been rendered insecure by a stone-mason, who had abstracted one of the supports for building purposes; and it was suggested that the motive for casting down the cap-stone was an apprehension lest the owner’s cattle, in rubbing or sheltering under it, might do themselves a mischief. That the inscription was there at the time of the first disclosure of the upper face of the support on which it is sculptured, is the common and consistent statement of the people of the country; but the case rests more satisfactorily on the fact, wholly independent of testimony, that a collateral covering-stone remains *in situ*, and that the line of scorings is prolonged underneath it into a position too contracted for the use of a graving tool. It is difficult for the purposes of a drawing to attain a point of view embracing the general arrangement; but I have endeavoured in the sketch (Plate II., No. 1) to indicate the leading features. The point of view is from the southwest, and it will be seen that the block which forms the northern boundary of the cell bears along its upper surface, which formerly supported the great cap-stone—now cast down on the right—a continuous series of straight scorings, extending onward into the shadow of the minor covering-stone, which still roofs in the eastern end of the chamber. The nature and character of these scorings, with their accompanying indentations, appear at large in the lithographic copy of the photogram taken from the cast made by myself on the spot, 13th April, 1873 (Plate II., No. 2). I send you these also for purposes of comparison and inspection. It is much to be regretted that some over-zealous hand has recently scratched the surfaces both of the scorings and of their accompanying shallow cup-like indentations; but you are in possession of a rubbing taken in 1864 by a careful observer, on which every feature appears substantially as on the cast, showing that the sincerity of the legend has not been destroyed, although, in the absence of this voucher, it might have been compromised by the indiscretion of the restorer.

“A generic resemblance is traceable between these scorings and the remains of the Lennan inscription, which, if there were nothing more,

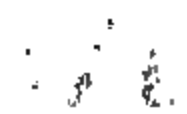


Fig 1 Cromlech at Castlederg

Fig 2 Inscription on Dittethem Cast 1873

INSCRIBED CROMLECH AT CASTLEDERG CO. TYRONE

would raise a serious doubt of their being merely accidental or capricious indentations. But, in fact, there exist in a great number of localities in Ireland, and in one place in North Wales, inscribed scorings so evidently of the same nature, that it is very difficult to withhold our belief from their claim to be regarded as significant marks. One of these may be seen in the Lapidary Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, among the Academy's original collection, and one amongst the Ogham-inscribed stones lately acquired from the representatives of Mr. Windele. These are represented in Plate III., Nos. 1 and 2, from cast and photogram. Others, which I have myself seen, exist in juxtaposition with undoubted Oghams at Donard, in the county of Wicklow, and at Killeen Cormac, in the county of Kildare, as well as, unassociated with regular Oghams, at Rathmore, near Naas, in the latter county.¹ Others are enumerated in the following extract from one of the MS. Windele miscellanies in the same collection:—

“ ‘There remains a class of irregular scorings, some of which I believe to be genuine Oghams, although barbarously executed, whilst others are of a character sufficient to exclude them from this description. They are found on various buildings and monuments, on Round Towers, churches, and forts. Although conjectures have been various as to the nature and objects of them, I am satisfied they were in general produced by the sharpening of arms. Of this class I would rank the long, deep lines on the doorways of the Round Tower of Cloyne, and the old Romanesque church of Carrigeen, near Croom, and Inniscarra, near Cork; the gallery or entrance of the Cahir Magliath, near Kenneh, &c.; the stone in the old church at Kenmare, &c.

“ ‘We have (also) found marks of this description on stones engraved with undoubted Oghams, as on Nos. 4 and 5, at Kilcoolaght, on the Aghadoe stone, on that formerly in the wall of Agabullog old church, &c. The markings on the Dallans of Gormlee, Longstone, and Barachawrin, also looking somewhat of the same type, bear evidences too distinct, and approaching too nearly to the real Ogham scoring, to leave any doubt on my mind that they belong to that character.’

“ He then proceeds to notice scorings of an intermediate class at Britway old church; Rossglass, near Drumtariff, five miles west of Kanturk; and Shrahanard, on the southern base of Mushry mountain, all in the county of Cork.

“ ‘The last,’ he says, ‘is a small *Cromlech*, consisting of an incumbent stone placed on four uprights, one at each side; and the others at the upper and lower ends. On the inside face of the latter (cast) are cut a number of scores placed with great irregularity, and a total absence of arrangement. Some cross each other, so as to present eight of an X form, and three or four are so placed in reference to each other, as to form V's. The scores are also of unequal length.’ (Windele MSS., Suppl. vol. iii., p. 212 d.)

“ To this long list remain to be added, from other references of this laborious observer and collector, similar scorings at Faha, Kerry; at Kilnasaggart, Armagh (rather Down); at Dysart Round Tower, Limerick; and at Clogheen Milcon, Gurrane, Cillchuillin, Coolanaghtig, and Killowen, the last bearing the significant designation of *clock na n'arm*, or [*sharpening*] *stone of the weapons*, in Cork.

¹ “I have also recently inspected the supposed inscription of this nature at Vicar's Cairn, near Armagh, which has

been engraved in the ‘Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,’ but I make no doubt of those scorings being natural.”

"In many of them a general arrangement of digits in reference to one guiding line, expressed or implied, is observable; and in some, what appear to be regular Ogham digits exist in the midst of the more irregular indentations. As the examples hitherto observed in Ireland generally exist on flat surfaces, in one plane, it has been commonly thought that they are traces of the plough-share. Other suggestions are, that they have been formed by workmen sharpening their tools, warriors sharpening their arms (as occurred to Mr. Windele), and so forth. Thus the current tradition at Castlederg is that a cobbler formerly occupied the cell, and that these are the tracks in which he sharpened his awls; and the same story may be heard of similar remains in Munster. Like indentations on one of the interior walls of Limerick Cathedral are said to be the work of Cromwell's troopers sharpening their swords.

"The piece of evidence which I am now about to adduce will, I think, dispel these theories, as applied to some out-door examples of such inscriptions, showing as it does a case of scorings of the kind in question *returned* upon the angle of the stone. This example also has been cast, photographed, and reproduced by the lithographer, whose work I enable you to verify by sending the originals. It comes from North Wales, and is the first example, so far as I know, of these *quasi* Oghams, or, indeed, Oghams of any kind, being found in that region. It is to Mr. Burchett of the South Kensington School of Art I am indebted for this, as well as for many other applications of the process of paper-casting from inscribed surfaces, which I have not ceased to press on the attention of inscriptional investigators since I first became acquainted with its many advantages. Writing on 26th October, 1871, Mr. Burchett gives the following account of the inscribed stones at Arduddwy:—

"On p. 192, of "Black's Guide to N. Wales," I read, "On a little hill three miles N. E. from Ffestiniog, there are between 30 and 40 oblong mounds, from 2 to 3 ft. long, and 15 inches broad, every one having a small stone at each end. . . . The tradition respecting these memorials is as follows:—The men of Arduddwy made an incursion into the Vale of Clwyd, and brought away a number of women, whom they conducted to this part of the country. Being pursued, and here overtaken by the warriors from the vale, a battle ensued, and the men of Arduddwy were all slain. . . . The slaughtered men were buried at this spot, and the mounds mark the place of interment." The place is called (Beddau Gwyr Arduddwy) "Graves of the Men of Arduddwy," and there is a "Pass" in the immediate neighbourhood named "The Pass of the Graves of, &c."

"Now I knew from you that there were Ogham inscriptions in S. Wales, but not, I thought, *Welsh* Oghams. In any search amongst Meini Hirion or Cromlechs, I had been unable to trace anything of the kind—but, I thought, if anything of the sort is to be found, it is here.

"On arriving at the place, which local tradition asserted to be the "place of the graves," I could at first discover no trace of them on the hill-side—but seeing a solitary cottage in a near hollow, I went to it and found a woman about 50 or 55 who was born in the same house, and whose mother, then living, had been born in the same house and had lived there ever since. By the elder of the two I was informed that a few years ago a wall had been built on the land, and that nearly all the stones (the tradition was well known) had been removed and built into the aforesaid wall. The younger of the two women offered to show us the "place"—we went, and under her guidance, found remains which very fairly corresponded with the description given, allowing for the violent and careless removal of the stones; the hollows from which they had been taken being very visible, and the battered grave mounds still to some extent remaining.

"In one case, the best marked so far as the *mound* was concerned, I found at one end a stone which I proceed to describe—I made the investigation with great care, and you may rely on the results being as I am about to state them. Whether they are worth

Fig 1 In Museum RIA

Fig 2 Ditto



Fig 3 At Ardudwy North Wales

Fig 4 Ditto

Forster SC&L ch.Dublin

the paper I write them on, your better judgment will decide. I sketch the stone (see Plate III., No. 3).

“The surface, of which the dimensions are twenty inches by six, sloped slightly backward, and was originally all that could be seen; I removed the mould from the top edge as I have shown. On the face of the stone were the marks—shall I say “digits”?—represented. They were very cleanly, I might say carefully, cut—about 4 in. and 2 in. long, and regular in their angle of inclination. They were not returned upon the upper face of the stone, and after last year’s experience and careful investigation I think I may say that most undoubtedly they were cut by the hand of man *a long time ago*. After careful search I could find no other similar stone in “situ.” I then proceeded to examine the wall in which others had been employed. After some search I found one which seemed to belong to the set—but here I had not the advantage of light, as in the first case, and therefore I do not speak with so much reliance on my impressions. The stone I am about to describe formed a portion of the wall, but I was able to see and feel round its edges. It was softer than the first, the surface and the marks more worn and abraded; still I think the weather and softer material would account for the difference. The place where the graves are is a most secluded and desolate mountain track, only made more lively now by the near Slate Quarries that are worked in connexion with the “Little Wonder” or Ffestiniog Railway.’

“Then followed a sketch of the second stone, showing the scorings *returned on the upper face*. This seemed sufficiently important to induce Mr. Burchett to return to the spot in the present autumn, and make an authentic cast of the object, to the photogram of which, lithographed in Plate III., No. 4, I now invite your attention.

“These evidences will, I think, satisfy most minds that the irregular Oghams also are generally the result of design. Whether the design extended beyond that unintelligent imitation of phonetic characters which we sometimes see on the coinage of unlettered nations, as in Norse imitations of Byzantine pieces, may be a question: but is one on which I do not venture to offer any opinion.

“Certainly it seems difficult to suppose that such a disorderly mixture of indentations and scattered hatchings as one sees, for example, on the published drawings of the Rathkenny Cromlech (‘Proceedings, R.I.A.’ vol. ix., p. 160), could have been designed to convey a meaning, much less a meaning to be arrived at through the medium of phonetic exponents. But the examples given in the illustrations to this paper enable us to discern something of method intermediate between these Indian-looking *bizarrieries* and the regular phonetic character.

“In addition to the Cromlechs enumerated, I have only heard of one other in Ireland which there may be reason to believe is inscribed. I derive my knowledge from the collections of the late Mr. Windele; and I would ask permission to say here that a perusal of his manuscript remains has tended to raise my estimate of his character and abilities. Among various miscellaneous memoranda, relating chiefly to the localities of Ogham inscriptions, I find the following notice; but whether the monument be or not of the Cromlech class, I have no means of determining: ‘Cromleagh Ogham, near Bantry, discovered by R. Downing, very much worn and injured.’—Windele MSS., Suppl., vol. iii. p. 236 *d*.

“These Cromlechs then at Lennan, Castlederg, Rathkenney, Shrahanard, and the one near Bantry, in Ireland, that of Grevinge in Zeeland, and the *Merchant’s Table* at Locmariaker (‘Proc. R. I. A.’ viii. 451, Pl. 4) constitute, so far as I know, the list of such monuments bearing letter-like traces, in the west of Europe. I include the last with some hesitation: for, if I have been mistaken in representing something like a plume issuing

from the well-known hatchet, I could hardly speak with confidence of the seeming traces of associated characters. And finding this note in 'Rude Stone Mon.,' 362—'The existence of the plume is doubted by Sir Henry Dryden; and he is so accurate that probably he is right;'—and being assured by trustworthy friends that they also have looked for it in vain, I seem to be threatened with a new experience of the fallibility of my own observation. But remembering the famous example of the *Septem Romani*, and that, with the aid of a table obtained from a neighbouring cottage, I explored every part of the under surface of the covering stone, with both eyes and fingers, I cannot but believe that what I thought I observed does exist. It would occasion me great unhappiness to think that I had made statements calculated to mislead, and I should be the first to disavow and deplore them if they really be erroneous. At present all I can suggest is, that a paper cast of the under surface and seaward arris of the Table should be taken by some visitor competent to do such work, so as to put the fact, one way or the other, out of question. I have seen a cast of as large an inscribed surface made in a few hours. But the position is difficult to get at; and working on a flat surface overhead would require special manipulation. However, if any one, willing to essay the task, will communicate with me, I shall most thankfully supply all requisites, and give every direction and instruction that my experience can suggest.

"But whether the *Merchant's Table* be inscribed or not, the other examples I have cited would seem to establish the fact, that during some part at least of the Cromlech-building period, characters of some kind of significance were in use. The question still hangs in equipoise whether we are here among pre-historic or merely pre-mediæval remains. I do not pretend to solve it; but gladly contribute what I know towards the sum of information which may possibly hereafter lead to its solution; and remain,

"Dear Sir,

"Your very faithful Servant,

"SAMUEL FERGUSON.

"Dublin, 10th October, 1873."

"POSTSCRIPT.—Since the foregoing letter was in type I have read the Paper on the Gowran Inscription in the 'Journal' for last July, and hope I will be excused for my inability to accept what is stated there, as authority for the supposed practice imputed to the early Christians of these countries, of marking inscribed Pagan monuments with the sign of the cross. The passage from Fosbroke—the only citation at all in point—is but the conjecture of one of our own cotemporaries, and, itself, one of the statements for which I desired to see authority. If any such authority exist, it lies, so far as I know, outside the ordinary sources of early historical information. These supply nothing bearing more nearly on the alleged practice than the well-known proceeding of Patrick at Dumha Selga, which is a very long way from the case proposed. The letter to Mellitus, read in its entirety (Beda, 'Hist. Eccl.' i. 1, c. 30) dispels the idea, that objects of worship were by Gregory's authority converted to Christian uses by cruci-sculpture or any other process. While the sacred places of the English Pagans were to be preserved for the altered worship, the idols in them were to be destroyed:—'quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant: sed ipsa quæ in eis sunt idola destruantur.'

"It would, indeed, be surprising if any colour of authority should exist for the idea that, among a lettered people, it was usual to convert the tombstone of a Pagan into the tombstone of a Christian, by adding a cross to the original inscription—turning the monument upside down—and leaving the name of him or her, for whose memory's sake that trouble had been taken, unrecorded.

"As regards the differences between the writer's and my own impressions, touching the existence of particular characters, or the alleged intrusion of parts of particular sculpturings on others, neither of us will blame the other for seeing with his proper eyes. On all such points—and they are not numerous—the monuments will best speak for themselves.

"Speaking for myself, I would observe that I have not expressed any opinion that would necessarily include me in the number of those who hold the theory of the Christian *origin* of Irish Oghams. I cannot forget that the first inscription in that character deciphered by me contained the remarkable name *Medff*, and was found in the cave called Maev's Treasury, at Rathcroghan. But whether that be the name of the individual historic queen, or of some other Medff, or whether—supposing it to be her own—she has not been thrown back in chronology to an earlier than her true period, I have not professed to say. Neither can I accept the distinction of having designated the Ogham writing as 'a trick of the Middle Ages.' Speaking of the Middle Ages in the ordinary sense of the words, I agree with those who think the phrase ill applied. It originated, I believe, with Dr. John O'Donovan; and is found, for the first time, so far as I know, in a copy of a letter from him dated 13th November, 1854, among the Windele MSS. The letter was obviously not intended for public use, and I cannot but think it would have been better if it had not been preserved. I have never seen the expression used elsewhere, except in the writings of those who deprecate its application.

"For the other speculations, on the subject of Ogham texts, referred to—in presenting which I am not conscious of having shown any want of gravity—I am responsible, and open to correction whenever it shall be supplied.

"S. F."

"8th November, 1873."

ADDENDUM.—"I observe by the 'Archæologia Cambrensis' for October, 1873, pp. 387, 399, that Mr. Rhys has had the good fortune to discover two new Ogham inscriptions in the Principality; both 'biliterals;' one of them near Ruthin in North Wales: so that, as it now appears, the latter district possesses examples both of *quasi* and of regular Ogham texts."

The following papers were contributed :—

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH KILKENNY.

COMMUNICATED BY PATRICK WATTERS, A. M.,

TOWN CLERK OF KILKENNY.

IN my capacity as Town Clerk of this ancient city, I happen to have in my custody a number of deeds and other original documents which have an interest, as throwing light on the history of the locality, whilst in many instances they also illustrate the social state of the inhabitants of Kilkenny in the olden time. The first which I have the pleasure of laying before the Members has reference to William Outlaw, a name well-known in the fourteenth century Annals of Kilkenny, as being the son of the reputed witch Dame Alice Kyteller, and it may not be taxing our belief too far if we suppose the house mentioned in this deed to have been that to which Dame Alice was accused of sweeping up the filth of the town, with the incantation that follows :—

“Unto the house of William my sonne
Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny towne.”

The deed is further curious on account of the service reserved—one rose at midsummer, and also as giving a warranty against *all women*, as well as men. It has lost its seal :—

NO. I.

“Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Walterus filius Ricardi de Lega dedi concessi et hac presente Carta mea confirmavi Willielmo Utlawe unam domum lapideam cum pertinenciis in Villa Kilkenn’ que jacet in longitudine a via regia usque ad terram meam et in latitudine jacet inter messuagium meum et [al]tam [vi]am que ducat versus Walkelins Barre, sicut eidem Willielmo est mensurata assignata et divisa per metas et bundas, pro quadam summa pecunie mihi per manibus soluta, habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis vel assignatis sibi et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis bene et in pace in feodo et hereditate in perpetuum, reddend’ inde annuatim mihi et heredibus meis vel assignatis ipse et heredes sui vel sui assignati unam rosam ad festum nativitat’ beati Johannis Baptisti, et Domino Comiti Ricardo tres denarios argenti viz^t mediatatem ad Pascham et aliam mediatatem ad festum Sancti Michaelis pro omnibus serviciis et aliis terrenis demandis, et Ego

predictus Walterus et heredes mei et assignati predictam domum cum pertinentiis ut predictum est prefato Willielmo vel heredibus suis et suis assignatis contra omnes homines et feminas pro predicto redditu warrantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium huic Carte sigillum meum apposui, hiis testibus, Alano Donnyng, Nicholao Oweyn, Waltero Albo, Willielmo de Trim, et W[] de Ach[] acart tunc Prepositus Kilkenn', Mauritio V[], Rogero de Bristol, et aliis. Dat' Kilkenn. xviii^o die mensis Octobris anno Domini M^occc^o quinto et anno Regis Edwardi tricesimo tertio.

(*Endorsed.*) "Carta Walteri filii Ricardi de Leye de domo lapidea ducente ad Walkinsbar."

It will be remarked that the position of William Outlaw's house was indicated by its proximity to "Walkelins Barre," or as we now call it Walken's Gate. This gate was situated in Walkens-street, close to the lane still called "The Town Wall." The next deed deals with the same premises, and gives us a further variation of the name of the street—"Waukynnes stret;" its tenor is as follows:—

NO. II.

"Visuris has literas vel auditoris Margareta Whyt, que fuit uxor Ricardi Ley, in viduitate mea Salutem in Domino: noveritis me remississe de me et heredibus meis quiet' clamasse in perpetuum Roberto Graunte, et Mabine uxori ejus, heredibus suis et assign', totum jus meum et clameum que habeo, habui, seu quoquo modo de cetero habere potero, in uno Messuagio cum pertinentibus in Kilkenn', que jacet in longitudine a Messuagio [quod] quondam fuit Willielmi Outtelawe, et Messuagio Johannis de S^o Leodegario et Margarete uxoris ejus, et, in latitudine jacet inter viam que vocatur Waukynnes stret ex parte una, et Messuagio, [quod] quondam fuit Annot ffolyn, ex altera parte, ita quod nec ego predicta Margareta nec heredes mee nec aliquis alius nomine nostre in predicto Messuagio cum pertinentibus aliquod jus seu juris clam' in predicto Messuagio cum pertinentibus de cetero exigere, clamare, seu vendicare poterimus in perpetuum. Et Ego predicta Margereta et heredes mei predictum Messuagium cum pertinentibus predicto Roberto et Mabine heredibus et assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et ubique defendemus in perpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium presente quiet' clamancie sigillum meum apposui. Dat' apud Kylkenny die Martis in festo S^u Gregorii pape anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum Anglie sexto.

(*Endorsement in a much more modern hand, of about the 16th century.*)
 "Juxta Walkin stret. A Release from Margarett Whyt to Robert Grant of a Messe neare Walken street."

This deed has attached to it a seal in brown wax, the

legend of which is lost ; it bears a shield—party per pale, on the dexter side a lion rampant, on the sinister barry of three.

He next had to produce a still later deed, which also names the same street, giving the spelling as “Walkyne stret.” These several deeds would perhaps serve to show that the street in question was named at a very early period after some person named Walkyne, i. e., Walkin, Walterkin, or little Walter. All trace of the denomination “Nellerstonhouse” is now lost. This deed is sealed in red wax with a crowned R., and runs thus :—

NO. III.

“Noverint universi per Presentes me Robertum Dullard remississe, relaxasse, et omnino pro me et heredibus meis in perpetuum quietum clamasse Henrico fforstall heredibus et assignatis suis totum jus meum et clameum et omnem actionem que quos vel quas habeo, habui, seu de toto habere potero in uno Messuagio terre cum pertinentibus in villa Kilkennie, quod quidem Messuagium vocatur Nellerestonhouse, juxta vicum qui vocatur Walkyne stret, ita quod nec ego prefatus Robertus, nec heredes mei, nec aliquis alius nomine nostro, aliquid juris aut clamei in predicto Messuagi cum pertinentibus exigere vel vendicare potero, aut poterimus in futurum, ut totum jus nostrum inde penitus sit extinctum, et adnichilatum per presentes, et ego vero predictus Robertus et heredes mei predictum messuagium terre cum pertinentibus prefato Henrico heredibus assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, aquietabimus, et ubique in perpetuum defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Dat’ die Jovis prox’ post festum omnium Sanctorum, anno Regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum Regni sui Anglie sextum.”

The group of documents which he had next to produce relate more or less to ecclesiastical matters. That which he first laid before them would seem to show that the Prior and Convent of St. John, Kilkenny, had some contingent claim to the advowson of the parish of Inchiholohan, which, with the parish of Outrath, formed the *corpus* of the Chancellorship of St. Canice. It is a bond by which Raymond, son of Peter de Valle, bound himself and his heirs to forfeit £40 to the said Prior and Convent in case he or his heirs should at any time disturb the said Prior and Convent in their right to thirteen acres of land, and the advowson of the church of “Incholeghaun,” in case the said Prior and Convent should acquire the same from any of the Patrons. The seal of this bond is lost:—

NO. IV.

“Universis has L'ras visur^a vt auditur^a Reimundus fil' Petri De Valle Sal'em in D'no sempiternam. Noverit univ'sitas v'ra me concessisse Priori et conventui Dom' Hospital' Sti Joh'n's Kylkenn', quod si p'd'i Prior & convent' v' successores sui ex largissione aliquor' patronor' Tresdecim acras Terræ cum p't'n' in Incholeghaun, una cun advocacione Eccl'ie ejusdem ville in futurum sibi & successoribus suis p'quisiverant in p'petuam elemosinam, in p'pe'um tenend', si p'd'i Prior et convent' vel successores sui p' me heredes assignatos v' executores meos, seu aliquem al'm no'ie n'ro, sup' possessione sua predictarum terre et advocacionis eccl'ie temporibus futuris fuerint implacitati molestati occacionati vexati, seu quovis alio modo gravati, ex tunc ego p'd'tus Reimundus obligo me heredes et executores meos terras & ten' mea, ad quorumcunque man' deveverint, teneri p' presentes p'd'c'is Priori et coventui et successoribus suis in quadraginta libr' argenti usual' monete, no'ine puri debiti, statim solvendis sub pena et distrincione cujuscunque curie. In cui' rei testimonium sigillū meū presentib' apposui. Dat' Kylkenn' ult'o die mens' junii anno regni reg' Edwardi T'cii post conquestum Anglie quadragesimo quinto.”

(*Endorsed.*) “Remundus filius Pet', de Valle de pena xl. li.
de xiii. acr' terre apud Incholegan
cum advocacione ejusdem.”

The document next placed in the hands of the Members recites an excommunication fulminated against a certain Philip Leget (possibly of the family which gave its name to Leget's Rath, near Kilkenny), for neglecting to supply bread and wine for the celebration of the Divine Offices of the Friars Preachers and Minors, Kilkenny, which he was adjudged bound to do in a certain cause testamentary, tried before Robert de Tunbrigge, Archdeacon of Ossory, Commissary to the Bishop of that See. The excommunication is dated 1376, and is confirmed by the sentence of Francis de Capanago, Doctor of Decrees, and Prior of St. Martins at Sienna, in Italy, Vicar-General of Richard Northalis, Bishop of Ossory :—

NO. V.

“Franciscus de Capanago, Decretorum Doctor, Prior Prioratus Sancti Martini Senen', Reverendi in Christo Patris et Domini Domini Ricardi Dei et Apostolice Sedis Gratia Ossoriensis Episcopi Vicarius Generalls, Universis et Singulis Abbatibus Prioribus Rectoribus ac Vicariis Ecclesiarum Curat' in dicta Diocese existentibus ad quos Presentes pervenerint salutem in Domino. Noveritis Priorem loci fratrum predicatorum et Gardianum fratrem minorum de Kylken' coram nobis comperuisse, et quandam

literam sigillo Commissarii quondam Ossorien' Episcopi Sigillatam ostendisse, cujus quidem litere tenor sequitur in hec verba. Robertus Archidiaconus Ossoriensis ac venerabilis Patris et Domini Domini Alexandri Dei gr'a Ossoriensis Episcopi Commissarius Presbiteris Parochialibus Ecclesiarum parochialium Sancti Canici, beate Marie Virginis, et Sc^{ti} Patricii Kylken' ac aliis in dictis Ecclesiis Divina celebrantibus, salutem in auctore salutis. Cum Philippus Leget erat coram nobis citatus et legitime convictus in causa testamentaria ad instantiam Fratrum predicatorum et minorum Kylken' pro inventione panis et vini ad celebranda divina officia, juris ordine in dicta causa totaliter observata, et quia constat nobis ad plenum quod dictus Philippus est legitime monitus ad satisfaciendis dictis Fratribus de pane et vino ut prefertur, sicut erat [] non satisfecit, et ad huc minime satisfacere curat. Quare vobis et cuilibet vestrum committimus et firmiter mandamus, quatenus dictum Philippum in singulis Ecclesiis vestris diebus dominicis et festivis [] solempnis, cum major populi multitudo affuerit, et nominaliter, excommunicatis et excommunicat quivis vestrum, inde non cessantes donec dictus Philippus de dictis pane et vino dictis Fratribus satisfecerit, et beneficium absolutionis in forma juris meruerit obtinere. Datum Kylkeny sub sigillo nostro Die Sabbati prox. post Octabus Epiphanie Do'ni Anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo} septuagesimo sexto. Petentes a nobis pro habendo dicto legato, eis et cuilibet ipsorum facto et relicto, de optimo juris remedio provideri, et specialiter ad executionem et innovationem excommunicationis sententie in dicta litera contente contra dictum Philippum procedi; nos autem volentes cum maturitate in predictis procedere, fecimus dictum Philippum convocari ad terminum competentem ad dicendum et allegandum quicquid vellet et posset quare non deberet secundum tenorem supradicte litere excommunicatum pn^o [sic] nunciari, qui quidem Philippus in terminis ei assignatis nullam causam saltem rationabilem quare non predicta fieri deberent assignabat; nichilominus meliorem informationem volumus de predictis, et facta diligenti investigatione, et, si non in totum saltem pro parte, invenimus domum juxta cimeterium beate Marie Kylkenn' per ipsum Philippum possessam fuisse et esse obligatum ad supradictum legatum persolvendum; quapropter nolentes, prout tenemur, nemini justitiam negare, tenore presentium vobis committimus et mandamus quatenus dictum Philippum in solutione dicti legati negligentem, contradicentem, ac ut supra patet in dicta Scriptura condempnatum, in ecclesiis vestris diebus dominicis et festivis secundum tenore predictae Scripture excommunicatum pn^o [sic] nuncietis, donec de predictis satisfecerit plenarie ut tenetur. Dat Kylken' sub sigillo officii quo utimur de presenti, die duodecima mensis Maii anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo} nonogessimo tertio."

(*Endorsed.*) "Excommunication."

This document has a small round seal, attached to a slip of parchment partly cut from the bottom, charged with a shield bearing a chevron between three manches.

Many of the Members present are acquainted with an ancient sequestered churchyard on the summit of the hill

at Outrath. From thence may be seen in the valley beneath a respectable-looking residence, stated to have been once more extensive than it now appears, and he had no doubt this was the site of the mansion of the Bishop of Ossory mentioned in the next document. The document referred to is dated from this episcopal Manor of "Oghtrath," and concerns a certain cause relative to the spoliation of the parish of Castlecomer, and to a dispute or contention between Brother William Stakboll, Prior, and the Community of the House of the Order of St. Augustine of Kilkenny, of the one part, and Walter Comys, chaplain, of the Diocese of Ossory, of the other part. The seal of this document is lost :—

NO. VI.

" Thomas permissione divina Ossorien' Ep'us dilecto nobis in Christo Waltero Comys Capellano nostre Diocesis Ossorien' Salutem et n'ram benedictionem. Tua discrecio non ignorat quod nos in quadam causa spoliaco'is eccl'ie parochial' de Castlecomyr Diocesis predictae et unjute detencionis ejusdem ecclesie, prout in libello super his confecto et in indicio oblato plenius continetur, que nuper certebatur inter religiosos viros Fratrem Wilhelmum Stakboll Priorem Domus hospitalis Sancti Johannis Evangeliste juxta Kilkenn' Diocesis antedictae et conventum ejusdem domus ordi's Sancti Augustini ex parte una, et te Walterum predictum ex parte altera cognoscentes, auditis et cognitis hinc inde propositis et allegatis, tandem contra te prefatum Walterum sententiam tulimus diffinitivam, justitia mediante, in que te condempnamus ad restituendam dictam parochialem ecclesiam predicta domi Hospitali et eisdem Priori et Conventui ejusdem loci, necnon Decimas oblaciones fructus et proventus universos, quos de pred'ta Ecclesia Parochiali per decem annos p'ximo preteritis precepisti, et precipere potuisti, si per tunc existent, alioquin eorum estimacioem coram nobis [] per te confessam usque quadraginta marcas legalis monete, et postquam, ante dicta sententia in rem transivit, indicatam, quo ad dictam parochialem ecclesiam fecimus eam execucioni mandari. Nos igitur volentes predictam sententiam nostram plene exequi ut tenemur, te Walterum prenominatum auc'tate ordinaria, qua fungimur in hac parte, primo secundo et tertio peremptorie requirimus, et monemus, et tibi in virtute sancte obedientie et sub pena infra scripta districte precipiendo mandamus, quod infra sex dies a presentatione publicatione seu notificatione presentium tibi facta immediate sequentes, quorum duos pro primo, duos pro secundo, et reliquos duos, tibi pro tertio, et peremptorie tertio, monicioneque canonica, prefigimus et etiam assignamus quod decimas oblaciones fructus obvenciones et proventus universos, quos de predicta parochiali Ecclesia per decem annos supradictos precepisti et precipere potuisti, si extant, aliquin earum estimacionem premissam usque quadraginta marcas legale monete, supradicto Priori, nomine dicte domus suoque et conventus ejusdem loci, plenarie et

integre restituas, alioquin, in te, ut contumacem et rebellem, ex nunc prout ex tunc, in hiis Scriptis sen'tiam excommunicationis majoris ferimus et etiam promulgamus, monemus insuper modo et forma premissis generaliter omnes et singulos nostre Dioc' predictæ cujuscunque dignitatis status gradus vel condicionis existant, ne prefatis Priori et conventui quominus dictam parochialem Ecclesiam cum juribus et pertinenciis suis universis integre et pacifice assequantur et pacifice valeant possidere et ipsius Ecclesie fructus redditus et proventus libere cum integritate percipere, impedimentum aliquod prestant per se vel alium seu alios publice vel occulte, et impredientibus ipsos in aliquo dent auxilium consilium vel favorem: alioquin, tam in impredientes predictos priorem et conventum super premissis in aliquo aut impredientibus ipsos dantes scientiam consilium auxilium vel favorem publice vel occulte, nisi infra predictum terminum, a die scientie computandum, a contradicione rebellione impedimento auxilio vel favore hujusmodi omnino destiterint, et mandatis nostris in hac parte cum effectu p'u'int, [sic] ex nunc prout ex tunc singulariter in his Scriptis excommunicationis sententiam, predictarum sex dierum canonica monitione premissa, ferimus et etiam promulgamus. Ceterum cum ad executionem faciendam ulteriorem in presente negocio nequeamus, quoad presens, aliis perperiti negociis, personaliter interesse, David Whyte et Johanni Oweyn Capellanis et eorum cuilibet in solidum super ulteriori executione dicti mandati nostri omniumque premissorum tenore presentium commitimus, vices nostras mandantes quatenus et eorum quilibet qui super hoc fuerint requisiti seu fuerit requisitus ad te Walterum prenommatum ecclesiamque parochialem predictam et personas ac loca alia de quibus ubi quum et quotiens expediens fuerit, personaliter accedant, seu accedat, ac has nostras literas omniaque et singula in eis contenta tibi Waltero predicto et aliis personis supra designatis, prout te et eos concernant, legant intiment insinuent, legat intimet insinuet, ac intimari insinuari et publicari fideliter procurent, seu procuret. In quorum omnium et singularum testimonium presentibus sigillum nostrum, quo utimur ad majora, fecimus afferri. Datum in Manerio Nostro Episcopali apud Oghtrath xvi^o die Augusti, Anno Domini m^o cccc^o vicesimo octavo."

The deed he would next produce was a grant to the Vicars Choral of St. Canice' Cathedral, by James, Earl of Ormonde, of a meadow near St. Canice' Well. This document has attached to it a portion of the Earl's seal, bearing a shield charged with the chief indented of the Butlers: the date is 1432 :—

NO. VII.

"Patet Universis per presentes me Jacobum le Bottyller, Comitem Ormonie, fecisse ordinasse ac loco meo constituisse dilectum nostrum in Christo Johannem Lyxtonum, clericum, meum verum Ballivum et Attornatum ad ponendum vicarios communis aule Collegii Ecclesie Cathedralis Sancti Kanici Kylkenn' in plenariam seisinam et possessionem in uno prato cum pertinenciis juxta Kylkenn', quod jacet in longitudine a fonte Sancti Kanici ex parte orientali usque ad terram Mauricii Stafford, vocata Crokersland ex parte occidentali, in latitudine vero jacet a via regia ex

parte Australi usque ad aquam que vocatur le Bregah ex parte boreali; habendum et tenendum predictum pratum cum pertinenciis prefatis vicariis et successoribus suis imperpetuum, prout in quadam carta mea eisdem vicariis inde confecta plenius continetur: ratum et gratum et firmum hab'itur quicquidem Johannes nomine meo fecerit in premissis. In cuius rei testimonium Presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Datum sexto die Junii anno regni Regis Henrici sexti decimo, et Anno Domini millesimo cccc^o tricesimo s'c'do."

The last two documents of this class which I shall exhibit, relate to the tithes of Jenkinstown. The first is a grant by William de Druhull to the House of St. John of Kilkenny, and the Brethren serving God there, of all the tithes and ecclesiastical benefices of one carucate of land, near the river called Mayn (the River Dinan), together with all the tithes great and small of the same. This deed has no date but from the writing, and the name of the grantor must be placed at latest early in the 14th century, for William de Druhull was Constable of the Castle of Kilkenny in 1309, as appears by the Patent Rolls of Chancery. The deed was as follows:—

NO. VIII.

"Notum sit Universis S^ce matris Ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit, quod Ego Willielmus de Druhull, senior, dedi concessi et confirmavi Dom' et Ecclesie Sancti Johannes de Kylkenny et Fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus omnia Ecclesiastica beneficia unius Carucati terre mee scituati juxta Aquaria que vocatur Mayn, et omnes Decimas magnas et minutas ad predictam terram pertinentes, et eas que in posterum pertinebunt, cum omnibus oblacionibus et obvencionibus, in puram et perpetuam Elymosinam, videlicet quantum ad patronum pertinet, libere integre et plenarie et quiete ab omni seculari servicio et exaccione, sicut aliqua Elimosina potest melius vel lib'us dari, pro Salute Anime mee et Isabelle Sponse mee et pro Salute Antecessorum et Heredum et amicorum nostrorum. Ut autem hac mea donacio et confirmacio futuris temp'ibus stabilis et firma permaneat, hanc cartam meo corroboravi sigillo, hiis testibus, Willielmo Grasso Juniore, Waltero Purcell, Willielmo de Druhull Juniore, Theobaldo de Troia, Waltero et Haraldo Capellanis de Castro de Kylkenn'; Adam et Ricardo et Roberto Capellanis de Sancto Johanni de Kilkenny; Thomas Parsona de Callan, Willielmo de Insula, Abraham et Benedicto Clericis, Johanne Trote, Rogero filio Rogeri, Willielmo filio Johannis, Thoma Hoine Prepositus de Callan, Adam Pictore et multis aliis."

(*Endorsed.*) "A Grant of y^e Lands and Tythes of Jenkinstowne, Will'i Dru'ul de una carucat' terre juxta aquam de Mayne."

The tithes granted by this charter were those of Jenkins-town, and they afterwards became vested in the Crown in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and accordingly it appears that by an Indenture made the eighth of February, in the 38th year of that reign, "Walter Cowley, Ffermor to the King's Majesty," made a lease of them for eleven years to Patrick Bergan for 26s. 8d. a year, who was also to pay yearly three carts of bread, a quarter of pork, a couple "connyes" (rabbits), a quart of wine, and three gallons of "brogeyte" (honed ale). This Walter Cowley was ancestor of the Duke of Wellington. By Letters Patent of Charles I. (1639), the above tithes were granted to the Corporation of Kilkenny, who have been ever since in receipt of them; and in this grant I find the exact words used, viz., "a Carucat of Land," which are to be found in the above-named grant of William de Druhull. The seal of this deed is lost.

NO. IX.

"This Indenture made the eighth day of ffebruarie in the xxxviiith Yearre of the Reigne of oure Souvraine Lord King Henrie the viiith betwixte Walter Cowley ffermour to the King's Ma^{ty} of the late Priory of Sainte Johns beside Kilkenny on the one parte and Patricke Berigan of the same Merchant, witnessethe that the same Walter Cowley by these presents dothe demise lease set and let to ffearme unto the sayd Patricke the Tiethes Cornes and the Tiethes lay of Jenkinstowne in the County of Kilkenny with the appurtenances, To have and to Holde the same Tiethe Cornes and tiethe lay with the appurtenaunts to the said Patricke Berigane his heires and Assignes for the Terme of xi. yeres, Yelding unto the said Walter Cowley his heires and Assignes xxvi. shillings viii. pence of goode and lawful money of Irelande at the Termes of Mychelmas and Easter by evene porcions; ffurthermore, the sayd Patricke Bergan shall paie to the sayd Walter Cowley yeerlie during that terme three Cartes brede, a quarter of pourke, a couple of Connyes, a quarte of Wyne, and three Gallons of Brogeyte. In witness whereof to this parte of the indenture remaining in the Custodie of the said Walter, the said Patricke Berigane hath put his Seale the day and year above written.

"The said Patricke shall pay his Rent termly within two months after every terme, otherwise the said Walter and his Assignes shall reverse, this Lease notwithstanding."

"Per me Walter Cowley."

(*Endorsed.*) "Lease of Walter Cowley of Teithes of Jenkenston."

I produce a deed of Elena, daughter and heir of Robert Freyng, Knight, whereby she grants to Nicholas, son of

John Croker, Burgess of Kilkenny, all her portion of the River Nore extending from the ville, or townland of Dunmore, to the end of the island opposite the weir of Donore, for the purpose of erecting fishing weirs. This deed is dated in 1432-3, and has a seal of red wax with an ornamental device :—

NO. X.

“ Hec indentura facta inter Elenam filiam et Heredem Roberti ffreyng Militis ex una parte, et Nicholaum filium Johannis Croker Burgensis Ville Kilkeny ex parte altera, testatur, quod predicta Elena concessit, dimisit, et ad firmam tradidit prefato Nicholao heredibus et assignatis suis totam partem suam aque de Neor, viz^t, a villa Donmore usque ad finem insule expositum gurgitis de Donore, et in latitudine vero a terra predictæ Elene usque ad mediam predictæ aque, ad faciendas gurgites et gasas, [sic] si placeat predicto Nicholao heredibus et assignatis suis, una cum omnibus piscaturis predictæ aque, per terminum predictum duraturis, ac etiam cum liberem ingressum et egressum per totam terram prefatæ Elene ad predictam aquam durante termino predicto, habendam et tenendam predictam aquam cum pertinentiis, ut predictum est, predicto Nicholao heredibus et assignatis ad terminum triginta annorum prox sequentium post datum confectionis presentium plenarie complendum, termino vero incipiente ad festam Pasche prox sequens datum presentis, reddendo inde annuatim idem Nicholaus heredes et assignati sui prefatæ Elene heredibus et assignatis suis octo denarios argenti ad duos anni terminos viz^t. medietatem ad festam Michælis Archangeli et aliam medietatem ad festam Pasche per equales portiones pro omni servitio actione et demando et sic de anno in annum et termino in terminum durante termino predicto. Insuper predicta Elena heredes et assignati sui predictam aquam cum pertinentibus ut predictum est prefato Nicholao heredibus et assignatis suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabunt, acquietabunt, et in forma predicta defendunt durante termino predicto per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium hiis Indenturis partes predictæ sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Dat decimo die mensis Februarii Anno Domini Millessimo cccc^o xxxii^o regni Regis Henrie Sexti undecimo.”

Donore is a denomination now obsolete, but it would seem to have adjoined Troy's wood, a townland still so named, and which derived its appellation from the De Troja family (who were amongst the earliest settlers in Kilkenny, and who seem to have come originally from the town of Troyes in France), as appears by the next deed he would lay before the meeting :—

NO. XI.

I. H. S.

“ Noverint Universi per Presentes me Jacobum Sherlocke Burgensem de Naase remisisse relaxasse ac omnino pro me Heredibus & Assignatis

meis quietum clamasse Ricardo Clynton, Baculario, Gardiano, et Fratribus monasterii Fratrum Minorum Kilkennie, ac suis successoribus, totum jus meum titulum clameum et omnes actiones quæ vel quam habeo, habui, seu cujusmodo in futurum habere poterimus, in omnibus messuagiis terris & tenementis de Doneore ac in Troyswood, parte quam tenet Johannes Troy dumtaxat excepta, habendum & tenendum predictas terras tenementa et silvas cum pertinentibus in tenementum de Dromdelgny, ut supra dictum erat, de me, heredibus, et assignatis meis, prefato Ricardo, Fratribus, et eorum successoribus, in perpetuum de capitali domino ffeidi illius, per servitium inde debita et de jure consueta. Ita quod ego predictus Jacobus heredes nec assignati mei, nec aliquis alius nomine meo, aut nostro aliquod jus titulum clameum aut accionem in predictis terris tenementis et silva cum pertinentibus ut supradictum, nec in aliqua parcella earum, de cetero exigere, clamare, seu vindicare potero, vel poterimus; sed quod totum jus nostrum titulum clameum et accio sint penitus inde extincta et annichilata ac ab omni accione et juris remedio fuerimus inde totaliter exclusi et quilibet nostrum sit exclusus in perpetuum. Ita quod prefatus Ricardus, Fratres predicatorum monasterii, et eorum successores impleverint permissa, in obligatione sua facta, sub sigillo suo; et Ego vero prefatus Jacobus heredes & assignati mei terras & tenementa de Doneore & Troyswood cum suis pertinentibus in tenementum Dromdelgny, ut supradictum est, parte quam tenet Johannes Troy dumtaxat excepta, prefato Ricardo, Baculario, et Gardiano, et Fratribus predicti monasterii et eorum successoribus contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, acquiettabimus, et ubique per Presentes defendimus. In cujus rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Dat' apud Kilkenny xiii. die Mensis Martii anno Domini m^o cccc^o xxv^o, et quia sigillum meum est incognitum ideo Sigillum Officii Superiatis ville Kilkenny ad meum speciale rogatum apponi feci.

“James Sherlocke of the Naasse.”

A seal with the letters N. A., and the ancient official seal of the Sovereign of Kilkenny, are attached to this deed.

The last document which I produce is one which shows that Kilkenny was in former days more advanced in the mechanical or manufacturing department of the musical art than at present, for the trade of organ builder flourished there in 1476; and the anxiety of the Priest of St. Mary's Church and the civic authorities of Kilkenny to advance it is evidenced by the valuable lease which they gave to John Lawles, in order to induce him to reside in Kilkenny and practise his art there. The deed has a seal attached bearing the letter R. The term of “eleven *winters*” is rather unusual, but it agrees well with the old English of the deed, for the Anglo-Saxon custom was to count by winters and not by years as we now do. The condition appended to the lease is couched in obscure language;

but it seems to import that the farm should lapse if the lessee went to another place there permanently to live and exercise his craft, but that he should have liberty to work for his own profit elsewhere, on condition that he returned to Kilkenny when the work was done, but if he died out of Kilkenny whilst engaged on his craft, his heirs were to forfeit the farm :—

XII.

I. H. S.

“Thys Indenture made at Kylkenny the Monday next after the Nativité of oure Lorde Jehsu, and the yere oure Lord Jehsu also m.cccc. lxx. vi. betwex the Soffrayn parichynyrs and Marie Preste of Seynt Mari Chyrch in the forsayd town on y^t one party, and John Lawles orgon maker in the tothyr party, beryth wyttens that the forsayd soffrayn parichyners and Mari Preste for their successours hath let to ferm unto John Lawles and to his eyrs and hys assynges a messe wth the pertenaunces in the forsayd town, the whych extendyth in length fro the hey strett este unto the Erle of Ormond hys [] ground weste, and in bredt also fro the sayd Erle ys ground south unto John Ffolynge ys ground, of Drogeda, north, to have and to hold the forsayd messe w^t the pertenaunces to the term of xi. wynters next followynge after the date of thys present wrytynge and so the forsayd John hys eyrs and hys asynges shall bere yerely unto the soffrayn parichynyrs and Mari Preste v. shyllyns of gode able money at two termys, that ys to say half at Ester and tothyr half at Mychalmas, by evyn porcōns, and so fro yere to yere and term to term durant the forsayd term. Also the forsayd John hys eyrs and hys asynges shall bylt uppe the forsayd messe stronge steffe and stanche and so to kepp hyt uppe durant the forsayd term, and at the term ys end so hytt to leve, and which the forsayd soffrayne parichyners and Mari Preste for us and oure successours unto the forsayd John and to hys eyrs and hys asynges against all mannere of people whe make waranty to defend hym durant the forsayd term. In wyttens of thys whe settyth to oure comyn seall, and forsayd John hys seall also, the yere and the day aforsayd. Laurans Whalshe beynge soffrayne.”

(*Endorsed*) “fferther mor the forsayd John him shelf hath grant to the suffrayn parichynerys and Mari Preste yf hit so be that John wyll awoyd thetown and to make hys habitacion in another place hys ferm shall stand anon but on thys condition, yeff hit so be that the forsayd John not go work in any other contres hys crafte that he not need for to do, and to byd out of town for hys owne profit as long as he not need for to do, and to com agayn to dwell in to the sayd town, hys ferm for to stand to hym and to hys eyrs as thys endenture maketh mencion before, the condicion as hyt ys wryt within before the wrytyng of the condicion; and yf hyt so be that the forsayd John desses in hys labour, dyng in any other contres, hys eyrs and hys asynges to brouk the reversion of hys ferm after hys owyn day untill the tym that hys ferm be spend out.”

No. IV.

LOCA PATRICIANA.—BILINGUAL OGHAM INSCRIPTION AT
KILLEEN CORMAC.

BY THE REV. JOHN FRANCIS SHEARMAN.

THE venerable monuments still extant at Killeen Cormac claim a special and extended notice. Whether they may be regarded in reference to the historic names they commemorate, or as affording a singular proof of the accuracy of the testimonies contained in the ancient manuscripts which treat of the history and antiquities of Ireland, they cannot fail to enlist a deep interest, bringing us, as they do, into the presence of the far distant past, recalling long-forgotten memories of historical characters whose dust lies commingled with the common clay of less noble personages who sleep in nameless graves at Killeen Cormac. There are to be found lying scattered about this cemetery, many interesting relics of antiquity—shafts and bases of Celtic crosses—pillar-stones with Ogham inscriptions, one with the bust of our Redeemer, incised in very shallow outline, but of a style of art quite suggestive of that of the Catacombs. There are also some flagstones with imperfect Ogham scores (F and G on the Ground Plan); and on the top of the mound is a slab two feet wide and about four feet above the surface; on this is incised, in shallow line, a Latin cross, twenty-two inches in length, and fifteen inches across the transverse arms (H on Plan): Sepulchral slabs of this character are to be seen at Dunboyke and Kilranelagh. There is also a flat pillar-stone, with a perfect Ogham inscription carried along the sides and top; this stone lies at the base of the tumulus on the south-east side. To the east of this is a large pillar-stone standing *in situ* (C on Plan); midway down its side are some scores of a Cryptic character. Of the accompanying woodcuts Fig. 1 gives a correct view of the general contour of this stone, but it is not quite satisfactory in the delineation of the Oghams, the scores of which may render “Duftos” by

NOSTER PEDIGREES.

asc),
hair.
tbac

prad
H.,
abh-

mother of Oilill-fin and Cent-Magach,
her son. *A quo* Ath Firdra (Ardee,

48. Finn File (the Poet).

49. Conchobar Abraidhruadh, R. H.,
sl. by Criomthan, R. L., A. D. 10.

50. Mogh Corb, R. Lageniae.

51. Cucorb, R. L.; he had = *Medbh*-
a second wife, *Eithne*,
dau. of Cairpre, son of
Conaire Mor, R. H.
(M^oF.)

Eoch
177-21
ster, c
(Mull
thart
Cendr
Laeig
H. A.
Leina

52. Messin Corb, fourth son.

53. Eochaid Lamderg.

54. Pothadh =

55. Some generations are wanting
between Garrchu circa A. D.
200, and Fincadh.

56. Fincadh, 56. Etchen. } Five so
57. Cucongelt. 56. Fergus. } or de
58. Conall. 56. Brecal. } scendat
59. Sinnell. 56. Delgene. } of Gar
60. Ronan. 56. Flonchu. } chu.
61. Cillen.
62. MARCAN.
63. Faebardatha =

64. Catharnech.
65. Donnagall.

66. Febardath. 66. Cenfela.
67. Gorman. 67. Faerbardatha
68. Ailill. 68. Gaibhran.
69. Maelruanagh. 69. Ailill.
70. Maelcallan.
71. Flathnia.
72. Fergal.
73. Domhnall, sl.
at Clontarf,
1014.
74. Diarmiad.
75. Fergal.
76. Murcadh, sl.
A. D. 1170.
77. Faclan.
78. Flain.
79. Domhnall.

* Drioc
Mac Neil
sons of N
Marcan
pitality
convert d

47. So Ailt.

48. Ailt.

49. Cairbre Gaibrion.

50. Baiscne, *a quo* Ui
Bascne.

51. Moah.

52. Buan.

53. Fergus.

54. Thriandorn.

55. Thrianmor =
Leader of
the Fianna.56. Cumhal, *a quo*
Rath Cumhail,
General of the
Fianna Erin.

Muirenn
Mong Caen,
dau. of Tadg
of Almhain
Allen, Co.
Kildare.

56. Criomel =

57. Finn Mac Cumhal
General of the
Fianna; sl. at
Athbrea on the
Boyne, A. D. 284.

Ailbhe, dau.
of Cormac
Mac Airt,
K. H. 254
-277.

57. *Gairech*,
wife of
Criomthann-
Cul-buidh,
R. L.58. Oisín = *Corcraind*, dau. of Cuirech,
son of Cathair Mor.58. Fergus
Finbel,
the poet.59. Osgar, sl. at Gabhra Aichill = *Edaen*, dau. of
(Skreen), A. D. 284. *Ed* of Ben *Edair*
(Howth).

[N. B.—In this pedigree of Finn Mac Cumhall there are too
many generations; some names are evidently repetitions; in
other lines some generations are omitted or lost.]

55. Caitt.

Decill.

BERCHAN, or Bec-
con, or Braghan,
in Ui Bruidin, Cual-
lann of Tigh Brad-
dan, and Temple
Beccon, now Sta-
connail, May 26.

55. Nazar =

56. Amorai.

57. Caithann.

58. Conall.

59. Sinnell =

57. Conall.

58. Eochaid =

Three daughters, saints
of Cill Garraice.

Coemfada.

Coemloga = *Caemell*,
dau. of
Cennandan.

60. Enan.

61. Conall =

60. Senchan.

61. Mosenog, Abbot of
Mugna and Glas
Hely in Hy Ercan
(A. S. S., p. 217, n.
20).

aeltighern,
dau. of Coem-
loga, 58.

MOBHAI.

CRITAN, *a quo*
Magh Cretain
(Macredan),
Co. Wicklow.

MOLIBBA, OF LAVI-
NUS, Ab. and Bp.
of Glendaloch;
sl. at Ghent in
Flanders, Jan. 8,
633.

MENOC, Ab.
of Glanhe-
ly, Co. W.,
June 30.

[N. B.—Add 25 to the numbers in this Table to make them
agree with O'Flaherty's computation, as given in Todd's "Life
of St. Patrick," p. 253, &c.]

reading the digits representing *D* *once*, the others twice, and commuting the *F* to *T* by inversion, as

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| | | | | | | | |
| D | O | F | T | O | S | O | S |

This reading is an arbitrary one, and is only noticed as it gives a form of the name *Dubhtach*. The slab-like pillar-stone (Fig. 2) just referred to (*B* on the Ground Plan), is



Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Ogham inscribed stones at Killeen Cormac.

the Decedda stone. It is very rough and weather-worn, the scores read *MAQVI DECEDDA MAQVI MARIN*—a common but obscure Ogham formula which has yet to be illustrated and explained. In the "*Archæologia Cambrensis*," vol. iii., 3rd series, p. 296, an Ogham monument of the close of the sixth century is described. It is at Penros Slygwy in Anglesea, and reads, "*hic*

jacet maccu decetti." The similarity of this formula with that at Killeen Cormac is very suggestive, as perhaps offering a proof of the intercourse of the old Celtic Christians of Ireland with their co-religionists in Wales and in the south of England. This stone (Fig. 2) measures seven feet in length on one side, and on the other five feet, and two feet wide; its general thickness is between twelve and six inches. In these inscriptions, as in all the others at Killeen Cormac, Dr. Ferguson's readings are adopted. The third pillar-stone is at letter A in the Ground Plan.

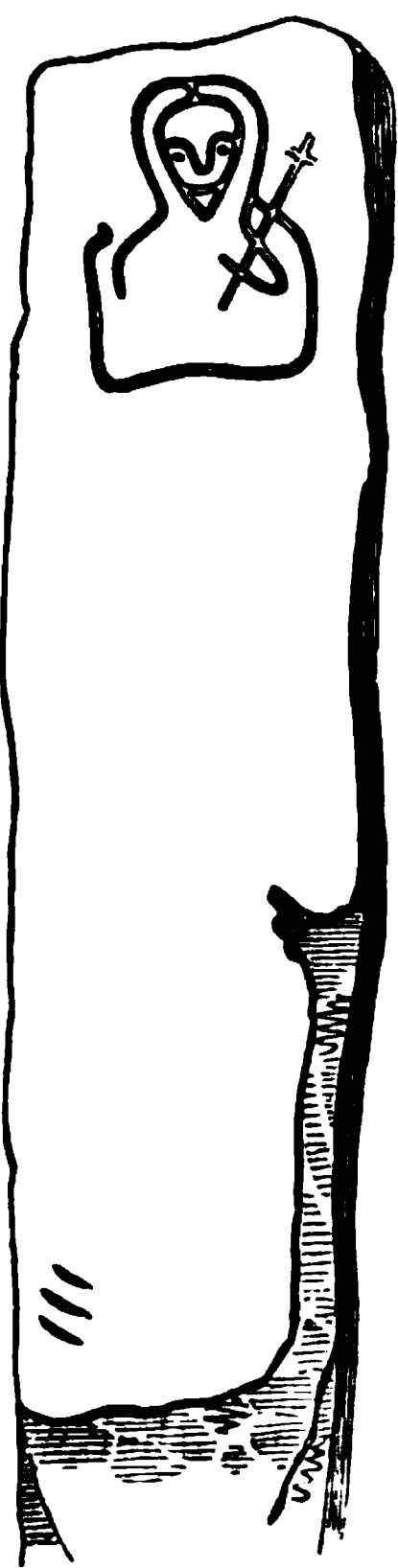
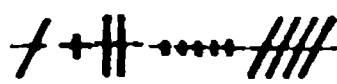


Fig. 3.
Pillar stone at Killeen Cormac.

The engraving (Fig. 3) gives a correct idea of the incised figure, which appears to represent the Redeemer, in a style of art so very archaic that an example of similar design and execution is scarcely to be found in these islands. On the same surface, and near the centre, are three incised scores; on the side under these is a mark or line of stratification, across which is cut a single score which presents, perhaps accidentally, the appearance of a cross. On the inner edge of the laminated surface opposite to the three digits, Dr. Ferguson discovered an Ogham inscription in minuscules which reads:


 M A G I S T

which, when taken in connexion with the three digits opposite, may allude to the figure inscribed above, and be read, Θεω μεγιστῳ. These digits may perhaps have reference to the Trinity, represented by the three scores, and the inscription, if it were perfected, might be intended to read, Θεω παντακρατορι και τῳ μεγιστῳ, an equivalent to the *Deo omnipotenti maximoque* of later Christian monuments, or it may be intended to read simply

“magister” an appellation given to some of the oldest Irish saints. There was a holy personage whose name was Magister, *i. e.*, the Master, equivalent to the Doctor of our days. His Church was called Killmagister. He was brother to Eochaid of Cluain Ratha whose genealogy is given in the Leabhar Breac, where he is found fourth in descent from Dairre Barrach, and of the same family as St.

Fiec of Sletty, who was fifth in descent from the same common ancestor. This would make St. Magister a contemporary of his kinsman Fiec, and of his uncle Dubhtach Mac Ua Lugair. St. Odran of Latteragh was called Magister (“Mart. Dungal.” October 2), as was also Siollan Abbot of Bangor, A. D. 606 (*id.* Feb. 28). Manchan, one of St. Patrick’s attendant priests, was called “Magister,” *i. e.* the master or teacher, as to his care and instruction were confided the aspirants to the sacred ministry, who formed part of the household of the saint. Colgan (“Trias Thaumaturga,” p. 101, note 67) says that this name was given to Manchan “ratione singularis eruditionis.” As these latter saints do not hail from any of the Leinster families, they probably had no connexion with Killeen Cormac. The “Druid Stone” (Fig. 4), the most important and interesting of the entire group, next claims attention. It lies (letter A on plan) near the entrance to the cemetery, and measures six feet

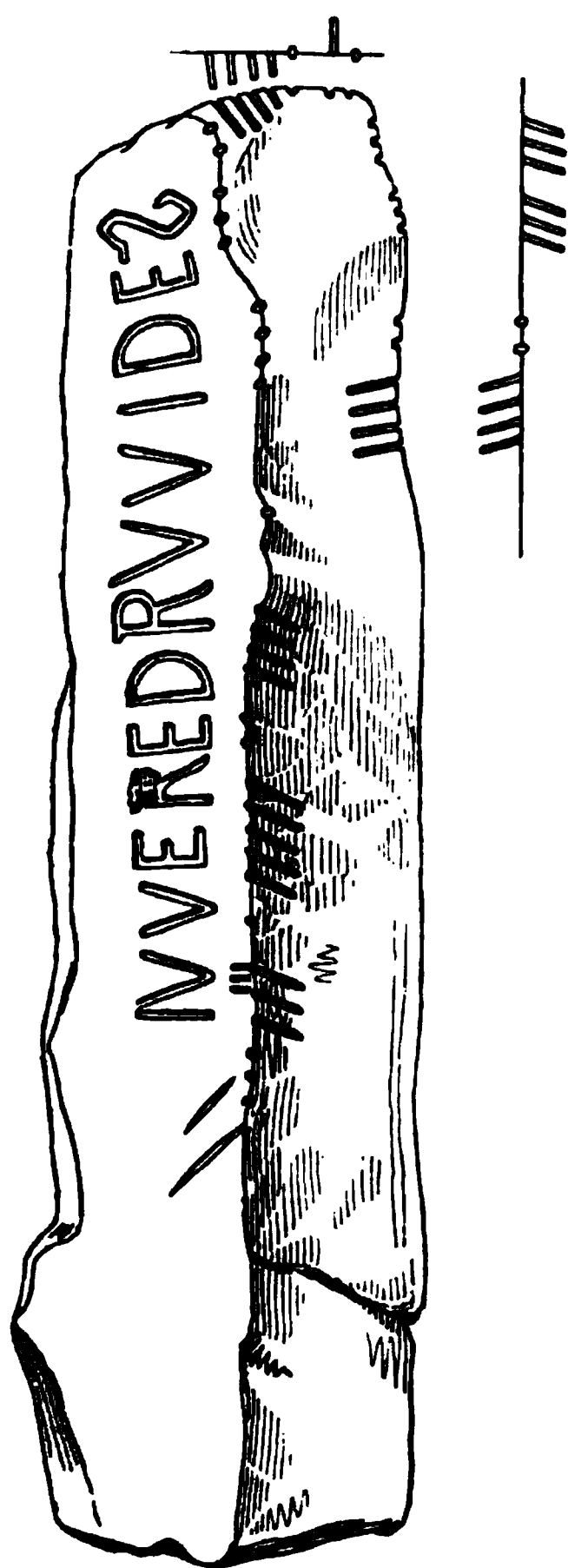


Fig. 4.

Bilingual inscribed stone at Killeen Cormac.

three and a-half inches in length, with an average width of

thirteen inches. The side is about 12 inches deep. Its material, like all the other monuments described, is a partially stratified green stone, of a very hard texture. These monuments were probably taken from a quarry on the neighbouring hill of Uske, where stone of the same quality is to be had. On the upper surface of this monument an

Sketch map of Killeen Cormac.

inscription is engraved in large uncial letters. They occupy 3 feet 5 inches along the surface, their width across the stone is from 5 to 6 inches, as some of the

letters are higher than the others. The inscription reads IVVEREDRVVIDES. Under this, on the arris, or edge, is an Ogham epigraph, which reads thus :¹—


 D U F T A N O S A F E I


 S A H A T T O S.

“Duftano Safei Sahattos.” The digits² representing the letter F in SAFEI, are not given in the wood-cut, as they were not discovered when it was engraved. A plaster cast of this stone was subsequently made by the late Dr. Robert Smyth, and when it was placed indoors under a horizontal light, the ends of the three digits were quite apparent, their upper termination having been destroyed by a fracture occurring at the angle of the stone, to which they originally reached. My first impression on reading the uncials was, that the letter R in VERE was an N, as the loop at the top of the letter is lost by the lamination of the surface in that particular spot. A more careful examination has since proved that it is the letter R. I thought, at that time, that IVVENE, as I read it, might be an attempt to express Uftan or Duftan, which, taken in connexion with DRVVIDES, impressed on my mind that it was the grave-stone of Dubhtach the Druid; the rule changing the termination *an* to *oc* made me think that the name, as it stood, was another form of Dubtach. So far, however, my reasoning was soon upset, and the reading given by Dr. Ferguson has been found to be the true and correct one.—IV VERE DRUIDES—“the four true Druids” (of whom I have yet to write) as, by a chance almost as fortuitous as the discovery of the Druid Stone, I happened to come on a passage in the Leabhar Breac, which throws a flood of light

¹ Some of the scores at the top or end of the Druid stone may be of dubious value, as they are not as well defined as the rest of the Oghams; this refers only to the first four letters or scores in *Sahattos*, which does not, however, materially affect the reading of the remaining scores, or the

identification of the monument with Dubtach Mac ua Lugair.

² The ends of these digits were discovered on the side of the stone under the second *v* of *drvvides* and over the four scores representing the final *s* of *Sahattos*.

on this very inscription and locality, and sustains, in a most unprecedented manner, all that has been, up to the discovery of this text, the result of conclusions deduced solely from the inscriptions themselves.

This discovery of a bilingual inscription in Ireland is the first on record. It is, as Dr. Ferguson remarks, "as regards the use of the word *Druid* in its latinized form, an unique example in the inscriptional records of the British Islands." On an Ogham stone, long since recognized as such, in the townland of Camp, in the county of Kerry, Dr. Ferguson has discovered a Latin epigraph hitherto unnoticed by Ogham scholars. This is the second bilingual as yet known to exist in Ireland. Dr. Whitley Stokes, in a paper contributed to the "Beiträge," a German archæological publication, in 1865, has made an elaborate examination of the Killeen bilingual, in connexion with other inscriptions of the same character existing in Wales and Scotland. The result of his examination is here adopted thus—DUFTANO is a genitive singular, nominative Duftanos, which in its root may be connected with Dubh-tach; the termination *ach*, equivalent to *oc* or *og*, has another form *an*, which is perhaps the primary one: *e. g.*, Duftan, changing by the well-recognized formula *an* to *ac* or *og*, we have Dubthach; from Duftan, the primary form, we have Dubotanos, an equivalent of Dubhanach,¹ an old Irish proper name. Dubotanos means black, thin, or scraggy. *Dubo*, equivalent to *duibh*, Welsh *du*. *Tanos*, Welsh *tenen*, Latin *tenuis*, Greek *ταυος*, English *thin*. *Safei*, a genitive of the nominative *Safeos*, an equivalent to the Irish *raí*; its older form is *Sapei*; Greek, *Σοφος*. English, *Sage*. Dr. Ferguson remarks, "that *Safei*, being a form in the original text of the Brehon Laws, signifying *sapiens* or *sagus*, its appearance in the radical element assimilating it to *Σοφος*, still unclided, seems to point to an even earlier origin for this remarkable inscription than for the compilation of these laws." Dr. Stokes remarks that, in SAHATTOS the *h* is inscribed merely to prevent the hiatus produced by the loss of *p*. He refers this word to

¹ There was a regulus of Ui Mail named Dubhanach, his son Ronn Cerr slew Aed

Mac Ainmire at the battle of Dunbolg, A. D. 598.

the root SAP, whence *sapiens*, *savoir*, *seffan*, intelligere. SAHATTOS for *Sepantos* would appear by its form to be a genitive singular of an adjectival stem in *nt*: the loss or assimilation of *n* before *t* is to be found in all old Irish participial forms; so that in meaning, as in root, SAHATTOS may be regarded as identical with the Latin *sapientis*. Thus the Celtic portion of the inscription should be translated [*Lapis sepulcralis*] *Dubotanis Sophi sapientis*—a formula which recalls the terms applied to Dubhtach in the Senchus Mor—*Ḷubṫac p̃ai l̃iṫṫi*, Dubhtach, the sage of wisdom or literature. Dr. Ferguson suggests that the *hh* of the SAHATTOS, may be an antithetical *bb*, equivalent to *Sabattos*=*Sabattum*, which would make *Sapattos* or *Sabattos* a nominative singular dependent on Duftano Safei; in this case the inscription should be read, “the repose or resting-place of Duftan the Sage.” This is apparently a more reasonable interpretation, and is also more descriptive of the purpose for which the memorial stone was erected. So far may be seen what can be gathered from a philological investigation of these unique monuments; by its aid the “Druid Stone” may be identified almost with absolute certainty with a most remarkable personage connected with authentic Patrician History. The Decedda Stone also may be assigned to a follower of St. Patrick, though not with the same amount of certainty, as its Ogham formula is to be found on other monuments both in Ireland and Wales. Since the publication of the second essay on the Killeen Cormac inscriptions, in 1865, I had the singular good fortune to meet with the MSS. authorities, already referred to, which gave a new impetus to further research into the history of this locality and the personages connected with the Patrician mission in this part of Leinster. Though these passages may not have escaped the acute investigations of Dr. O'Donovan, of O'Curry, and Dr. Todd, yet, as the locality to which they referred was to these distinguished archæologists a mere *terra incognita*, it can be easily imagined that the attention that they would under other circumstances command was not bestowed on them. Some time since, in reading the Festology of Ængus, in a transcript made from the Leabhar Breac, and, later still,

in the Neamsheancus, in M^cFirbis' large work in the Royal Irish Academy, I was most agreeably surprised and delighted to find that they supported and confirmed my previously formed conclusions in reference both to the locality and the monuments themselves. This discovery, so unexpected and unlooked for, seemed to me scarcely less important than the original discovery of the monuments to which they referred. This paragraph occurs in p. 752 of M^cFirbis' large copy in the Royal Irish Academy Library, copied from the original autograph of M^cFirbis, in the possession of the Earl of Roden. It reads thus:—

“Moninde 7 Lonan 7 Molaisi tri meic Dubthaig m^h lugair 7 ingen Conig 7 Mochoema m^h lugair ho dirlacha Ceneoil Lugair 7 Cruimtheb noem co muintir Pacraig apoen pe Dubthaich m^h Lugair.”

In the Neamshencus, Leabhar Breac, the reading is identical with the text in M^cFirbis, with the exception of one word. Apoen, *i.e.*, *una cum*, of M^cFirbis, is represented by words of nearly similar import, viz., immaile pe, that is, *in eodem loco*; and the whole passage may be thus translated: “Moninde and Lonan and Molaisi, three sons of Dubhtach Mac Ua Lugair, and the maiden Coningean, and Mochoema Mac Ua Lugair, are (*i. e.*, buried) at the marshes of Cinel Lugair, and the holy presbyter of the family of Patrick are there, together with Dubhtach Mac Ua Lugair;” or, as the Leabhar Breac reads, “in the same place with.” This most interesting and valuable reference introduces us to the “Four true Druids” of the legend on the Druid stone at Killeen Cormac. It also dissipates the hesitancy that Dr. Ferguson laboured under regarding the first group of digits in the Ogham inscription which reads D. The cause of this doubt was that one of the vowel points of the following letter u intervened between the two scores representing D; so that he had some difficulty in arriving at the conclusion which these passages in M^cFirbis and in the Leabhar Breac, as well as the corresponding passage in the Book of Leinster, folio 239 a, *et seq.*, place beyond question or doubt.

Leaving for more detailed notice Dubhtach and his sons, Moninde, Lonan, and Molaisi, and a fourth son, Trian,

not named in the above passages, the next personage named in the extract is the maiden Conig̃, or Coningean when written in full. Unfortunately the references to this saint are very few and unsatisfactory, as far as they are accessible. Those that are available prove her to have been a rather remarkable personage. The "Martyrology of Dunegal," page 113, at April 29th, has "Coiningean, she was pupil to Mac Tail of Cill-Cuillinn, and it was on account of her the clergy of Leinster denounced Mac Tail." The Gloss of Ængus, quoted in note 5, same page, reads, "She is Cuach of Cill Fionn Maighe in Ui Feneclais in Forthuatha Laigen," &c. The "Martyrology of Tallaght," Dr. Kelly's edition, page xxii., at the iii. Kal. Maii, reads, "Coningen, i. e. Cuach, of Cill Finn Maighi."

The note in the Felire of Engus, Leabhar Breac, fol. 76, on Coningen, in connexion with the story told of her, as above, gives, in addition, a derivation for the name "Coningen, i. e., a daughter, a wild dog (*recte*, wolf)." After this follows a very unintelligible sentence in the Latin language: "Quidem [quodam in the gloss over the text] causa vivens lax, lax (*sic*) ex uberibus ejus cum catulis suis, et ista est; i. e., Conach of Cill Finnmuighi," &c. Whatever may have been her real history, some churches in Leinster formerly bore her name. On the side of the hill over Donard there is a townland called Kilcoagh, which got its name from an old church, now nearly defaced. A farm-house and offices stand near its site. It is mentioned in the Concessio, (20th Henry II., 1173), made to the Abbey of Glendalach, where it is called "Cell Chuachi." She appears also to have been patron of the Church of Kilcock, Co. Kildare. The "Martyrology of Dunegal," at Jan. 8th, has "Cuach,¹ Virgin of Cil Cuaich in Cairbre ua Ciardha," in which territory Kilcock is situate. In the centre of that town, opposite the Brewery gate, was a holy well, called Tubbermochocha, at which, in olden times, stations used to be held.

¹ The Santilogium, in Leabhar Breac, has another Cuach, the daughter of Coelbuidh, son of Colman, son of Bloit, of the Ui Ellaig (Shillelagh), in Hy Barrchi of Magh Ailbhe. She was the mother of

the three sons of Dunlaing; i. e., Illand Oilill, and Eochaid, &c. Illand and Oilill were baptised by St. Patrick, at Naas, circa A. D. 448, and were subsequently Kings of Leinster.

The gloss given above mentions her in connexion with Cill Finn Miughi, a church in the vicinity of Killeen Cormac. It is named "Cill Finmagi," in the Concessio, of 1173; but it is not easy to identify it among the many church sites about Narraghmore; it may be the cemetery now called Kyle, near Blackrath, midway between Killeen and Narraghmore.

The next personage named, Mochoema of the Hy Lugair family, has not been identified. There are five saints in the "Martyrology of Dunegal" of that name; but there is no data given to lead to their identification with Mochoema mac Ua Lugair. The name given to the locality where these personages are buried is a very remarkable one—*Oínlatha*; in the Leabhar Breac, with the prefixed article, *an Oínlatha*; in M^oFirbis, a *monnlatha*. This name may be translated, *ad paludes*, or, the marshes or muddy places of the Cinel Lugair, which is most descriptive of the locality in which Killeen Cormac is situate. The valley, in the centre of which is the cemetery, is very low-lying; the river Griese, with its tributaries, used formerly to overflow this land. Some years ago, the beds of the streams were deepened, and their courses made straight, which, with the draining of the surrounding fields, made the place comparatively dry and solid. *Oínlatha* gives the idea of something more than a mere marsh. *Oíon* represents a refuge, summit, or place of security; whence our word, Dungeon (O'Reilly, *sub voce*). Mr. Hennessy equates *latha* with the Latin *lutum*, mud; thus, *oínlatha*, as applied to Killeen Cormac, fully realizes its position and description as a mound or tumulus, situate in a low-lying marshy locality. The next person recorded in this extract is the holy presbyter of the family or attendants of St. Patrick. His name is not given; it is, however, rather significant, that in the list of the *Múntir Pádraig*, i. e., the attendants of the apostle, among his three cruimthers or presbyters, one named Catan is to be found. Prefixing *mo* to this name, and changing, by the usual rule, the last syllable, *an*, into *oc*, we have Mochatoc, or Mochadoc ("Trias Thaumaturga," p. 155, cap. xxv.), the name of one of the "seven of his people, that St. Patrick left with St. Fiec, in Domnagh Mor, of Magh Criather, in HyCenselagh," when he ordained

him chief or head bishop of the Leinster men. (*Vide* Hennessy's translation of the Irish Tripartite, 463; in Mrs. Cusack's "Life of St. Patrick.") Mochatoc appears to have resided chiefly in the island of Inisfail (the wolf, or woodbine island), which is now called Inisbeg, or the small island, beside Beg Erin, in Lough Carman (Wexford Haven). "Tr. Th.," p. 286, note 42, &c., A. SS. Jan. 24th. The name of this saint is very suggestive. Does the Decedda stone at Killeen Cormac mark the grave of Catan¹ or Catoc, "the holy presbyter of the people of Patrick"? That he was buried here is actually stated, and the ogham inscription preserving a name, having such a resemblance to his, is a very singular coincidence, too striking to be undesigned, as the prefix *da*, thy, *e.g.* Dachatoc, brings the name into close connexion with the Decceda of the ogham formula. Killeen Cormac appears to have had great attractions as a burial-place from the very remotest times, due to its being the resting-place of Dubhtach Mac Ua Lugair, as the extract above given expressly declares. In M^oFirbis' genealogical work, p. 751, there is another reference to the cemetery of the Cinel Lugair :—

"Conlaeth 7 recht nepp 7 ragt 7 recht
hingenā hogai anionnlatha Cineoil Lugair."

The Felire of Ængus, Leabhar breac, has exactly the same passage, with some slight difference,

"Conlaeth 7 un nepp 7 un rac 7 un hingenā hogai
andiolata Cenail Lugair."

The Conlead of this passage is doubtless the Bishop of Kildare, whose relics were subsequently enshrined in the church of Kildare. He was of the Dal Messincorb tribe; he lived as a recluse "in dextra Liffei Campi" at Old

¹ Catan.—Sanctilogium, Leabhar Breac, gives the descent of a St. Catan of the Clanna Rudhraighe; his genealogy is: Catan son of Matan, son of Coelbuid (ob. 358), son of Cruind-badrai, son of Eochaid Cobha (*a quo* Ui Eocha Ulaid), descended from Fiacha Araide, A. D. 236. This genealogy would make Catan a contemporary of St. Patrick. The name of his father Matan is very suggestive of the Marin on

the Decedda-stone, which evidently belongs to that class of inscriptions in which meaningless syllables, or certain letters, are substituted for Oghamio purposes by the artifice called *Formolad*. *Vide* Dr. Ferguson on the "Transcription of Ogham Legends." "Proceedings R. I. A.," 1871.

For the genitive form Maqui *vide* Eibel's edition of Zeuss's "Gram. Celt." pp. 66-70, 81, 82.

Connell, near New Bridge: St. Bridget induced him to leave his retreat, in order to undertake as bishop the care of her church and community at Kildare. The Scholia of Ængus gives an insight into the relations between the nun and her chaplain-bishop. Condlead was dissatisfied with the extravagant liberality of the Abbess, as she gave away to the poor the money acquired by the sale of vestments and church-plate appertaining to St. Condlead. He set off to Rome to replace them: the Scholiast thus records his death, which happened on the way, "He was Bishop of Kildare, and wild dogs (or wolves) devoured him (May 3rd, 519), who followed Condlead by the side of Laimhan in the plain of Leinster. This Condlead was Bridget's principal artist, and the reason why he was killed by dogs was: that he set out for Rome in opposition to Bridget's command, whereupon Bridget prayed that he might come to a sudden death on the way, and this was fulfilled." Condlead was evidently going to Wicklow to embark for Wales to travel to Italy. He had to pass through Glenmama,¹ i. e. the glen of the pass or road, a valley opening eastward, beside the present town of Dunlavin. As the scene of Condlead's tragic death was not far from Killeen Cormac, his mangled remains were carried there to rest, but only for a time, as they must have been exhumed and enshrined at a subsequent period, with those of his patron, St. Bridget, in the church of Kildare; ("Tr. Th.," p. 523, Vita 2da Stæ. Brigidæ, cap. xxxv., note 17). How long the remains of Condlead rested in Killeen Cormac is nowhere stated. The "inventions," and the enshrinings of relics were of frequent occurrence in the seventh and

¹ "Now Rochend was the name of Condlaed first, and it was he who was called Mochonla of Daire Condlaed, i. e. Prudence, Fire, i. e. Fire of Prudence is his name, and he is Bishop of Kildare, and wild hounds ate him at Sechai Condlaed at the side of Laimhan, in Magh Laighen. He Condlead, son of Cormac, son of Engus, son of Eochaid Lamdoit. Now, Condla was chief artificer to Bridget, and it was why he found death by the hounds, namely, a journey he was making to Rome against the persuasion of Bridget, and she prayed for him to get a sudden death on the way, which was fulfilled." Sechai Condlaib. reio is glossed Cnam, i. e.

bone, recte Seic, *transitus*, a passing—(Wm. M. Hennessy). In ancient times a road went through Glenmama where the place Sechai Condlaed was, but is now unknown. In A. D. 999, Brian Boro defeated the united forces of the Danes and Leinster men in Glenmama; their retreat was through Cryhelp, where a great slaughter was made. The last wolf seen in Wicklow was killed in Glen Figea, about six generations ago. This valley runs north of Glenmama, and in it the Danes were also slaughtered. Glen-Figea, i. e. the Glen of the Skirmish. *Vide* Dr. Todd's "Wars of the Danes," Introduction, cxliv, note 3.

eighth centuries, and to some period intermediate between A. D. 519 and 799, the finding or removal of the relics of Condlead must be assigned. The period in which Ængus compiled the Felire or Festology was during the reign of Aedh Oirnidhe, King of Ireland, from the year 793 to 817. As Ængus speaks of Condlead being buried in Killeen Cormac in his time, the reference to the enshrining of his relics contained in the "Annals of Ulster," A. D. 799, "Positio Reliquiarum Conlaid h-1 Scpín oip 7 aipit," i. e. The placing of the relics of Conlath in a shrine of gold and silver," may be taken also as a record of their previous "invention" or finding at Killeen, and their immediate enshrinement in the church of Kildare. However it may be, the date given in the "Annals of Ulster" is a strong testimony of the antiquity and authenticity of the Felire of Aengus. In the year 835, the Danes of Wicklow plundered Kildare, and Dr. O'Halloran states in his "History of Ireland," that they carried away the shrines of St. Bridget and St. Conlath, which were probably restored to that church by paying a large ransom. The "Annals of the Four Masters," at 835, record that "Kildare was plundered by the Gentiles of Inbhir Deaæ, and they burned half the church." The "Chronicon Scotorum" has exactly the same record, but refers it to the year 836.

The Septenary of bishops, presbyters, and virgins buried at Killeen Cormac is not at first-sight so easily identified with the Commemorations in the Martyrologies of Donegal and Tallaght. The former enumerates six groups of seven bishops, and the Litany of Ængus the Culdee more than 150 groups or sets of seven bishops belonging to various localities. Among this episcopal galaxy it is not easy to identify individuals or their various churches. There can be very little hesitation in saying that the immense number of bishops grouped together by Ængus, or by subsequent interpolators of the Litany ascribed to him, is absurdly prolix and extravagant, as it must strike any one who reads over the long list of names, that a great many are mere repetitions, with some verbal changes. Under these circumstances the number would be very considerably reduced, and be still consistent with the excessive number of

bishops existing in the early Irish Church. Among these are "invoked" "the Seven bishops of Cille Fínè," which is, as has been already proved, the Cill Fínè of Palladius,¹ now Killeen Cormac. This group of bishops is probably identical with those venerated at August 23, at Aelmagh, i. e. "the limestone plain," an alias for Donoughmore Magh Ludhat, an old church, near Maynooth; and at July 21, at Tamnagh-Buadha, or simply Tamnach, which represents the Church now called Taney, the parochial name of Dundrum, Co. Dublin. Another Domnaghmore, of Abhain Liffe, which is now called Jagoe, or Gaeghanstown, had its seven bishops too; they probably belong to the same group. These seven bishops of Cill-Fínè were perhaps the ecclesiastics whose visit to St. Bridget, at Kildare, is described in her life (*Vita secunda*, cap. 6, "Tr. Th.," page 519); the same were also commemorated at Tulach-n-an Espuig, now Tully, Barony of Rathdown, Co. Dublin, where there is still an old church dedicated to St. Bridget of Kildare. The seven presbyters buried at Killeen Cormac are, most probably, St. Abban Mac Ua Cormaic, and his six brothers: viz., Daman, also Damianus, of Tigh-Damhain, i. e., Tidowan, Bar. E. Maryborough, Queen's County (Feb. 12th. "Mart. Dung.;" also "Annals of the Four Masters," A. D. 942, note q.) Miacca, of Cluain Fodha,² in Fiodhmor; that is, at Ballagh Fiodmor, near the borders of

¹ For a full and interesting account of the Palladian family in Italy, *vide* Dr. Moran's (now R. C. Bishop of Ossory) "Essays on the Doctrine and Discipline of the early Irish Church," cap. v. p. 51, *et seq.*; also Dr. Todd's "Life of St. Patrick," pp. 277, 279.

² There were three ancient localities called Cluain Foda. One Cluain-Fota-Boetain-Abha, in the Barony of Ferbill, Co. Westmeath. St. Etchen, who died Feb. 11, A. D. 577, was of this place, and conferred on St. Columcille the episcopal grade. There are references to this locality in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at the dates 577, 741, 790. The other place was Cluain-Fota-Librein, now Clonfad, situate two miles north of Tyrrell's-pass, in the Barony of Fertullagh, Co. Westmeath. *Vide* "The Four Masters," A. D. 835, 877. A life of St. Librein is given in the "Acta. SS." at March 9th,

p. 584. Colgan states that he does not know whether he was of Cluan Fota, in Fera Tulach in Meath, or of Cluain Fota Fine, in Fiadhmor, in Leinster. In the *Felire-Aengus*, at August 21, it is stated that Cluain Fota Fine, in Fera Tulach, was otherwise called Cluan Fota Librein. O'Clery's Calendar, and "Mart. Donegal," repeat the same statement. Colgan observed the confounding of two different localities, one in Westmeath, and the other in Leinster: i. e. Fiadhmor Fine, in Fiadhmor; i. e. Ballach Fiadhmor, in the old territory of Uadha, now represented by Tullomoy, Queen's Co. (Tulaó Uam-buioe.) Somewhere in this locality, near Ballach Fidhmor, to which place the *Ui Gabhla* Fine, or "the tribe," extended, was Cluain Fota Fine. At this place Dubhan, the brother of St. Abban, was commemorated Nov. 11th; and at August 21 his brother Senach, whom O'Clery ("Mart.

Ui Duach, in Ossory—his *dies natalis* is not recorded in any available authorities. Senach of Cillmor (Nov. 2. “Mart. Dung.”). Lithghean of Cluain mor Lethghian, in Ui Failghe, Barony of Ophaly, Co. Kildare (“Mart. Dungal,” January 16.). Dubhan,¹ Nov. 11 ; at this date the “Martyrology of Donegal” adds, “I think that this is the Dubhan who went along with Moling to ask for the remission of the Boromha,” but Dubhan, the brother of Abban, the senior saint of that name, could not have been a contemporary of Moling, who died A. D. 697. Toimdeach, of Rosglas; he was abbot of that monastery which is now known as Monasterevan, Queen’s Co. The *dies natalis* of Toimdeach is not given in any of the martyrologies. The Neamshencus, in the Leabhar Breac, gives the genealogy of these saints, with their brother, St. Abban Mac Ua Cormaic, and adds, “Septem fratres sunt.” As these saints belonged to the Dal or Fine Cormaic, it is not unreasonable to assume that they are the “Seven Presbyters” buried in Cill Fíne Cormaic. The seven virgins at Killeen Cormac are those commemorated in the “Martyrology of Donegal,” on the 7th of January—“The daughters of Feargna.” The Martyrology of Tallaght has at the same day “Inghen Feargna”; their names are unfortunately not recorded in these autho-

Dung.,” August 21), calls “a bishop,” and gives him as of “Cluain Fhoda Fine, i. e. Cluain Foda Librein;” which is evidently a confusion of two distinct localities. The Saints’ Genealogy in the Leabhar Breac gives the descent of St. Abban and his six brothers, but it does not state that any of them were of the episcopal grade.

¹ This Dubhan is not to be confounded with another saint of the same name, viz., The presbyter Dubhan the Pilgrim. The “Mart. Dungal” gives his day, at Feb. 11th., “Dubhan, priest, at Rinn Dubhain, Pilgrim: the King of Britain was his father i. e., Braccan, son of Bracca. Din, daughter of the King of Saxon-land, was his mother, as is found in an ancient vellum book,” p. 47. This Dubhan lived towards the end of the 5th century (492) he was a descendant of Caoelbiudh, King of Ultonia, who was slain A. D. 357. His grandfather, Bracca, or Bracmeoc, settled in Wales, and married Marcella, daughter of Theodore, son of Thetfalt, King of Gurtmatrin in Brecknock. Gladusa, Dubh-

an’s sister, was mother to St. Cadoc, Abbot of Llancarven; he died A. D. 570 (Jan. 24). Melaria, another sister, married Xantus, King of Ceretica, who was by her father to St. David of Menavia, who died A. D. 588. (“Chron. Scot.,” March 1st). Rinn Dubhain and Chen Dubhain, now Hook Point, Co. Wexford, has its name from him, also Disert Dubhan, near Adamstown, New Ross. He is called by the inhabitants St. Hook, as Dubhan in Irish means “a fishing-hook,” and hence the name of the point. This identification of his locality was made by Mr. William M. Hennessy and Dr. Reeves on independent research; in which they have been preceded by the Rev. James Graves, A. B., in his “Notes on the Topography and History of the Parish of Hook, Co. Wexford,” pp. 194-199. Vol. III., 1st series, 1854, “Journal” of the Kilk. and S. E. of Ir. Arch. Soc. St. Phaen, the founder of Kilfane in Ossory, was the son of King Braccan of Gurtmatrin. Colgan, “Acta Sanctorum,” pp. 313, 161, &c.

rities. Colgan, in the Seventh Life of St. Patrick, p. 856, note 33, coincides in assigning the seventh of January as the feast of the seven virgins, daughters of Fergnadh, the son of Cobhtach, of the Hy Ercan. One of the daughters of Fergna, the son of Cobhtach of the Hy Ercan, was Briga. She met St. Patrick in the plain of Western Liffe, and warned him of the snares laid to destroy him and his attendants by Laighis, the descendant of Finn, at Moone Columcille (Moone, County Kildare). "Brig,¹ the daughter of Fergnadh, son of Cobhtach of the Ui Ercain, went to report to Patrick the enmity that was in store for him. Patrick blessed her and her father, and her brothers, and the Ui Ercain altogether; and he said that they would never be without distinguished laics and clerics of them." Hennessy's Translation, p. 461; original in the British Museum Library, Class Egerton, 93. ("Trias Thaumaturga," cap. xix., p. 152.) Briga was venerated at Tigh Brige which was at or near Glais Eile, in Ui Ercan, where Saint Moenog afterwards resided. This place still retains unchanged its ancient name, viz., Glashely, near Narraghmore. Briga has been at an early period confounded with her better known namesake, St. Bridget of Kildare; some of the wonders attributed to that saint, *e. g.* that in St. Broccain's hymn ("Goidelica," p. 80), have been transferred to the daughter of Fergnadh. There can be no difficulty in believing that these are the "seven young virgins," who with the venerable and ancient saints of their tribe and kindred await the resurrection in their now long-forgotten and undistinguished graves at Killeen Cormac.

¹ "Brig in TechBrige. It is by her the cows were wont to be milked thrice in the one day; and it is with her used to be the choicest reaping days, when it was inclement through the rest of the country."—Neamshencua, M'Firbis, large copy. This

passage is referred to St. Bridget of Kildare, in Broccan's Hymn.—"Goidelica," lines 29, 30, p. 88. Another of her churches was at the place now called Kilrush, Co. Kildare (Cillruisc o Cillruisc)—see Leabhar Breac.

NOTES ON AN AUTOGRAPH OF THE FAIR GERALDINE.

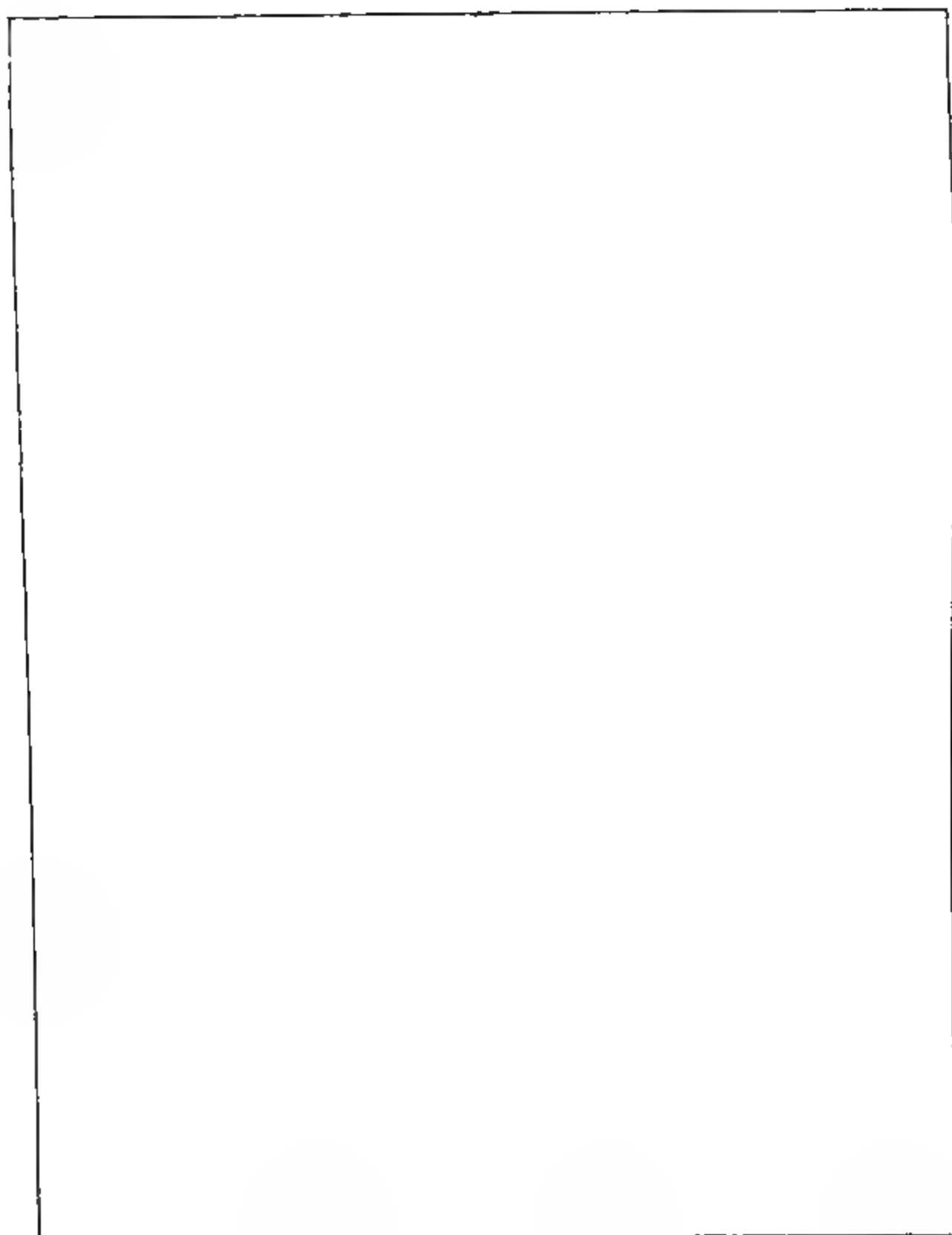
BY THE REV. JAMES GRAVES, A. B., M. R. I. A.

GERALD, ninth Earl of Kildare, was born in 1487. He married, first, in 1503, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Zouch and of Elizabeth, co-heiress of Lord Grey of Codnor. His first wife was thus a cousin of Henry VIII. She died in 1517, and in 1519 he was summoned to England to answer certain charges brought against him. Whilst there he married, secondly, the Lady Elizabeth Grey, fourth daughter of Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, and grand-daughter (by her first husband, Sir John Grey) of Elizabeth Woodville, afterwards Queen of Edward IV. By this marriage the Earl of Kildare gained many friends in England, and much influence at Court, his second wife being also a cousin to Henry VIII. Shortly before his marriage he had accompanied the King to France, and was distinguished by his brilliant bearing at the "Field of the Cloth of Gold." He there met Lady Elizabeth Grey, who was in attendance on the Queen. In the meantime, his cause had been sent by the King for hearing before Wolsey; and no proofs of his guilt having been adduced, he was released from the honourable arrest under which he lay, and allowed to return to Ireland. Surrey, the Lord Lieutenant, wrote to the King, that the great Geraldine's power was supposed to be much enhanced by his marriage with "the Kinges kyneswoman." And that the Earl himself built much on the connexion is evident from the words of a letter of his to Henry (Aug. 17, 1525): "My first wife was your pore knyewoman, and my wife now in like manner; and in all my troubles before this by untrue surmyses against me, ye were good and gracious unto me." Indeed, his English connexions and the royal favour often stood him in good stead; but the rash rebellion of "Silken Thomas" (his son by the first marriage) sent him finally to the Tower, where, in 1534, he died—it is said of grief, on being shown a copy of the excommunication fulminated against his unfortunate heir for the murder of Archbishop Allen.

The Earl's portrait, painted by Holbein in 1530, remains at Carton ; but, although there is a picture of her at Woburn Abbey by C. Ketel, the Duke of Leinster has not been so fortunate as to inherit any likeness of Earl Gerald's youngest daughter by his second match—the "Fair Geraldine," whose beauty has been given a deathless fame by Surrey's sonnet :—

"From Tuscan came my lady's worthy race;
 Fair Florence was sometime her [their] ancient seat :
 The western isle, whose pleasant shore doth face
 Wild Camber's cliffs, did give her lively heat :
 Fester'd she was with milk of Irish breast :
 Her sire an Earl ; her dame of Princes' blood.
 From tender years, in Britain she doth rest,
 With Kinges child ; where she tasteth costly food.
 Hunsdon did first present her to mine eyen :
 Bright is her hue, and Geraldine she hight.
 Hampton me taught to wish her first for mine ;
 And Windsor, alas ! doth chase me from her sight.
 Her beauty of kind ; her virtues from above ;
 Happy is he that can obtain her love."

The Duke of Bedford's portrait of Surrey's, "Fair Geraldine" does not represent what would now be called a beautiful woman. She had reddish hair and high cheek bones, and the chin was longer and more pointed than the strict rules of beauty allow ; but her eyes were fine, the mouth had a sweet expression, the forehead expansive and intelligent, and brows well arched ; altogether we can well imagine that the features, which the portrait at Woburn preserves to us, combined with the delicate complexion which usually accompanies auburn hair, made her a very lovely girl when first she met Surrey's eyes. The Woburn painting has been engraved by Scriven, and was published by Longman & Co. in 1809. The photographic print which faces this page is taken from an excellent copy of the Woburn portrait in the possession of the Duke of Leinster, and is presented to the Association by the kindness of the Marquis of Kildare. Surrey's "Description and Praise of his Love Geraldine," given above, records nearly all we know, beyond a few dates, of her early life. She was born in Ireland in 1527 ("Earls of Kildare," Vol. I., p. 126), and accompanied her mother to England in 1533. After Earl Gerald's death, his widow and her orphan



CHANCELLOR

DUBLIN

PORTRAIT OF THE FAIR GERALDINE

FROM A PAINTING AT CARTON

children resided at Beaumanoir, in Leicestershire, the mansion of Lord Leonard Grey, Lady Kildare's brother. Surrey's sonnet informs us that the Lady Elizabeth Fitz Gerald was educated at Hunsdon with the daughter of Katherine of Aragon. In the beginning of 1534 the Princess Mary, in consequence of refusing to acknowledge her half sister Elizabeth as heiress to the throne, was sent from the Court to Hunsdon by Henry VIII., where she remained for two years. She was again at Hunsdon in 1538, when she received into her house the Fair Geraldine. In 1540 her household was broken up, and the Lady Elizabeth was transferred to that of the newly married Queen, Katherine Howard, at Hampton Court. Surrey first saw her at Hunsdon in 1539, when she was only twelve years old, and seems to have been struck by her beauty at Hampton Court, the next year. She was married in 1543, when only sixteen years of age, to Sir Anthony Browne, a widower of the mature age of sixty—Ridley, the King's chaplain, preaching a sermon on the occasion—in the presence of the King and Princess. The internal evidence of the sonnet goes far to prove that it was written in that year, immediately after this ill-matched union, which appears to have been in some way connected with Windsor:—

“ Windsor, alas ! doth chase me from her sight.”

Surrey acknowledges the hereditary good looks of the race ; the Fair Geraldine's “ beauty ” was, he writes, “ of kind.” We know her father was one of the handsomest men of his time. At the “ Field of the Cloth of Gold,” the poet Earl, a stripling of sixteen, had marked the gallant bearing of Kildare, then in the pride of his manly beauty, and when in the prime of his own short life (he was then in his twenty-fifth year) he saw Kildare's fair daughter, he no doubt called to mind the goodly presence of her father seen before the hardships of Irish warfare, wounds¹ and imprisonment had left their mark.

Surrey was betrothed, when sixteen years old, to Lady Frances Vere, daughter of John, 15th Earl of Oxford ;

¹ The Earl of Kildare was shot in the side whilst besieging the castle of Birr in 1532. He never entirely recovered from the wound.—“ Four Masters,” *sub an.*
4TH SER., VOL. II.

1532. He never entirely recovered from the wound.—“ Four Masters,” *sub an.*
4 D

they were married at Pentecost of the same year, but probably did not live together until the Spring of 1535. His eldest son, Thomas, was born in 1536, three years before he first saw the Lady Elizabeth Fitz Gerald. His wife was his equal in every way, and there is no reason to suppose that he ever lived unhappily with her. The singular purity of the noble poet's writings may be held to prove that his character, although it had its faults, was not tinged by an illicit passion; and his affection for the Fair Geraldine may take rank in the annals of love with those of Abelard and Heloise, of Petrarch and Laura, of Tasso and Leonora. It is true that his industrious editor and biographer, Dr. Nott, has assumed the reality of this passion, nay, he has even gone the length of heading most of Surrey's sonnets with an address to Geraldine, although the earlier imprints of the poems only give one which is so headed, and which has been already quoted.¹ If we are to suppose that Surrey's passion is to be taken as a reality, and not merely a poet's fiction, we shall find the subject perplexed with difficulty. The Lady Elizabeth was a mere child. Surrey was married, and his fidelity to his wife has never been questioned. It seems absurd to suppose that a moral and pure-minded married nobleman, in constant attendance on the Court, would have avowed his passion for a child, connected not only with the highest families in England, but even with Royalty itself, and who was then living under the especial protection of her cousin, the Princess Mary. Connected with the story of Surrey's assumed passion for Geraldine is the fable of his travels in Italy to proclaim the charms of his mistress, and defend the cause of her beauty against all comers. First promulgated by the notable Thomas Nash in 1594, it has been credited and endorsed by Drayton, Winstanley, Anthony à Wood, Cibber, Walpole, and Wharton; but was finally exploded by Dr. Nott, who has proved the famed tournament a fiction, and that Surrey was never in Italy.²

¹ There is, however, internal evidence that Surrey addressed her in, at least, one other poem, the "Request to his Love to join Bounty with Beauty," in which the object of his verse is named "Garret," a well-known *alias* of "Gerald;" and the

name by which Lady Elizabeth Fitz Gerald was always designated when attending on the Princess Mary.

² "The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey." London, Bell and Daldy, p. xxiv.

That Surrey's admiration of the Fair Geraldine was platonic we cannot therefore doubt. Neither have we the slightest reason to suppose that Lady Elizabeth Fitz Gerald's affections were engaged to Surrey¹ when she consented to marry Sir Anthony Browne. Her family was then at the lowest ebb of its misfortunes, its blood attainted, its wide domains confiscated—herself, her mother, her two brothers, and as many sisters, one deaf and dumb, dependant on their English relations, who, perhaps prudently, made up the match with this rich,² but elderly suitor. Yet her marriage adds to the romantic interest of Surrey's poem, and enables us to realize the mood which gave birth to its closing lines.

Sir Anthony Browne died at Byfleet House in Surrey, in 1548, and his young widow, now but twenty-one, was again free. Surrey had been sent to the block by the tyrant Henry the year before. By a strange irony of prosaic fact she was again to marry a widower—nay, to become the wife of one who had already been twice wedded.

Edward, Lord Clinton—having been born in 1512—was fourteen years the senior of his third wife. He had married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Blount, who was mother by Henry VIII. of that King's illegitimate son,

¹The incident of Surrey, Cornelius Agrippa, and the Magic Mirror, so charmingly rendered by Scott in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," is too well known to bear quotation. It is, however, without the slightest foundation in fact. The legend first appeared in Thomas Nash's "Unfortunate Traveller, or Life of Jack Wilton," printed in 1594. Cornelius Agrippa—sad to say, for the truth of this delightful poetic fiction—died in 1534, five years before Lord Surrey met Lady Elizabeth Fitz Gerald! Notwithstanding Nott's refutation, the story of the tournament has been re-stated in a Collection of Portraits by Holbein belonging to the Crown, to the effect that Surrey was at Florence in 1536, and took part in a tournament, when he was presented by the Grand Duke with a shield of curious workmanship, which now belongs to the Duke of Norfolk. Michael Drayton, in his "England's Royal Epistle," alludes to Surrey's championship of the Fair Geraldine at the Florence tournament in the following lines:—

dine at the Florence tournament in the following lines:—

"The Earl of Surrey, that renowned Lord,
Th'old English glory bravely hath restored,
That prince and poet (a name more divine)
Falling in love with beauteous Geraldine
Of the Gerald's, which derive their name
From Florence; whither to advance her fame
He travelled, and in public justs maintained.
Her beauty peerless, which by arms he gained."

Anthony à Wood, who quotes the above, repeats Nash's fiction of the Magic Mirror, and even makes the Fair Geraldine to be born in Florence! "Athenæ Oxon.," Vol. i., p. 68.

²Sir Anthony Browne's father was Standard Bearer of England, and his mother was co-heiress of the Nevilles, Earls of Salisbury. Sir Anthony was Master of the Horse to Henry VIII., a Knight of the Garter, and one of the executors of the King's will; on the suppression of the Monasteries he was granted by Henry a great portion of Battle Abbey in Sussex.

Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset.¹ She was, at the period of her marriage, the widow of Lord Talboys. Clinton's second wife was Ursula, daughter of William, Lord Stourton. This lady died in 1551. Clinton was then, be it remembered, Lord Admiral of England, and Machin's "Diary"² (page 9) has the following entry: "1551, the iiij of September ded my lade Admerell' wiffe in Lynkolneshyre, and there bered." The same Diarist (page 30) records a visit paid by the Princess Mary to Edward VI. on the 10th of January, 1552-3, attended by a splendid train of noble ladies and gentlemen, of whom two were—"My lade Clynton" and "My lord Admerolle."³ There was, therefore, a Lady Clinton in 1553 at latest, and as we know that Lord Clinton married Sir Anthony Brown's widow, and pre-deceased her, his wife must have been the Fair Geraldine. The precise date of the marriage has not been ascertained, but in a MS. copy of Wyckliffe's Translation of the New Testament, preserved in the MS. Library of Trinity College, Dublin (A. 1. 10), which belonged at one time to Sir Henry Gate, there are entries of the births of his children, and amongst them the following—"The berth of Willyame Gate my thurde sonne was at Perge besyde Hauyryng the seconde daye of June whyche was Mondaye in the afternowne betuxe ix. and x. of cloke and yere of owre lorde gode A. 1550, the fourthe yere of the rayne of Kyng Edward the syexe: godfathers the lord markes of Northampton and the erle of Warwyke, *god mother my lady Clyntone, the erll of Kyldare dauhter.*" It is not likely that the baptism of the child was put off beyond a year after his birth, hence this entry makes it almost certain that Lord Clinton did not remain many months a widower, and that the Fair Geraldine became for the second time a wife early in 1552.⁴ On the 8th of September, 1552, the Princess Mary, in a conversation with Bishop Ridley at Hunsdon, mentions her as Lady Clinton.

¹ The Duke of Richmond had been married to Surrey's sister, but the marriage was never consummated.

² Camden Society Publications.

³ Clinton was appointed Lord Admiral May 14, 1550, and so continued to March, 1553-4. He was re-appointed Feb. 18, 1557-8, and held the office until his death,

16th January, 1584-5.

⁴ Lord Kildare is of opinion that the marriage did not take place until 1552, and that this *entry* of Sir Henry Gate's memorandum of the birth and baptism of his son was made subsequent to it—Lady Clinton having been in her first widowhood when she stood sponsor to Sir Henry Gate's son.

The evidence we have here adduced is sufficient to prove that the very interesting letter, dated 1558, of which a Plate printed in facsimile by the photo-lithographic process faces the next page, is partly the autograph of the Fair Geraldine, and in its free and well-formed characters we see proof of the sound elementary education she received in the household of the Princess Mary. It has been already observed that a picture of this lady has survived—a photographic print from an excellent copy of which I have been enabled, by kindness of the Marquis of Kildare, to place opposite page 562, *supra*. We possess also her effigy on the Clinton monument at Windsor; and we have Surrey's "Description and Praise of Geraldine." Scott's imaginary portrait was no doubt founded on the Woburn picture—

“ —but how passing fair
The slender form which lay on couch of Ind!
O'er her white bosom strayed her hazel hair,
Pale her dear cheek, as if for love she pined.”

There is, indeed, another sonnet of Surrey's which, if (as I think we may assume it to have been) addressed to Geraldine, places her before us in the quaint horned head-dress of the period, from the points of which flowed down over her "golden tresses" the lace veil which was the usual accompaniment of that singular attire. She would probably wear black on account of the recent and tragical deaths of her father, brother, and uncles:—

“ I never saw my Lady lay apart
Her cornet black, in cold nor yet in heat,
Sith first she knew my grief was grown so great;
Which other fancies driveth from my heart,
That to myself I do the thought reserve,
The which unwares did wound my woful breast;
But on her face mine eyes might never rest;
Yet, since she knew I did her love and serve,
Her golden tresses clad alway with black,
Her smiling looks that hid thus evermore,
And that restrains which I desire so sore.
So doth this cornet govern me, alack!
In summer, sun, in winter's breath, a frost;
Whereby the light of her fair looks I lost.”

A scrap of her handwriting—a waif from time's vast ocean—has also remained to enable us to think of her as she lived, and the story of its discovery is as follows. About

Christmas, 1872, I was informed by Mr. Richard L. Whitty, then a Fellow of this Association, that he had become possessed of some letters of ancient date, one of which was in the autograph of the Fair Geraldine. This excited my curiosity, and I asked Mr. Whitty to let me see the original. He kindly lent it to me, and I found it to be an authentic document. The letter is written on a single sheet of old paper, measuring $12\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $8\frac{1}{2}$ in., the wire lines very distinct, but showing no paper mark. The writing is in two very different hands: the first half exhibiting large, upright, well-formed and clear characters—the letters as distinct as print, not running into each other—altogether a most remarkable handwriting. The latter part of the document is written in a cramp, and rather obscure, cursive character—and affords a striking contrast to the first half of the epistle. There are no means of knowing to whom the letter was addressed, but it is folded across the sheet into four, and docketed in a contemporary hand in the back:—

“xiiij^o Sept. 1558
The l. Admirall.”

The letter commences, as I have said, without any address, and is in the following words:—

“Pardon me I pray yow that I do not oftener wryte to yow paynfull syknes and wekenes ys the cause therof wher wythal I fynd my selue gretly burdened for thoughe my fettes haue left me I am veseted a new wyth the torment of my stomak wyche is so could and weke as it sufreth me not to broke eny thyng I take I troust to here better newes of your helthe and my lady wher of I desyre to be advertysed *for lak of seeing j make my wyf my Secretary if it ples yow to let me here of the quenes ma^{tie} parfyte amendment it shold be gude comfort to me, God j besech him to grant yow and my good lady parfit helth, from alton on my way towards horseley, the xiiijth of September, 1558.*

“Your owene assured bonden frend,
“E. Clynton.”

In order to understand some of the allusions, especially the anxiety expressed about the state of the Queen's health, it should be borne in mind that Lord Clinton had been for some months absent from the country. He was appointed by Mary to the command of the expedition against France on the 12th April, 1558, and set sail on July 29th with a fleet of one hundred and forty ships, his

pardon me I pray you that I do not oftener wryte to you
 paynfull syknes and wekenes ys the cause thereof wher wyth
 I fynd my selfe grevety burdened for thowse my fettes have
 so much weyned wth the torment of my stomak

(Endorsed)

my copy 1558
 J. G. L. Lomax

first object being to take Brest ; but finding that place too strongly fortified, he proceeded to Conquet, which he took by assault, plundered, and burnt. His forces, having proceeded to plunder the adjacent villages, were attacked by a Breton gentleman named Kersimon, at the head of some militia, routed, and driven to their ships with considerable loss. Lady Clinton appears to have joined her husband on his return to Portsmouth, and the letter was written on September 14th, at Alton, on the way to Horsley. The Queen was dead in two months after that date.

Lord Clinton was created Earl of Lincoln on the 4th of May, 1572. He died January 16th, 1584-5 ; and his widow survived him four years, having died in March, 1589. She had no issue by either of her husbands. Lady Lincoln erected a splendid table monument to her husband in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on which are both their effigies. Pote, in his "History, &c., of Windsor," has an engraving of the monument, which he describes as of alabaster with pillars of porphyry, and gives the inscription as follows—

"Nobilissimo Domino Edwardo Finio,
Lincolnise Comiti, Clintonise et Saie Baroni,
inolyti Ordinis Periscelidis Militi, et summo
Anglie Admirallo, cum, post preclaram
operam, quatuor, continuâ serie, illustrissimis
principibus, Henrico, Edwardo, Mariæ, et
Elizabethæ, tam consilio, quam armis, et
domi, et foris, terra, marique fideliter navatam,
placide fato functus esset ; Charissimo
marito, amantissima conjux Elizabetha, Comitis
Kildariensis filia, piæ perpetuæque memoriæ,
ergo mœrens, posuit.
Obit 16 die Januarii 1584."

Lady Lincoln was buried beneath this monument as well as her second husband.

That the letter was the joint production of Lord and Lady Clinton is evident from the face of it. The only question which remains to be solved is as to their respective parts in it. But I think there can be little doubt that the clear, firm, sharp-cut characters which head the sheet are those of the still comparatively youthful, and perhaps still "fair" Geraldine—whilst the concluding lines and the signature are those of a person broken down by sick-

ness, and suffering from loss of sight—in fact Clinton's own.

It only remains to state Mr. Whitty's account of the manner in which he became possessed of the Fair Geraldine's autograph. I give it in his own words:—"The papers came to me through Lord Graves, whose daughter my uncle William Bagwell married; my cousin, Miss Bagwell, who gave them to me, cannot think of the name of the nobleman who gave them to Lord Graves, but remembers that the donor's house in London had just been burned, and that these letters were amongst the property saved. The only other papers of interest are—a letter from the Duke of Norfolk, one from Sir Nicholas Bacon, and a Patent of Queen Mary appointing Laurence Holingshed to the Searchership of Calais." I am sure that it will be felt that Mr. Whitty has earned the gratitude of the Association by allowing the original of this interesting letter to be laid before the Meeting and permitting the accompanying facsimile to be taken from it by the unerring photolithographic process.

I beg to express my acknowledgment to the Marquis of Kildare for his kindness in supplying me with the greater part of the data on which this notice is founded.

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